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ABSTRACT

This is the report of a study funded in 1979 to investigate organizational factors important to producing quality education in three high-achieving elementary schools with predominantly poor and black student populations. Research techniques consisted of nonparticipant observation and study of documents and school routines from the perspective of the Organizational Process Model. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with principals, teachers, and parents. Findings indicate that the "anomaly" of success in these schools began with the selection of moderately authoritarian principals who generated a climate of high expectations for student performance, mobilized consensus around achievement as the highest priority, chose functional routines, and were willing to disagree with their superiors regarding these choices. The most important functional routines were (1) assumption of responsibility for student discipline, attendance, and parental conflict through publication of procedures enforced by selective sanctions; (2) close contact with and supervision of teachers and staff; (3) consistent monitoring of students' skill mastery; (4) involvement of parents as an instructional support group; (5) establishment of the school office as a central command post; (6) use of skill mastery grouping as a means of placing students in self-contained classrooms modified by nongrading and team teaching; (7) expansion of the school day by using subject, preparation, and after-school periods for reinforcement; (8) refusal to place students in classes for the retarded until other alternatives had been exhausted; and (9) refusal of additional programs which would consume regular school time. (GC)

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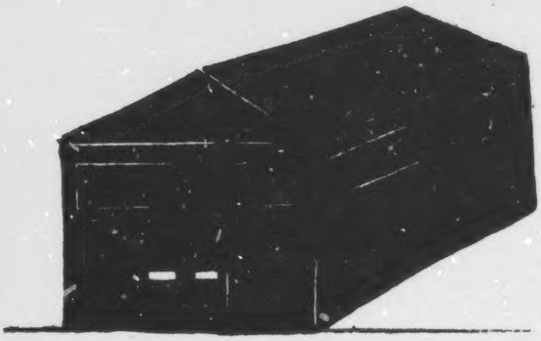
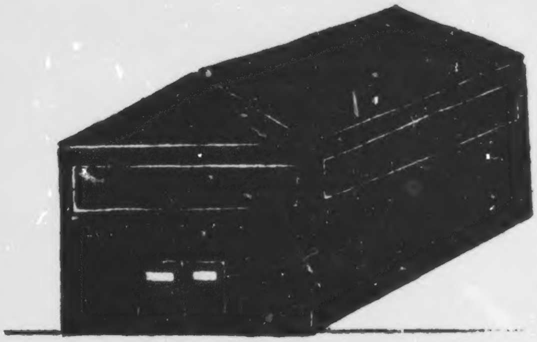


AN ABASHING ANOMALY: THE HIGH ACHIEVING PREDOMINANTLY BLACK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

[Funded by the National Institute of Education
Under Grant Application No. 9-0172]



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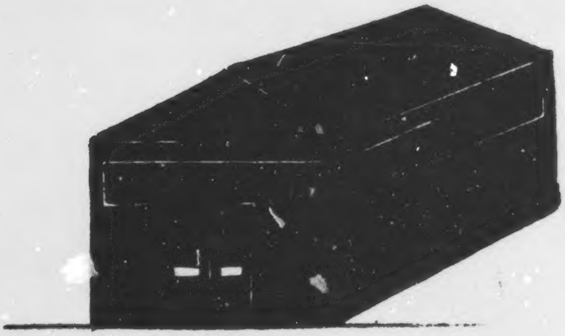

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The Department of Black Community Education, Research and Development

University of Pittsburgh
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Presents

A Study

AN ABASHING ANOMALY: THE HIGH ACHIEVING PREDOMINANTLY BLACK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

(Funded by the National Institute of Education Under Grant Application No. 9-0172)

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No writer can express the appreciation he/she feels for the help and assistance given to him/her by the secretary or typist who prepares the manuscript. I am no exception and cannot begin to say how much I owe to Beatrice Grier, Marcia Spidell, Victoria Smith and Brenda Smith-Vaughn, Secretaries in the Department of Black Community, Education, Research and Development at the University of Pittsburgh.

During the time of the editing of this final version, Carlos A. Brossard, was on a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Illinois at Urbana, Illinois and Birney Harrigan was conducting her doctoral research in the British Virgin Islands. Therefore, I assume all responsibility for any changes in the ethnographies which they wrote. Ms. Harrigan wrote the School A ethnography and Dr. Brossard wrote School B's ethnography.

Thanks goes to my family, especially my husband, Jake Milliones, who suffered through this period with me.

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The Problem: Beliefs, Definitions, Goals and Directions

The massive underachievement of black students in the public schools of the United States is well documented.[1] Although there have always been schools with black and/or poor students demonstrating high achievement as determined by standardized test scores, these instances have been the exception rather than the rule.[2] More often inner city schools have languished at the bottom when ranked in achievement with other schools in the same system. The high achieving predominantly black school remains an abashing anomaly which frequently embarrasses responsible school officials who do not raise questions about the failure of large numbers of other predominantly black schools where the majority of the students are low achieving.

Many explanations have been given for black underachievement as a group phenomenon. Five main categories of beliefs from which cause statements have evolved are: (1) blacks are genetically inferior in intelligence;[3] (2) blacks are culturally deprived or their cultural conflicts prevent learning;[4] (3) blacks' families, homes and community environments are deficient, indifferent, unstimulating and immoral;[5] (4) the school and/or school system are/is inefficient, underfunded and ineffective;[6] and, (5) the larger social order dictates through its value system a racial caste/class system which perpetuates itself through the schools.[7]

Since racially isolated black elementary schools where black poor students were scoring at or above the national norms in reading and mathematics on standardized achievement tests had been discovered, the first three beliefs could not apply. We were more concerned with how these high achieving schools could exist when others similar in student body characteristics and community environments apparently could not; what the school participants did to produce this aberration; and what efforts school systems made to replicate these accomplishments.

Definitions

It seemed important to us that the responsible educators and interested people should know that public schools could be more effective in elevating achievement among the black poor and that the means could be efficient. Barnard's definitions of efficient and effective are used here.

> When a specific desired end is attained, we shall say that the action is "effective." When unsought consequences of the action are more important than the attainment of the desired end and are dissatisfactory, effective action, we shall say is "inefficient." When the unsought consequences are unimportant or trivial, the action is "efficient."[8]

We used these definitions to avoid the controversy surrounding the use of "effective schools" in present research. In this study the specific desired end is the attainment of the national or local norm of reading and mathematics scores on standardized tests by more than a majority of the student body of the school. Such a school is effective. If the routines used achieve this end, they are functional. If the practices which occur in the implementation of these routines have unsought consequences which are trivial, the schools are judged efficient.

A black and/or poor school where such high achievement is reached may not be an effective school according to some criteria evident in the literature. Klitgaard and Hall[9] produced a rigorous statistical and empirical analysis of large data sets on school achievement for Michigan, California, New York State and New York City. They used normal curves reflecting mean scores at or above grade level. They showed that unusually effective schools made up two to nine percent of all schools tested, and surfaced unambiguously and consistently in the Michigan state sampling begun in 1969.[10] The distributions of school achievement scores were always extremely tight, once non-school blackground factors were held constant in these studies. Klitgaard and Hall disclosed elitist performance leaders after removing background biases of social class. On the norming curves, these schools were above the 91st percentile.[11] This is not what is meant by effective or high achieving schools in this study.

Nor is Edmonds'definition of an effective school consistently interchangable with our definition of high achieving. He does not always mean schools performing at or above grade level as we do in this study. He often means schools which have success rates comparable or equal to middle class schools in the districts where they are located. Therefore, if 85 percent of all middle class students are at or above grade level on achievement tests, then schools serving the poor would perform this well also. Regardless of student social class, schools should perform the same in success rates. Consequently, schools which have 50 to 61 percent of their students above grade level in New York City were classified as "Improving schools" under Edmonds' criteria and evaluated as such when their socio-economic status (SES) was low.

By definition, the norm sets 50 percent of the population tested above grade level and 50 percent below. To be a normal school nationally then, a school merely has to get 50 percent of the students above the grade level mean of the tests. Edmonds supercedes this commonly constructed definition of a norm. Performance and class standards define his effective school. Performance standards were derived from middle class schools' achievement tests levels. Class standards insisted on making poor schools do as well as middle class schools.[12] For the two to nine percent upper elites in the Michigan testing, Edmonds substituted highest middle class outputs. Schools were classified as effective for purposes of discriminant analysis if above the 75th percentile in mean verbal achievement for the designated subgroup of pupils and ineffective if below the 25th percentile.[13]

Next, the empirical validation of the components were based on skills mastery tests administered in the 4th and 7th grades in Lansing, Michigan only. Testing was administered in the Fall, 1977 or 1978. From the Equality of Educational Opportunity Study (EEOS) Edmonds claimed that he found in the Northeast quadrant of the country 55 schools which displayed consistently high achievement for poor people.[14] Moreover, Frederiksen and Edmonds classified ineffective schools as general, having effects regardless of race and class, and discriminatory, having effects because of race and class. But effective schools come only in one category: general. The logical counterpart, discriminatory effective schools, was omitted. Obviously, this category, schools which have race and class sensitivities and which performed well because of race and class compositions, is discriminatory.[15] Edmonds and Frederiksen were not looking for the schools in this study: schools that are performing well because they can do so for poor black students. The schools fall more into the omitted category.

Goals and Models

The goals of this study are: (1) to determine the organizational factors important to producing high achievement (scores at or above the national or local mean on a standardized test in reading and mathematics by a majority of the students) in three predominately black K-5 elementary schools; and (2) to identify any differences between these high achieving schools. The Organizational Process Model (OPM) was used to identify the desired ends (goals) for each school and their priorities and to determine to what extent the schools reached these goals. The underlying assumptions of the OPM are as follows:

> Government leaders can substantially disturb, but not substantially control, the behavior of organizations.
>
> To perform complex routines, the behavior of large numbers of individuals must be coordinated and coordination requires standard operating procedures (SOP's) or rules according to which things are done. Reliable performance of action depends upon the behavior of hundreds of persons and requires established programs.
>
> Governmental behavior can be understood less as a result of deliberate choice as outputs of large organizations functioning according to complex routines.[16]

Additionally, unsought consequences of established routines, standard operating procedures, repertoires and random behavior (means) were examined and analyzed to ascertain whether or not they were satisfactory, unimportant or trivial. If the routine achieved the goals, it was considered functional. If it did not, it was classified as dysfunctional.

Such an organizational model differs from that in the effective school's research where there is an unstated organizational model, generally, a military model.[17] Bright, informed, competent, and aggressive upper echelons command and control. They know the strategies, tactics, and battle plans. They understand how to win the war and enforce the peace. Mostly, subordinates lack competence and skills; do a highly specified division of labor, consistently but mechanically; require tight chains of command, compliance, coordination and control. They must be expected to be where they ought to be (achieving middle class rates of success) when the organization wants them to be there (every year.) The war is between two forces, one wanting basic skills mastery and the other something else. The presiding general is the strong principal leader. The strategies are direct instruction and monitoring. The tactic requires strongly structured, highly ordered and precisely used buildings, plants, materials and time allocation. This grand strategy, while it ostensibly can come in various styles, in fact, projects only one manner of execution: authority exercised for an outcome.

Increasingly evidence shows that school effectiveness is more a multidimensional concept. Often formulations around the military model are vague and incompatible with known performances of principal and teacher incumbent roles, and splintered, ill-focused managerial and administrative functions in schools. This all suggests that the model may be more deductive than inductive from the known characteristics of schools as organizations.[18] More importantly, its reliability presently stands without strong empirical groundings or demonstrations. So while the model may challenge present conceptualizations and constructs, sufficient clarity with firm behavioral correlates has not yet surfaced, while an army of doubters has begun to question key sub-elements and structures of more effective school claims for this military model.[19]

This study views the generation of standardized test scores in reading and mathematics at or above the national or local norms by more than a majority of black poor students in a school as effective performance although the researchers fully understand that this attainment is not the sole criterion for quality education. This perspective was adopted because of the chronic failure of most schools servicing these clients to teach them how to read and compute. The effective schools chosen for this study are grounded in a multidimensional concept: effective schools result from the routines in place at a given time. These routines are created by the school actors who have developed a consensus around high achievement as a goal. This consensus is influenced by a strong aggressive, "take charge" leader who develops routines which lead toward the adopted goal. School actors defer to this strong aggressive, "take charge" leader because they are obligated by his/her assumption of responsibilities which further the means to the goal. Although certain differences exist between this study and other effective schools research, it does emanate from cause-belief statements of the fourth category and from research on desegregation and decentralization grounded in beliefs from category five.

The Research: Findings and Outcomes

The political struggle around desegregation and decentralization obstructed substantial efforts to eliminate the underachievement of black and/or poor students and the reviewed research revealed the following after-effects: (1) racially isolated schools remained even after school districts desegregated; (2) many metropolitan urban areas where large numbers of poor blacks live had not yet desegregated in 1979, a full 25 years after the Brown Decision of 1954; (3) in many desegregated school districts whites fled the public schools leaving a majority black public school system; (4) the elevation of achievement in desegregated school settings was often as difficult to achieve as in their segregated counter parts; and (5) the side effects of inadequate desegregation practices further institutionalized racism in the public school systems.[20]

Errors in desegregation policy and strategy are due, according to some theorists, to the assumption that segregation and not racism is the evil.[21] Racism is defined here as the belief that human races have distinctive characteristics which determine their respective cultures, involving the idea that one's own race is superior and has the right to rule others.[22] As a result of these errors, desegregation models developed into quota systems for race balancing instead of paradigms which dealt with equal status and the redress of prior deprivation which were the goals. Generally, desegregation practices stressed:

(1) white majorities, preferably 80/20; (2) one way busing, blacks only; (3) closing of black schools; (4) placement of blacks in groups by testing; (5) increased remedial and compensatory programs for blacks; (6) more faculties and staff or special education, primarily for the mentally retarded and the socio-emotionally disturbed; (7) the firing or demotion of black staff; and (8) an increased use in exit testing for students and entry testing for teachers.[23]

Some blacks became impatient with the slow progress made in desegregation and/or were frustrated by the lack of improvement in the quality of education in their neighborhood schools. As a result, they pressed for community control. Their contention was that they could acquire a better education for their children if they could make the policy for the institutions which affected them. The literature reflected this struggle and its effect on the problem.[24] The community control movement peaked with the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Controversy in New York City and the New York City teachers' strike of 1968, heralding the decline of this option for the black community. Although several cities experimented with various forms of decentralization, the power to make policy envisioned by the initiators of the movement rarely materialized. Under decentralization, the authority of the central office administration was delegated to area or district officials in some cases, and, in others, the central board shared some of its powers with local boards. But, generally, decentralized units could not hire or fire or negotiate with the Unions.[25] Nor did decentralization bring about a noticeable change in achievement in predominantly black poor schools.

In 1966, James S. Coleman produced his extensive study, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, commissioned by Section 402 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The major finding was that public schools did not greatly affect learning and that the most important variable was the family background of the students.[26] However, buried in the report, there was also the observation that the achievement of minority pupils depended more on the schools they attended than did the achievement of majority pupils.[27]

Not much attention was given the report between 1966 and 1971 since the larger social order was disturbed by the community control movement, the big city riots, the Vietnam War reaction, the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X and the Kennedys.[28] Many arguments pro and con, however, were generated during the Nixon presidency when Moynihan promoted his idea of "benign neglect" which projected that "school reform was wasted on the poor since only massive intervention in their lives would ameliorate the intrinsic disabilities from which they suffered."[29] Before and during this time literature declaring the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of inner city public schools proliferated,[30] and was met by three oppositional streams: the Unions' response of More Effective Schools; the black community's quest for community control and quality education; and social scientists' research on black and poor schools. The Unions' notion was based on the belief that schools could produce if the conditions were improved for teachers permitting them to spend more time on instruction and to make more decisions regarding their work conditions.[31] The Unions' More Effective Schools idea developed simultaneously with the press for quality education in northern black urban communities during the 1960's. In the early 1970's social scientists began to produce a growing body of data on effective schools.

Researchers tried to discover what produced a school where black and poor children learned. Weber,[32] Brookover, et al.,[33] and Hoover,[34] indicated that unusually effective urban schools had many common characteristics. The three studies confirmed the belief that the students, though black and poor, could and would master the basic skills. They revealed that the effective schools used strategies and instructional methods which emphasized direct instruction. Each study portrayed a principal who accepted the responsibility for the instructional leadership of the school.

Weber's study schools had "strong leadership" in that the principal was instrumental in setting the tone of the school; helping decide on instructional strategies; and organizing and distributing the schools' resources.[35] Additionally, Edmonds found that "one of the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools" was "strong administrative leadership, without which the disparate elements of good schools" could be "neither brought together not kept together."[36] Brookover and Lezotte found that the principal in one declining school was very much "public relations" oriented and made a very strong effort to project a favorable image of the school. They described him as a principal who considered his school very good, praised the cooperativeness and quality of his staff but provided no significant supervision, and played a minor role in directing instructional activities. Teachers there tended to "run their own show" and to do what they wanted to do in the classroom.[37]

The Principal in this declining school did not give a high priority to achievement in math and reading nor any basic skills. Brookover and Lezotte summarized the consequences of such leadership as follows:

> . . . (1) there are no achievement goals set and there is no evaluation of the level of mastery in math and reading; (2) there is a general rejection of any accountability of student achievement; (3) the level of achievement is determined by non-school factors associated with the children and their parents and the home environment; the teachers, thus, have very low expectations and they assume no responsibility for successful teaching of math and reading.[38]

Lezotte and Passalacqua found that individual buildings accounted for a significant amount of the variance in measured pupil performance; however, their research did not speak to the factors operating in the individual building. They argued for future researchers to "consider variables which are descriptive of the leadership style, climate and instructional strategies operating in the individual school buildings."[39]

Some researchers have related these variables to goals. Firestone and Herriott attempted to identify images of the social organization of elementary and secondary schools in their study.[40] The two images used were the rational bureaucracy and the natural system. The three conceptual domains used to distinguish the rational bureaucracy and the natural system were: goals consensus, centralization of control and the extent of coordination. They found that the elementary schools were more like rational bureaucracies and high schools more like natural systems. The rational bureaucracy was a formally organized social structure with clearly defined patterns of activities in which every series of actions was functionally related to the goals of the organization. Rationality came from interdependence of the system's parts, effective coordination, and firm enlightened administrators. By contrast, in the natural system, actions were not clearly related to goals. In fact, individual interests could substitute for goals as the primary motivating force. Then interdependence would be reduced and control would be dispersed.

In her analytic study of two desegregated junior high schools in 1967, Metz found that schools make choices among formal goals or exist with managed or unmanaged conflict."[41] She says:

> And they must reconcile the requirements of these formal goals with the requirements of maintaining order among the students and support from the community, a task which . . . often requires sacrifices of the formal goals.[42]

In her study the problems which arose around achieving these goals seemed to be the lack of goal consensus among the teachers and between teachers and administrators, the lack of congruity between structure and goals, and the absence of mechanisms for communication among the actors in the institutions. Metz interpreted order as an instrumental goal or a means to achieve education which was the end. She did not consider both education and order as formal goals.[43]

Metz did point out, however, that principals had direct responsibility without direct control over the events for which they must answer. She interpreted the principals' responses as choices between two goals: to support and encourage diversity, experimentation and independence among both teachers and students, and to establish and maintain good order. For the accomplishment of the former goals, she felt, the school district gave the principals great autonomy in administering the school; but for the latter there was little support and few resources.[44]

Edmonds[45] reported in the New York State Office of Education Performance Review Study on two inner city New York City public schools, both of which were serving an analogous, predominantly poor public population. One of the schools was high achieving and one was low achieving. The differences between the schools concerned these areas: (1) administrative behavior, policies and practices in the schools; (2) management, instructional routines and standard operating procedures; (3) teacher attitudes toward the students' ability to learn; (4) teacher expectations for student performance; (5) amount of time spent in instructional activities; and (6) degree and quality of assistance given by the principal to teachers.

Similarly, the Brookover and Lezotte study made the following observations: (1) improving schools emphasize reading and mathematics goals and objectives while declining schools give much less emphasis to them; (2) staffs in improving schools tend to believe that all of the students can learn while the declining schools' teachers project the belief that students' abilities are low and that they cannot master the objectives; (3) staffs in improving schools hold higher expectations for their students while those in declining schools feel that their students will not finish high school or go on to college; (4) staff in improving schools take the responsibility for teaching the basic reading and math skills while those in declining schools tend to displace this responsibility on the parents of the students themselves; (5) improving schools spend more time on the basic skills than do declining schools; (6) improving school principals seem to be more assertive, more of an instructional leader, more aggressive disciplinarians and more take charge while declining school principals tend to be more permissive and to emphasize informal and collegial relationships with teachers; (7) teachers in improving schools are generally less satisfied than teachers in declining schools; (8) there seems to be less overall parent involvement in the improving schools although improving schools have a higher level of parent initiated involvement; and (9) improving schools are not characterized by a high emphasis upon paraprofessional staff nor heavy involvement of regular teachers in the selection of students to be placed in compensatory education programs; the declining schools, on the other hand, seemed to have a greater number of different staff involved in reading instruction and more teacher involvement in identifying students who are to be placed in compensatory education programs.[46]

Edmonds' research[47] showed effective schools which shared a climate where all personnel had to be instructionally effective for all pupils. He urged a search for answers to these questions: "What is the origin of that climate for instructional responsibility? If it dissipates, what causes it to do so? If it remains, what keeps it functioning?" He remarked that the effective school is "anxious to avoid things that don't work and committed to implementing things that do." Edmonds posited that effective schools for the black and the poor had a climate of expectation where all children were permitted to learn: they were orderly without being rigid; quiet without being oppressive and conducive to learning. Essentially, effective schools had learning goals for all of the children they served and some means for asserting whether or not they had been achieved.

Edmonds ended his review on an interesting note. He said the following:

> . . . whether or not we will ever effectively teach the children of the poor is probably far more a matter of politics than of social science and that is as it

> should be. It seems to me therefore that what is left of this discussion are three declarative statements. We can whenever, and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. We already know more than we need in order to do this. Whether we do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we haven't so far.[48]

To be sure, the public school is a part of a vast political system where groups with vested interests war over scarce resources. These groups consist of parents, administrators, citizens and politicians, teachers and students. Often their cause-effect beliefs do not match and are irreconcilable.

Studies of teachers produce contradictory results also. Some studies reveal them as conservative, individualist and oriented toward the present.[49] They seem to believe that they are the essential catalysts for student achievement and "that teacher leadership stands at the center of this benign and desirable activity." They are "terribly uncertain about their ability to achieve their goal of education of every child."[50] This means, then, that teachers expect for some children not to learn and accept the possibility that they will not be able to deal with them. This characteristic militates against the need for high expectations for every child.

Other studies suggest that students shape teachers' present expectations and behaviors, work orientations and work performances. Brookover, et al.,displayed reciprocal exchanges and commitments occurring around instruction and learning between teacher and student from mutual expectations, and satisfactory performances toward each other.[51] These expectations and resulting actions form fixed teacher beliefs about student potential and performance, generate climate, standards and requirements. This challenges Lortie's conception of the singular, highly individualistic, strongly independent and autonomous teacher who is not influenced by the dialectic of her students' social and cultural characteristics and responses to them. Brookover, et al., argue that no such untouched teacher prevails since teachers react and are influenced by the students before them, by the shared values they hold with other teachers on school and students and by the school social system.[52] In upper class schools with low achievement, this is especially noticeable since teachers still act as if everyone is educable to the genius level and they create open systems for differential and accelerated performances. No one is written off. Yet, in poorly performing schools, groups are written off. Clearly, in Brookover,et al., teacher behavior remains anchored to the school's social system where it occurs and is strongly influenced by the social, cultural and structural characteristics of these discrete school settings. Lortie's universal claims grounded in strong isolation, individualism and increasing conservative independence would not be supported by the premises of Brookover, et al.

However, there may be an answer to this seeming contradiction. Teachers are affected as much by the structure of their organizations as by their students. Successful schools and programs seemed to be characterized by specific and clearly stated curricular goals.[53] When these are present the routines established to achieve them differ from those present in a school where this is not the case. Clearly, Brookover, et al., could be referring to the former condition while Lortie describes the latter.

Teachers do organize learning in different ways compatible with their work imperatives and idiographic needs unless deterred. They favor some children over others and discriminate in many ways as Lightfoot and Carew found.[54] They saw teachers who needed structure and symmetry in the organization of their work and so presented reading skills through grouping techniques for that reason.[55] They observed teachers who discriminated in favor of black students, giving them more time and attention in the form of more positive reinforcement and more positive responses to their requests.[56] They saw a teacher who was not much interested in reflecting on her own behaviors or attending to the motivations of others but who led an adult life very much influenced by her own childhood experiences.[57] The work of Lightfoot and Carew interfaced with that of Lortie in emphasizing the teacher's tendency to make decisions based on his/her own life experiences rather than on any body of knowledge or information.[58]

Likewise, Lightfoot and Carew saw random teacher behavior, preferences and selective biases which would not be supported by Brookover, et al. Brookover's premise predicts that something in these schools produced these consistent selective praises, rewards and punishments of students. Within a school, Rist,[59] and Leacock,[60] would suggest that these were elements of shared teacher secrets about students; these were passed on over grades. So the line on a student fixed how present and successive teachers treated him or her. Lortie, Lightfoot and Carew, then, are not entirely compatible with Brookover, Rist and Leacock. One interpretation of this incompatibility is the effect of the structure of the school on teacher behavior. In schools where teachers set the goals individually Lortie, Lightfoot and Carew may be correct. Where the goals are set in other ways, they may be incorrect.

Lortie claims in fact that basic teaching techniques have been extremely slow to change and the organization of teacher tasks has undergone limited modification since colonial times.[61] In his study the beliefs and preferences expressed by his subjects suggested individualistic teachers who wanted more elbow room to practice their craft, but for whom the state of the craft did not come under review.[62] He found also, that teachers prefer "class room tasks over organizational tasks and classroom claims over organizational initiation."[63] Under such conditions the possibility of the displacement of organizational goals by personal goals increased.

In Leiter's analysis of perceived teacher autonomy he observes that the level of competition among school actors over the choice of school goals or directions directly affected factors which explained teachers' perceptions of their autonomy.[64] In order to generate consensus around school goals, he suggested a high level of control and effective coordination. Coordination was necessary to eliminate individual behavior which proved counterproductive for collective ends and particularly important to counteract the tendency for teachers to pursue their own private goals. Two factors identified by Leiter as favoring this tendency were: (1) teachers' incomplete professional training and socialization which does not assure their dedication to a common set of goals or their subscription to a common set of operating procedures; and, (2) the schools' physical arrangement which supports private goal pursuit.[65]

These tendencies often prescribed a certain condition of communication between parents and teachers. Ogbu described the relationship between parents and teachers in his study as a patron-client arrangement where the teachers saw themselves as rendering a service by teaching the parents' children, thereby helping to raise the status of the children, and the teachers expected the parents to reciprocate by demonstrating, according to the teachers, criteria, gratitude, interest and cooperation. This patron-client relationship made meaningful communication difficult especially when the parents maintained that teachers' services were rewarded by salary, fringe benefits, and other retributions. Although they acknowledged the services of the teachers, they did not accept the teacher designated obligations.[66]

In his study, Ogbu saw teachers as the representatives of the dominant group in power and the parents as members of a powerless minority. In this unequal partnership the teachers defined parents and their participation in the teacher-parent interaction. The parent played the role of a client to escape being blamed for what he/she saw as the teacher's responsibility.[67] Ogbu concluded that subordinate minorities continue to have a high proportion of school failures because the factors that produced this form of adaptation still exist: (1) inequality of educational rewards still exists and subordinate minorities still regard their "struggle for equality" as a priority over hard work at school; (2) the folk and scientific definition of subordinate minorities as mentally inferior or culturally inferior to whites, both in school and occupational placement, remains an important element in American culture today; (3) and the schools have not changed their treatment of subordinate minorities because their actions are determined by the ideas and policies of the dominant group.[68]

As stated earlier Lortie tends to support Ogbu's claim in his description of continuity in teaching, and he is not optimistic about change. He says:

> We should learn more about the mechanisms school boards and administrators use in deflecting pressures they do not welcome. There are indications that large school systems sometimes use new approaches in showplace schools while resisting their widespread adoption. This tactic can "cool out" enthusiasts until their ardor has waned. Another device is to change the rhetoric of school practice while leaving the substance intact; some school systems proclaim commitment to "team teaching" when in fact they are merely taking public notice of voluntary patterns of cooperation which have existed among teachers for some time. Where resistance cannot be overcome, we can expect that research development efforts will falter as support is withdrawn. One might hypothesize that the movement toward change will have to be erratic, not linear. The forces of change and resistance will probably interact contrapuntally.[69]

Lortie confirms through his expectations the impact of the values of the larger social order on the social system of public schools.

In a later study, Ogbu develops a thesis to account for the effect of such values on the educational outcomes of black youth. He states that "lower school performance and lower educational attainment are functionally adaptive to minorities' ascribed inferior social and occupational positions in adult life."[70] As the study shows, "blacks do not occupy inferior social and occupational positions in American society because they lack the educational qualifications for desirable ones; rather, the exclusion of blacks from the more desirable social and occupational positions is because of their caste like status and is the major source of their academic retardation."[71]

His study shows how American society rewards blacks and whites with the same educational qualifications differentially, and names this differential reward system as the prime contributor to the difference between the two groups in their reading performance.[72] He attempts to show how public school systems reinforce inferior education for black and superior education for whites in many subtle ways: (1) the patron-client relationship which prevents a mutual understanding of children's academic problems and what to do about them, since in such an arrangement, the parents' views and ideas about the child are unimportant; (2) the system of teacher evaluations of children's classroom performances which prevents children from learning how their efforts are related to the reward system of marks and consequently inhibits their acquisition of good study or work habits; (3) the use of misclassification, testing and ability grouping; (4) biased textbooks and curriculum; (5) a clinical definition of black academic problems arising from school personnel's belief that the nature of black families and neighborhoods is responsible for the many black problems in school; and (6) a socialization mechanism which develops the personal qualities of dependence, compliance and manipulation in black students and those of independence, initiative, industriousness and individualistic competitiveness in whites.[73]

These characteristics of teachers in the public school system seem ominous for black students. Additionally, Ogbu's description of the system and the macroenvironment bids foreboding as well. Attempts at changing the macroenvironment through desegregation and decentralization have not been rewarding and certainly this is an indication that Lortie's assessment and Ogbu's diagnosis should be considered seriously in any research on this problem.

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Summary

The problem of the massive underachievement of black and poor children in the public schools of the United States and the amelioration of the conditions contributing to the maintenance of this condition motivated this research. Our review of the literature pointed out what was known and what we needed to know. From this review we decided that our purpose would be to identify black schools where the outcome had been high achievement in reading and mathematics as determined by scores on standardized achievement tests at or above the national and/or local norms in reading and mathematics as received by a majority of the students; to determine the organizational factors contributing to this outcome; and, to isolate any differences in these factors among these schools.

The literature led us to classify our schools as discriminatory effective schools which performed well because of their race and class compositions. In our attempt to understand these schools, we found that the history of the struggle for equal educational opportunity had created bias which culminated in the drive for desegregation and community control. However, frustrated by the failure of both pursuits, activists and educators became more interested in quality education in effective schools.

Research on effective schools focused on strong leadership but failed to speak to the routines and daily activities of the leader and staff. Studies pointed to the importance of individual buildings but did not explain how their operation made a difference. Goals, consensus, control and coordination as well as the characteristics of staff and principal were stressed in different works; however, much of the research called for more examination of the factors influencing the origin of the climate of instruction, the buildings where this climate occurred and the activities of the staff and principal.

In short, there was the need to: (1) secure more data on the activities and routines of the principals and teachers; (2) determine their goals, attitudes, expectations and characteristics; (3) explore their relationship with the parents, community and the central office administration; (4) characterize the climate of the school, the interaction patterns between teachers and principal, among teachers, teachers and students, and among students; (5) describe the discipline procedures, and instructional routines; and, (6) link all of these phenomena with outcomes (the elevation of achievement and the establishment of discipline).) Since we were concerned with outcomes, we sought a theoretical framework which would provide a lens for such a focus and a methodology which would permit accurate and detailed description.

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2. Thomas Sowell, Black Education: Myths and Tragedies (David McKay Co., 1972, pp. 283-286). See also Mary Gibson Hundley, The Dunbar Story: 1870-1955 (Vantage Press, 1965).

3. Arthur R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" Harvard Educational Review, 39, (Winter, 1969, pp. 1-123).

4. Frank Reissman, The Culturally Deprived Child (Harper & Row 1962). See also Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty (University of Chicago Press, 1968); Martin Deutsch, "Facilitating Development in the Preschool Child: Social and Psychological Perspectives," in The Disadvantaged Child: Studies of the Social Environment and the Learning Process, edited by Martin Deutsch and Associates (Basic Books, 1967), pp. 61-62). Cultural contacts center around the use of Black English, music, art and dress preferences.

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7. John U. Ogbu, *The Next Generation* (Academic Press, 1974). See also John U. Ogbu. "Learning in Burgherside: The Ethnography of Education," in *Anthropologists in Cities* edited by George M. Foster and Robert V. Kemper (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974, pp. 93-122); Sara Lawrence Lightfoot and Jean V. Carew, *Beyond Bias* (Harvard University Press, 1979).

8. Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Harvard University Press, 1938, p. 19).

9. Robert E. Klitgaard and George R. Hall, *A Statistical Search for Unusually Effective Schools* (Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, R-1210-CC/RC, March, 1973).

10. Ibid., p. iii.

11. Ibid., pp. vi and vii.

12. Ronald R. Edmonds and John R. Frederiksen, "Search For Effective Schools: The Identification and Analysis of City Schools That Are Instructionally Effective for Poor Children," (Unpublished paper: Office of Educational Evaluation, New York City Public Schools, n.d. and nollo locare, pp. 4,8-14, 16-18); See also Ronald R. Edmonds, "Testimony Before the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education," October 27, 1981, Washington, D.C.; Office of Educational Evaluation, New York City Public Schools; "1979 School Improvement Project Case Study Report" (Unpublished paper, n.d. nollo locare).

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14. John Frederiksen and Ron Edmonds, "Identification of Instructionally Effective and Ineffective Schools," (Unpublished paper, Harvard University, Center for Urban Studies, n.d. commonly cited as 1978).

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45. Edmonds, "Some Schools Work and More Can," pp. 28-29. See also State of New York, Office of Educational Performance Review, "School Factors Influencing Reading Achievement: A Case Study of Two Inner City Schools," March, 1974. See also Educational Leadership,(October, 1979, 37 (1), 24-28).

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Chapter II

The Conceptual Framework: A Guide to the Study

The cause-belief statements undergirding effective schools' research demanded a change in the unit of study from the individual student to the school. But, just what do principals, teachers, parents, students and interested community activists do in high achieving predominantly black schools? Since previous investigators pointed to this question as a guide for future research, our task was to describe the activities in which the actors engaged, and the relationships which they maintained with each other and other power groups, such as central office personnel and board members. What information did we need to give these descriptions? How would we go about getting this information? What paradigm would provide the conceptual framework necessary to complete this work?

The Purpose

In order to determine the organizational factors important to high achievement in the predominantly black school, the study had to describe and analyze this school from a cultural perspective making the work an ethnography. Ethnography is the task of describing a particular culture, according to Spradley and McCurdy.[1] Each school in this study is the general style of life for the culture exhibited by the actors in the environment. Some use culture to mean everything that has been produced and learned by a group of people. Wallace defines culture as the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.[2] Spradley and McCurdy use the term to mean the knowledge people use to generate and interpret social behavior. They see ethnography as not merely an objective description of people and their behavior from the observer's point of view (etic view) but a systematic attempt to discover the knowledge a group of people have learned and are using to organize their behavior (emic perspective).[3]

Wallace classifies the long-standing dispute among anthropologists over the merits of emic and etic views in ethnographic description as one over a behavioristic versus a cognitive definition of culture, describing behaviorists as those who explain behavior by reference to one or another model of directly observable stimulus-response-reinforcement sequences and the cognitive theorists as those who explain it in terms of a schemata stored in the brain as a result of learning and inferable from performance and verbal report.[4] Agar explains the cognitive approach further. For him the substance of ethnography includes the direct observations of behavior in its natural context.[5] The difference between the ethnographer and the group members is one of knowledge or cognition. The group members share some body of knowledge which interprets the environment. The ethnographer's task is to acquire new knowledge that enables him/her to understand the behavior of the group members. A description of that knowledge will be central in an ethnographic description of the group.[6]

One way to gather new knowledge about the meaning of a sign or form is to define the category (a set or any collection of discriminably distinct entities) labelled by the sign or form. This can be done by listing all the members. To specify the meaning of "student", one would have to list all the individual members. This procedure results in what logicians call an extensional definition. It can also be done by specifying a rule whereby one could judge whether or not something is a member of the category. This method of defining a category is called an intensional definition. To do this the ethnographer notices which properties or attributes are shared by all the members.[7]

Using these definitions and concepts, we probed the literature for a model which would provide the organizational ideas necessary for relating these different perspectives. The search for a conceptual framework started after the decision had been made to use the school as the unit of analysis and ethnography as the means for producing the information, leaning toward the cognitive approach and intensional definitions. The next step was to discover the model and to operationalize ethnography.

Organizational Theory

This task was not easy since the literature on organizational theory is unclear about the nature of organizations. Many criticisms had been made of the structural perspective of organizations and the failure of this conceptual framework to consider organizational processes, strategic choices and power relationships.[8] Yet, structure and goals seemed eminently important to the study of high achievement.[9] Both Metz [10] and Firestone and Herriott[11] stress goals and structure, the former noting incongruity between the two and the latter citing their variations in different schools. Firestone and Herriott found that elementary schools were more like rational bureaucracies than high schools which were more natural systems. This view of organization stems from the work of Weber [12] and defines a bureaucracy as a formally organized social structure with clearly defined patterns of activities in which every series of actions is functionally related to the goals of the organization. Wolcott mitigated the argument in this way:

> I find it genuinely useful to think about the utility and need for bureaucracies as an administrative form of social organization in complex societies, in contrast to the constant but ritual din made by those who channel their energies toward pointless plotting about how to overthrow or eliminate them. Such administrative structures are prerequisite to organizing human activities in complex urban settings where the absence of interpersonal commitments precludes other modes of social organization-kinship structures or local groups-from serving as viable alternatives. Our efforts should be directed at keeping our bureaucracies effective rather than merely lamenting our dependence on them or arguing that they are incapable of being improved.[13]

Thompson provides some concepts to understand the contingency structural model which attempts this improvement. He views the organization in terms of technology, domain, structure and task environment; its chief problem is dealing with uncertainty by the utilization of norms of rationality.[14] For him instrumental action is derived from man's expected outcomes and his beliefs about cause and effect relationships. Technology or technical rationality is the means to the production of these outcomes by actions based on his beliefs. On the other hand, organizational rationality is the combination of technological activities plus inputs and outputs. Organizational rationality must face constraints, contingencies and variables in the total environment in which it is located.

Thompson defines the domain of an organization as the technology included, the population served and the services rendered. The segmentation, departmentalization or internal differentiation and the patterning of relationships are what he calls structure. The task environment includes those "parts" of the environment which are relevant or potentially relevant to goal setting and goal attainment.[15] Organizations seek to manage any dependency determined by the domain through the minimization of the power that elements of the task force environment hold over them. Organizations must also deal with their problems of interdependence. Thompson claims that organizations seek to acquire power over dependencies through cooptation, cooperation and contracting while interdependency is managed through coordination and hierarchy.[16] When, however, parts of the organization are interdependent with organizations not subordinated to it, structures are created to adjust or adapt to these uncontrolled constraints and contingencies or "exogenous variables."[17] Thompson calls these structures boundary spanning components.[18]

But, critics say that both the rational bureaucracy and structural contingency models are "in fact a rational model of administrative behavior."[19] They argue that organizations are often irrational because people are irrational; consequently, they do not always follow means which lead to the goals which they profess. Zey-Ferrell says about these people:

> ...they have incomplete information; they have an incomplete list of alternatives; and they do not always know the relationships between organizational means and ends. Planning is difficult and often impossible because of unexpected and uncertain events internal and external to the organizations.[20]

Zey-Ferrell's observations are heightened by Simon's organizational theory which develops the concept of "bounded rationality."[21]

Simon posits that mankind can never know all of the alternatives available for problem-solving since an infinite set of knowledge is never existent; therefore, the ability to generate alternatives and process information is always limited. He calls this condition "bounded rationality." Consequently, only simplified models which examine the principal factors of a problem are useful.[22] In an attempt to apply Simon's thinking, Cyert and March try to understand organizational decision as choice made in terms of goals on the basis of expectation. Their conceptual framework is based on three categories: (1) organizational goals; (2) organizational expectations; and (3) organizational choice. At the core of this theory are four concepts that relate variables affecting the three major categories: (1) quasi-resolution of conflict wherein conflicts among goals are resolved by sequential attention to goals; (2) uncertainty avoidance whereby organizations solve pressing problems rather than develop long-run strategies by using decision rules that emphasize shortrun feedback by negotiating with the environment, and by imposing plans, standard operating procedures, industry traditions and uncertainty absorbing contracts; (3) problemistic search by using acceptable level goals and selecting the first alternative they meet that satisfies these goals; and (4) organizational learning whereby organizations change adaptively as the result of experience.[23]

This reification of common goals evokes one of the major criticisms of the dominant comparative structural and structural contingency approaches to organizations made by Zey-Ferrell who points out that people and not organizations have motivations and goals and that organizational goals are the means some members use to control and manipulate others to attain personal or group goals. Her other criticisms center around: (1) the static nature of organizations in present theory, disregarding the dynamic nature of human behavior and the importance of processes; (2) a general de-emphasis of power; (3) the characterizations of humans as non-volitional; and (4) the assumption of value and goal consensus.[24]

In recognition of these criticisms Firestone and Herriott suggest other alternatives for categorizing organizations. They discuss the "loosely coupled systems" view in which goals have a limited importance for guiding internal activity, and their value is merely symbolic. The loosely coupled view stressed the autonomy of the individual actor in the system and the absence of centralized control of behavior, especially with regard to instruction.[25] In this concept the word "coupling" infers connection, link or interdependence. Loose coupling picks up nuances which prove more explanatory. Weick discusses it this way:

> ...loose coupling...(conveys) the image that coupled events are responsive, but that each event also preserves its own identity and some evidence of its physical or logical separateness. Thus, in the case of an educational organization, it may be the case that the counselor's office is loosely coupled to the principle's office. The image is that the principal and

> the counselor are somehow attached, but that each retains some identity and separateness and that their attachment may be circumscribed, infrequent, weak in its mutual affects, unimportant and/or slow to respond.
>
> ...Loose coupling also carries connotations of impermanence, dissolvability, and tacitness, all of which are potentially crucial properties of the "glue" that holds organizations together.[26]

Additionally, Weick proposes that:

> ...The rule of thumb would be that a tight coupling in one part of the system can occur only if there is loose coupling in another part of the system...[27]

In this study, the two higher achieving of the three schools manifested loose coupling between their principals and the Superintendent. His goals appeared to have limited importance for guiding the activity which occurred in these schools and their value appeared to be symbolic. The principals seemed to have partial autonomy as individual actors especially with regard to instruction. Yet, these principals had to compete with the group interests of their teachers and parents among whom they had to develop a consensus. The outcome was a tight coupling between the principal and the teachers and the principal and the community. In one school there existed a divided community, one part tightly coupled with the principal and the other loosely coupled, the former serving as a buffer between the two.

Firestone and Herriott presented still another emerging view to explain this phenomenon. This was the "political systems" view which substitutes individual and group interests for overall organizational goals. They suggest that the political systems view reveals sources of formal control which must compete with informal influence resulting from individual skills and task-based dependencies. The result is not so much one of individual autonomy as of constant negotiation which occasionally breaks into open conflict when competing interests can not be reconciled.[28] In this study, the principal was the primary negotiator for the school. In fact, in all approaches to organizations, some aspect of authority is discussed.

Authority, Autonomy and Informal Structure

As noted by Metz in Chapter I, the formal authority of the school principal which has its source in the legal contract is limited by other union contracts negotiated by the Board of Education. While this formal authority, is important for operating the organization, it is not sufficient for attaining efficiency. It promotes compliance with directives and discipline, but does not encourage employees to exert effort, accept responsibilities or to exercise initiative.[29] Wolcott sees the principal as a manager. He says:

> A manager may also be a leader, but it is not necessary that he be one...In addition to the prerequisites for selection, the constraints on the position are too many, the opportunities too few, to make it sufficiently attractive to recruit and retain many truly dynamic leaders. Yet, there is no question that some principals exhibit more capacity for leadership in the job than others. They create a sense of purpose among a majority of those with whom they interact. They seem able to capitalize on the potential of the institution while others are rendered helpless by its limitations.[30]

In this study, the leadership qualities of the principal were important.

According to Blau and Scott, executive leadership includes the following strategies: (1) dominance by using formal sanctions and/or threats; (2) obligation to the authority by furnishing services to the subordinates; (3) observation of subordinate behavior and the restricted enforcement of rules. They argue that authority can be defined as the exercise of control that rests on the willing compliance of subordinates with the directives of their superior. They say that formal authority is legitimated by values that have become institutionalized in legal contracts and cultural ideologies; and the social constraints that demand compliance pervade the society. Informal authority is legitimated by the common values that emerge in a group, particularly by the loyalty the superior commands among group members, and group norms and sanctions enforce compliance.[31]

Superiors who command loyalty of a group are liked, accepted, respected and have more control than others. Group members have greater confidence in their authority to issue directives. Since the ultimate criterion of effective supervisory authority is the performance of subordinates, Blau and Scott's interpretation also implies that superiors who command loyalty will have more productive groups than those who do not.[32] They posit that the public schools is a service organization which provides professional services to students whose welfare is presumed to be their chief concern. The client, however, does not always know what kind of service is best for him or her. His/her protection, then, is the institutionalization of the profession. Blau and Scott acknowledge that failure to serve the welfare of clients is probably a more serious violation than the subservience of the professional who would maintain independence of judgment, not permitting the client's wishes as distinguished from his/her best interests from influencing the service.[33]

Professionalism has several characteristics as explicated by Blau and Scott: (1) adherence to objective criteria based upon a body of specialized knowledge; (2) a specificity of expertise and qualification in a strictly limited area; (3) an affective neutrality which forbids an emotional involvement with the client; (4) performance in accordance with principles established by a colleague group; and, (5) decisions divorced from the practitioner's self-interest. Professionals organize themselves into voluntary associations in order to maintain these characteristics, self-control and monitoring capabilities.[34] Contrarily, the source of discipline within the school is not the colleague group but the hierarchy of authority.

> ...Performance is controlled by the directive received from one's superiors rather than by self imposed standards and peer group surveillance as is the case among professionals.[35]

One of the central conflicts in the dilemma between order and freedom is that between disciplined compliance with administrative procedures and adherence to professional standards in the performance of duties. Coalitions form around these issues. Two others are the strain between coordination and communication and the tension created by goals in managerial planning versus individual initiative. In the first case, unrestricted communication creates a controversy over many ideas which aid in the production of several alternatives but makes it difficult to agree on one. On the other hand, coordination requires agreement on one master-plan. Hierarchical differentiation is dysfunctional for decision-making because it interferes with the free flow of ideas but improves performance when the task is one of coordination.[36] Consequently, a free flow of communication is necessary for problem-solving but restricted communication is imperative for coordination. Yet the organization must do both. In the second case, that between managerial planning and individual initiative, employees must "temper their adherence to formal rules by a judicious exercise of independent judgment and that they fit their initiative into the framework of the formal regulation."[37] Blau and Scott argue that managerial planning of the production process and a professionalized labor force that can exercise initiative and is motivated to do so by opportunities for advancement would sharply reduce the need for hierarchical supervision and control through directives passed down the pyramid of authority.[38]

The use of authority and the consequences of these dilemmas create informal interpersonal processes which also influence decision-making and problem solving. Uniformities in the behavior of a group which do not follow the formal organization's blueprints and informal relations among members which give rise to organized patterns of conduct is an informal organization. Although there may be cliques and conflict between them, there are usually social bonds which unite the entire group and make possible the enforcement of common norms.[39]

Group cohesion furthers operations; provides social support for workers; and neturalizes the disturbing effects of conflicts with clients.[40] Cohesiveness increases the controlling power of the group over its members, but the direction in which this control is exercised is determined by the group's orientation to the organization.[41] If the members of a highly cohesive group felt secure in their relations to the company, productivity tended to be high, but if they did not it tended to be low.[42] Group solidarity is a broader concept than cohesion encompassing not only the uniting bonds of group membership but also the collective strength derived from this unity illustrated by examples of cooperative activities, collective actions of various kinds and the accomplishment of common goals.[43]

Some research indicates that emotional detachment, consistency and hierarchical independence seem to be the supervisory characteristics most closely related to the ability to command the loyalty of subordinates. Authoritarian practices seem to have no bearing on loyalty but adversely affect work satisfaction, the willingness to assume responsibility and the tendency to extend service to clients.[44] The attributes which exert the most influence on group solidarity are hierarchical independence and consistency. Work group solidarity develops most readily in groups that are somewhat protected against adverse influences of the environment and supervisors who feel free to differ from their superiors are most likely to furnish such protection than others.[45]

This review of the organizational theory and central concepts of formal and informal structures led us to a model which provides the framework for this study. We wanted a model which would permit the study of the structure both formal,informal and loosely coupled, goals, processes and contingencies as well as the actors in a school using it as the unit of analysis considering high achievement in reading and mathematics as the outcome.

The Organizational Process Model

Our search ended with the Organizational Process Model (OPM) as explained in Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis by Graham T. Allison.[46] In this study the OPM is one of three models used by the author to explain the event under study. The OPM is used to discern the behaviors the organizational components exhibit in the implementation process in terms of outputs delivered in standard patterns or ways. This model permitted us to uncover the organizational routines and repertoires which produced the output of high achievement and to explain this puzzling occurrence. Its organizing concepts are:(1) the actors, their factored problems and fractionated power, their parochial priorities and perceptions, and their collective action characterized by the goals and their constraints on acceptable performance; (2) sequential attention to these goals; (3) standard operating procedures grounded in the incentive structure of the organization or even in the norms of the organization or the basic attitudes and operating style of its members; (4) the programs and repertoires which become more complex with larger numbers of individuals; (5) uncertainty avoidance; and (6) problem-directed search. Moreover, the model related the concepts of coordination and control to the need for decentralization of responsibility and power and decisions of government leaders.

In the OPM the menu of alternatives is limited in both number and character. General propositions underscore: (1) organizational implementation and the study of standard operating procedures, programs, repertoires, routines and regularities taken for granted; (2) organizational options such as alternatives built into existing organizational goals; those requiring coordination of several components of the organization, and those in areas between organizations; (3) the limited inflexibility and incremental change with a focus on organizational budgets, priorities, perceptions, issues, procedures, practices, activities, programs and routines; (4) long-range planning; (5) goals and tradeoffs with tradeoffs being hard choices between competing goals and incompatible constraints; (6) administrative feasibility considering the problems of coordination, deviance from established custom, solutions contrary to organizational goals and incomplete and/or distorted information; and (7) directed change or careful targeting of major factors which can be changed over time as in personnel, rewards, information and budgets.[47]

In our view OPM tried to deal with the criticisms of structural and structural contingency models and offered an opportunity to focus on the actors in the organization. The range of choices open to government leaders, the constraints on acceptable performance and the effects of the alternative on the structure of the different organizational components of the public schools and other agencies received close scrutiny. Standard operating procedures, rules and regulations, programs and repertoires which define desirable behavior must be enforced to coordinate the acts of hundreds of individuals. This coalition of participants, with different goals and interests and limited capacity to generate alternatives, to process information and to solve problems, bargain among themselves to produce agreement on organizational responses to Board policy.[48]

Generally speaking the output of the organization known as the Centre City School System (CCSS) has been low achievement in majority black and poor schools. The majority of the children in these schools function below the national and city norms in reading and mathematics as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT) given in each grade in October and May of each school year. Therefore, the high achieving majority black schools are anomalies, exceptions to this output. Since outputs structure situations, provide information and raise the problems, most organizational behavior is determined by previous organizational behavior and existing routines constitute the range of effective choice.[49]

Low achieving majority black schools continue to remain thus because the routines remain the same. Allison says:

> ...If a nation performs an action of a certain type today, its organizational components must yesterday have been performing (or have had established routines for performing) an action only marginally different from today's action.[50]

Conversely, high achieving schools continue because they have altered the routines prevalent in the system and substituted others for them. So at any time the best explanation of an organization's behavior at a certain time (t) is t-1; the best prediction of what will happen is t+1.[51] With OPM we hoped to describe the routines at t-1 in order to replicate them at other schools where low achievement is the norm.

The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis

Having found the model we intended to use, we were left with one last task, to understand how to operationalize ethnography. The basis of ethnography is observation and description. Non-participant observation is the primary technique used in this study. Our intent was to use the steps in Glaser and Strauss' intensive field study approach called the Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis (CCMQA).[52] However, this was supplemented with documents, materials, records and reports. We studied the structure of the school: its roles, informal and formal organization, standard operating procedures, routines, repertoires and patterns of actions, programs and priorities. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers and principals and a questionnaire was administered to parents. In addition, the goals stated by the principals in their questionnaires were codified into categories. Using Firestone and Herriott's matrix on goal selection, priority and consensus, an instrument was developed to determine the degree and kind of agreement existing around the teachers' goal choices and priorities and those of the principals.

CCMQA calls for four stages: (1) comparing incidents applicable to each category; (2) integrating categories and their properties; (3) delimiting the theory; and (4) writing the theory. Coding commences during the data collection. Each incident in the data must be coded into a category. As the data are collected, new categories will emerge or the data will fit into an existing category. Several problems were encountered in our attempt to use CCMQA. The data had to be collected by June 13, 1980 because of the desgregation implementation, and the National Institute of Education (NIE) did not fund the project in time to commence in September, 1979. These two events did not give sufficient time to code the data as they were collected as specified in the study approach. Also, there was insufficient time for the researchers to discuss the conflict which emerged in thinking through the meaning of the codes and categories which were considered by each in the process of the observations. However, these problems were discussed with the consultant anthropologist who recommended that we use steps #1 and #2 and write an ethnography of the events using these detailed descriptive data to attempt #3 and #4.

The Centre City School System had 21 schools, 70 percent black or more from 1976-1979 and 22 during the 1979-1980 school year. These schools were ranked by determining how many times the school was at grade level in reading and mathematics during the five year period commencing with the 1975-1976 school year. There are five testing checkpoints in a K-5 school, six in a K-6 school, seven in a K-7 school and eight in a K-8 school, one for each grade in reading and one for each grade in mathematics. Any K-5 school which is at grade level in reading and mathematics in every grade would have a perfect score of 10 for each school year and 50 for the five year period. We selected three schools, Schools A, B and C, all of which were 90 percent or more black and 51 percent or more poor. The highest ranking school was School C with 46 points. School A had 31 points and School B had 23 points. Two other schools had higher rankings than School B. One was excluded because it was only 75 percent black and another was excluded because of its recent emergence into this top group and our uncertainty about the stability of its performance. See Table 1. When the principals of these three schools were approached, two were enthusiastic about their participation and the third was reluctant. The latter felt that we would create community and/or central office intervention in the affairs of the school thereby disturbing its serenity, solidarity, and success. The two enthusiasts thought the study would bring long overdue recognition and acclaim.

Each principal was observed in his/her office for two school weeks (10 days). Each classroom teacher in each school was observed five days (Monday through Friday) from December 1, 1979 through June 13, 1980. Each teacher was administered one questionnaire and one goals' inventory. A questionnaire was distributed to each parent in the three schools the last week of school during June, 1980 but the return was good in only one school, School A. Since School A was the only study school which was radically changed by the desegregation plan implemented in September, 1980, the successful return for that school was fortunate. It became 54 percent black in September, 1980. However, since neither the parent returns from School B or C were useful, random samples of 1979-1980 students were called to gather information about School C during June and July, 1980. No data from parents were collected for School B.

Table 1

Centre City Public Schools
Rankings Of Elementary Schools 70 Percent Black Or More In
Achievement On The MAT From 1976-1980

Name	Ranking
1. School C	46
2.	41
3. School A	31
4.	28
5. School B	23
6.	17
	17
7.	16
8.	15
	15
9.	13
	13
10.	12
11.	10
	10
	10
12.	9
13.	8
14.	7
15.	6
16.	3

The highest possible rank would be 50 since there are 10 testing checkpoints (grades) each year.

The numbers indicate the grades at the city or national norm during the years indicated.

During July, August and September, 1980 each researcher read the observations from the three schools and formulated questions to be included in the principals' questionnaire which was administered in November and December, 1980.

In comparing incidents, categories emerged around the formal and informal structures. They were random behavior, routines, scenarios and processes. A routine is a series of repetitive activities which are related to a goal such as high achievement in reading. A scenario is a series of routines. A process is a series of scenarios. Random behavior occurs sporadically or only once. We attempted to determine which were functional (achieved the goal) and which were dysfunctional (failed to achieve the goal). Attempts were also made to identify roles and responsibilities in these routines, scenarios, processes and random behavior. From the principals' interviews certain intensional definitions emerged from these categories describing properties and attributes shared by the group members around achievement, administration and supervision, parental and community involvement, teaching and teacher autonomy and discipline. To identify these properties and attributes, teacher consensus was studied in two different ways.

First, a Professional Staff Questionnaire (PSQ) was administered to teachers in the study schools to determine the goals of the school (their priority) and the practices which implemented these goals. The PSQ was composed of 310 statements taken from the Principals' Interview responses about school goals. These 310 goal statements were categorized into five scales: (1) Achievement, (2) Administration and Supervision, (3) Discipline, (4) Teaching and Teacher Autonomy and (5) Parent and Community Relations. These were further coded into subscales. The teacher respondent was asked to agree or disagree with a statement and to indicate the intensity with which he or she felt this agreement or not. There was a large number of no responses on the intensity scales on many items; therefore, these data were not used. The data which are reported are indications of teacher agreement or disagreement with the 310 statements of the five scales which appear in the instrument. If the statement reflected the respondent's opinion about actual practice or the state of affairs in his/her own school, he/she marked agreement. If it did not, he/she marked disagreement.

In School A, 21 of 26 teachers responded. In School B, 18 of 18 teachers participated; and in School C, 16 of the 18 teachers answered the questionnaire. Each participant did not respond to every statement, however; therefore, in some instances the number of responses does not agree with the number of respondents (N). Reported percentages represent the relative frequency or the percentage of the number of respondents (N) who responded in one direction, agreement or disagreement, except in Table 2 where the reported percentages represent the percentage of the number of scale items which received a level of consensus between 60 percent and 100 percent. Low consensus was set at 60 to 69 percent. Middle consensus was set at 70 to 89 percent; and high consensus was between 90 and 100 percent. Consensus is used to indicate unanimity of opinion in either direction, agreement or disagreement. It is an index of the harmony or concord among the faculty. Whenever percentages are given and no direction is indicated, agreement is the direction. When the direction is disagreement, it will always be stated.

As expected, the highest level of consensus occurred in all three schools on the Achievement Scale. The investigators predicted that achievement goals would have the highest priority in the high achieving schools. Also predicted was the ranking of the schools. School C was expected to show higher consensus than School A which was expected to show higher than School B. This did occur. However, School A was predicted to have a higher consensus around Parental and Community Relations than School C which was expected to have a higher consensus than School B. This did not occur; and, School B was predicted to have a higher level of consensus around Teaching and Teacher Autonomy than School A which was expected to rank higher than School C. This did not occur either. Nor did the prediction that the ranking for all schools would be: (1) Achievement; (2) Discipline; and (3) Administration and Supervision. This occurred only for School A.

The investigators predicted that Discipline would be the second most important goal for the teachers in the study school. In examining the results of this questionnaire, we had to consider that the level of consensus among the teachers in School C on this scale was nearly the same as the level of teachers at School A on the same scale although the ranking is different. Consensus percentages on the last three scales for School C approximate the percentages of the first two scales for School A. School B is the different school in this comparison.

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Table 2

Percentage Of Scale Items Reflecting Teacher Consensus On The Five Scales Of The Professional Staff Questionnaire For Schools A, B, And C

Ranking of Scales from High to Low Consensus by School:

School A		School B		School C	
Scale	Percent	Scale	Percent	Scale	Percent
ACH	75	ACH	66	ACH	89
DIS	71	TTA	59	TTA	83
AS	66	PCR	58	PCR	72
TTA	59	DIS	55	AS	72
PCR	52	AS	36	DIS	70

ACH = Achievement
AS = Administration and Supervision
DIS = Discipline
PCR = Parent and Community Relations
TTA = Teaching and Teacher Antonomy

The second study involved doing a cluster analysis of the responses to the PSQ by school and in aggregate. This involved measuring the distance between the responses of the individuals to determine association. Clustering ordinarily refers to homogeneous groups within a sample or population. For this discussion, cluster analysis examined types and compositions of groups at various levels of homogeneity. Every school is discussed in two separate topics. The first topic is tightest grouping. The second involved the largest reasonable inclusion of various factions into the largest and best representative single grouping, if that is possible, at some firm level of similarity. Tightest grouping, then, represented well defined factions whose orientations reflected strong agreements over the five proposed goals before them. The largest inclusive grouping negotiated consensus among tighter subgroups assembling the truest representative fulcrum of opinion of the optimum possible coalition.

Each school's clustering pattern will receive separate discussion in the ethnographies which follow. The final discussion of the cluster of all three schools reflected their independent pattern from prior arrays and will be presented in the final chapters. Generally, the clustering procedures and decision rules for significance heeded the cautions of the best discussions of the state of the art[53] as well as classical classification considerations.[54]

Reliability studies were conducted on the PSQ also to see how many times the respondents would say the same things consistently to anyone. The SPSS supplementary package on testing reliability within a scale was used. Mathematically, the SPSS procedures, by repeated sampling within a scale, checked consistency between and within respondents. This method, by mechanically repeating the optimum sampling possible from the members of a scale, duplicated traditional expectations from pre and post testing around the true error margin among the respondents. Reliability, in turn, was defined by: 1-sampling error per scale.

Overall, the survey gave decent reliability coefficients, i.e. they were sufficiently high to suggest clearly that our answers were not those of a one-time survey administration. See Table 3 for the standardized reliability coefficients for all scales across all three schools. Ordinarily, our respondents would give us the same answers again. In no less than seven out of every ten repeated surveys, our respondents would parallel the answers they rendered on our specific administration.

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Table 3

Standardized Reliability Coefficients for All Scales Across All Three Schools

Scale	Minimum #	Maximum #	Mean
Parent/ Community Relations (PCR)	.725	.779	.752
Teaching/ Teacher Relations (TTA)	.589	.816	.702
Administration/ Supervision (AS)	.628	.763	.696
Achievement (Ach)	.683	.750	.716
Discipline (DISC)	.678	.810	.744
Grand Mean	.66±.04	.78±.03	.72±.06

α =.05

This is also commonly called a standardized Cronbach's alpha coefficient. Cronbach's alpha estimates the maximum likelihood of a reliability coefficient, if responses are normally distributed. Dividing responses in a scale by the standard deviation generates the standardized alpha coefficient. This check is to see if these results could be duplicated again in the population or in a similar population. Minimum and maximum standardized reliability coefficients represent the best estimate from subscales in a scale. Since individual subscales vary in their reliability--minimum and maximum estimates attempt to gauge over-all replication prospects at rock bottom or the best tops. For a fuller discussion, see SPSS Supplement, (1981), "Sub-Program Reliability and Repeated Measurements Analysis of Variance."

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Table 4

Standardized Reliability Coefficient On Each Scale For Each School

Scale	Schools A	B	C
PCR	.860*	.769	.585**
TTA	.844*	.708	.329**
AS	.761	.768	.778*
Ach	.733	.765*	.720
Disc.	.708	.682	.757

** Very lax.

* Given the average across all schools, the school suggests a meaningfully higher reliability coefficient for the score.

Consequently, we can confidently suggest that in most instances our respondents gave their true opinions and feelings; these were adquately stable for most respondents. These responses could not be assigned only to a single survey administration. The worst scenario, complete dismissal of the survey for large unreliability, did not prevail. Instead, the generally firm chances for reproducing the results we received suggests that across all three schools, respondents would act no differently in most repeated surveys with the PSQ. That moderate firmness, especially from a setting conducting close face-to-face interactions during an ethnographic inquiry, was good enough.

Nevertheless, not all schools answered each goal the same way. Table 4 shows this. School C differed from Schools A and B. It had two very low reliability coefficients for two goals. No other school had this. On parent/community involvement and teaching/teacher autonomy, answers from School C point to a one-time answer. On these two items, Schools B and A gave stronger answers which could be reasonably expected again. On these two items, their reliability coefficients met or exceeded the survey's norms. Moreover, striking answers also surfaced. School A, when compared against all other schools, gave strong answers on parent/community involvement and teaching/teacher autonomy. School C had better responses on administration and supervision than any other school. School B's achievement answers were firmest among all three schools. On these specific items, individual schools answered firmer and surer than others.

Especially for Schools A and B, the PSQ results could be expected again on all five goals scales. For School C, on only three scales, we could expect the same answers. On the three overlapping scales of high likely stability and reproduction, achievement, discipline and administration/supervision, the heart of the ethnography was conducted. Not surprisingly, the two items on which School C produced weak results were the two which received high consensus where it was not predicted in the teacher agreement area. This weak reliability coefficient could be expected since we feel the answers given by teachers of School C were adversely affected by publicity. Our etic observations and basis for this survey construction received sustained support by the survey's reliability coefficient patterns per scale.

Previous research pointed toward the principal's leadership as the most important dependent variable in the production of high standardized test scores in reading and mathematics. In this study, therefore, the goals, routines, scenarios and processes chosen by the principal were carefully examined. Principals in this study sought as great control over variables affecting the achievement of their goals as possible. Some variables were: (1) the kind of teachers sent to their schools; (2) the performance of these teachers; (3) the control over the students; (4) the performance of these students; (5) the kind and amount of materials available for instruction; (6) the support of central office; and (7) the support of the parents and the community. Within the framework of the effects of their choices on the other school actors, a focus is maintained on the functionality and dysfunctionality using goal achievement as the criterion. Many of the observations in this study are related to tensions between authority and professionalism or the struggle of school actors for order and freedom. The underlying issue in this controversy is the principal's use of and response to authority in attaining and maintaining high achievement in predominantly black majority poor elementary schools. While these study school principals must resist central office routines which result in low achievement in other predominantly black majority poor elementary schools, similar resistance to new routines by their teachers, students and parents must also be overcome.

Limitations of The Study

Besides the late entry point, starting in November instead of September 1979, which has already been discussed, respondents and participants were often anxious about our observations and the purpose of the study. Teachers, especially, felt that we were evaluating their performances. New teachers were uncomfortable with our presence in their classrooms, since the schools were perceived as high achieving by us.

Beginning in November, 1979 before the grant was approved, the Principal Investigator and the Assistant Investigator met with the principals and faculties of the three schools to discuss the goals of the study in a nonthreatening way to assure staff and principals that the inquiry was being conducted to improve the quality of instruction for all children in the CCSS and not to evaluate anyone's performance. Despite these meetings teachers continued to feel that they were being evaluated. This feeling was manifested in many ways. One teacher asked an investigator to read her notes. Another requested that she not be observed by the male researcher because she was in the last stages of pregnancy. Another felt that she should not be observed because she had not been at the school as long as some others. One felt that she was not having a good week and that the observations were not really going to reflect her true situation. Yet another felt that our very presence in the classroom changed the climate and affected the behavior of the children so that a true picture of her class and the instruction was not possible. Still another time the principal requested that a substitute be omitted when the regular teacher was out on leave. Moreover, teachers scheduled for late observations in May and June, 1980 seemed to be "ready" for observations and did not make as many "mistakes" as those formerly observed. In other words, teachers visited in May were not yelling as much at the children, placing them in the hall or following procedures which they felt the researchers would classify as unacceptable.

In February, 1981 *The Daily Post* became interested in the study and published an article on March 16, 1981 prior to the administration of the teacher instrument for goal consensus. Teachers at the study schools were upset because the *Post* emphasized the leadership of the principals instead of their work in the classrooms. Many of them expressed their concern when we came to administer the goal consensus inventory. Although we assured them that we could not control the interpretation of the *Post*, nor what it printed about the study, many remained unassured.

The Principal Investigator is a former Superintendent of Schools and her presence often elicited anxiety, particularly in the school where she was also a parent and where her husband is the School Board Director representing that school, School B. In order to offset that disadvantage, she did no classroom observations in that school and the Assistant Investigator was responsible for the analysis of School B's data.

During the study year all three schools experienced absent teachers on leave. School A had three teachers out on maternity leave. School C had two out, and School B had several changes. By all prior accounts the turnover of so many faculty members in School B had not happened before. This turnover left the school with only six out of nine full time teachers who had regular faculty standing in prior years. Of these six, two fell ill. Among special subject teachers the loss of the Reading Achievement Center (RAC) teachers provided two different remedial reading treatments, one by an experienced veteran and one by an entry level novice. The placement of three new teachers at mid-year was in the lower first, second and third grades. Therefore, students needing the most help received the most inexperienced teachers.

The School B faculty was in transition. In the critical reading area, where the school performed worst, remedial instruction became uncertain. The new teacher entrants conducted a third of the basic instruction and were assigned to sixty percent of the low achieving classes. Thus, observations of School B may be more representative of an exceptional year in the history of the school.

Many experimental situations were in operation at School B during the study year. Extensive cross-subject specializations were used. The traditional self contained classroom of the school was substantially changed for the intermediate group and one third grade. Other interventions also blocked existing patterns. During the study year the school district imposed a new nutritional unit, required mini-testing preparations with extensive record keeping and asked for a new project, Project '81, on competency based education. There was also a Title IV consumer education program at School C.

A Teacher Corps project was conducting classroom observations and holding in-service training sessions at School B. These new dimensions reinforced the idea of one big "lab" school if the Scholars' Program, the CCSS program for gifted students, is added. The NIE observation team was hardly welcome in this climate among teachers who resented their "guinea pig" status. A School B teacher noted her students became wise to observers and put on a show for them. The NIE study became part of the existing fabric of "another project in the school."

Summary

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the high achieving predominantly black and poor elementary school from a cultural perspective. The conceptual framework guiding this study is the OPM which considers the organizational outcome as the unit of study. This outcome, high achievement, is an anomaly in majority black poor schools. OPM leads us to expect that this outcome is due to certain expectations producing goal choices and sequential treatment of these goals implemented through routines, scenarios and processes or standard operating procedures. Ethnography is the means used to describe the activities, actions and behavior of the actors in this culture, the elementary school, which is the unit of analysis. The CCMQA is used to facilitate writing the ethnography. The data produced reflect the factors forcing the outcome, high achievement. Some of the various concepts which proved useful in explaining these factors are: structure, goals, bounded rationality, boundary spanning components, authority, autonomy, professionalism, coordination, planning, loose coupling and informal organizational arrangements. In spite of certain limitations of starting time, school differences, respondent anxiety and environmental interventions, we believe this study makes an important contribution toward showing accurately what people do in schools where black poor children are learning.

Most important, the emphasis on actor behavior in routines, scenarios and processes which can be replicated diminishes the argument that the anomaly is due to the presence of an irreplaceable charismatic leader, and, therefore, can not be duplicated. The importance of leadership is not ignored, however. The principal's problem of resisting school routines which produce low achievement simultaneously with overcoming similar resistance to the new routines by his/her staff, parents and students by building consensus is the primary focus of this study, beginning with Chapter III which describes Centre City and the Centre City School System. Within this context, the school system's formal and informal structures are shown establishing the basis for the dilemma. Following this description are the three separate school ethnographies. The study, then, turns to an analysis of the organizational factors contributing most to high achievement in the study schools and ends with the investigators' interpretations and explanations of those factors.

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Chapter III

Centre City School System (CCSS): The School Communities, The Structure and Arrangements

Centre City is the county seat and is in the heart of the Middle Atlantic States, 250 miles from the nation's capitol. It is a site for heavy industry. It houses many offices of large corporations, 16 among the top 500 largest. It is governed by a Mayor and a nine member city council elected at large under the provisions of the home rule charter which became effective January 1, 1976. Until that time the 15 City Board of Public Education Directors were appointed by the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. But after 1976 the nine school board directors were elected from districts. The CCSS is the top employer in the city followed by one of the heavy industries and the local municipal government.

Centre City is one of the top thirty largest cities in the United States according to the 1980 Census. It stands majestically as a testimonial to technology and the creativity of man. Forged from mountains which are connected by a series of bridges, it bustles with vigor and pride. Yet, Centre City has lost population since the 1950 Census. See Table 5. The black population rose between the 1960 and 1970 Census but fell again in 1980. Blacks make up 24 percent of the total city population. Centre City is the home of many nationalities among whom a determined pioneer spirit has been maintained by the harshness of the city's topography and the geographical barriers which preserve the ethnic neighborhoods.

The largest black neighborhoods stand on the top of the hills. The largest of these is the Hayti District composed of three divisions: Lower, Middle and Upper, fondly called "Preachers' Row" because of the many parsonages located there. Lower Hayti was the port of entry for many blacks from the South. Blacks have been represented in the population since the earliest exploration days, having been with the English when they captured the French fort in the 18th century. Because the area was unsuited to slavery, the peculiar institution existed but never prevailed.

By 1780 abolitionist groups had formed and were vocal. Abolition Acts were passed by the state legislature in 1780, 1782 and 1788. These acts forbade slavery and granted freedom to all blacks born after those times. By 1817 the number of blacks in the city was large enough to merit the opening of a Sunday School to teach reading and writing and to "inculcate the moral virtues." A full blown black community had developed by the 1830's. There formed a cadre of black abolitionist and liberation leaders who were not only interested in freeing the slaves but in the struggle for their own civil, human, social and political rights as well. By 1850 the region known as Hayti developed from this concentration.

Table 5

NUMBER, INCREASE AND PROPORTION OF BLACKS IN CENTRE CITY*
1890-1980

Year	Total Population	Number of Blacks	Black Percent of Total Population
1850	46,601	1,959	4.2
1860	49,221	1,154	2.3
1870	86,076	2,115	2.4
1880	156,389	4,077	2.6
1890	343,904	10,357	3.0
1900	451,512	20,355	4.5
1910	533,905	25,623	4.8
1920	588,343	37,725	6.4
1930	669,817	54,983	8.2
1940	671,659	62,216	9.3
1950	676,806	84,453	12.2
1960	604,352	100,692	16.6
1970	520,117	104,904	20.2
1980	423,938	101,813	24.0

*Including for 1890 and 1900, the population of a suburb. No allowance has been made for annexations between censuses and consequently the figures reported are not strictly comparable.

Upper Hayti

Between the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862 and 1892 the black population almost doubled. During the next decade it increased 175 percent. When World War I ended the European migration, blacks replaced the dwindling supply of southern and eastern European labor diminished by the war and immigration restriction. Lower and Middle Hayti between 1910 and 1920 contained the bulk of the city's black population. Slightly over 23,000 of the city's 54,983 blacks in 1930 lived there while Upper Hayti had only 912. The black share of all three Hayti neighborhoods rose from 22 percent to 42 percent between 1910 and 1930. While the black population grew by 29,000 between 1910 and 1930, this growth barely affected Upper Hayti's net share of all blacks. In 1930, Upper Hayti had only 2 percent of all the black population of the city.

Upper Hayti is atop the last of three rolling hills, with increasing elevation, from downtown, moving east. Its western and eastern boundaries are main thoroughfares separating communities; its northern and southern boundaries are big traffic arteries moving goods, services and people through residential neighborhoods to downtown. School B is located in Upper Hayti which has kept pace with the average city-wide gain for new unit construction per census tract throughout the 30's and 40's. It was the only black community in the city to do so. In part, this sustained residential character of the area attracted influential members of the black community, if they had not decided to move into the more "respectable" neighborhoods of black status in Melchior and Shiloh, twin havens for blacks leaving the heavily congested working class districts of Hayti.

Growth in Upper Hayti stopped in 1960 when the community dropped by 13 percent as the total city's population declined by 11 percent. Half of all the whites left. After this exodus in the 50's blacks comprised 85 percent of the community. Economic gains, however, occurred. The median family income reached citywide parity, even though the rate of the male labor force participation declined while that of females rose. For the first time, the educational levels of the blacks did not surpass the city norm.

By December, 1979, the population size had dwindled further. It had been a black community for fifty years. It was losing people. Less than 3.5 percent of the black city population resided there. It had two black churches, a community library, one small neighborhood convenience store, a splendid public park and a mixed housing stock. No public housing was built there. A few white families, no more than two percent of the community, still lived there. Some old-line black elites still resided there. These included families of earlier teachers, politicians, clerics, real estate brokers and a banker. The local school board member and the only black city council member lived in Upper Hayti on Preachers' Row during the period of this research. Many old and new professionals residing there appeared to be members by choice rather than by involuntary consignment.

Middle Hayti

Middle Hayti commences several blocks from downtown to the beginning of Upper Hayti. Its boundaries are all main thoroughfares connecting the eastern and southern suburbs with downtown. School C is located in Middle Hayti ten minutes from downtown by car. There has been much relocation of the black population since the 1940's. The removal of the slums and the redevelopment of Lower Hayti by the Urban Redevelopment Authority, created by the City Council on November 12, 1946 to acquire and clear land in the city's fight against blight and slums, took ten years to come to fruition. But, through the efforts of a Democratic mayor and a Republican industrialist, several authorities were established to raise funds for the clearance of 100 acres of slums in Lower Hayti for the construction of a public arena, 30 acres of higher cost housing and other improvements unavailable to the poor people who were displaced. On October 25, 1955, a contract was signed and the stage was set for the Housing Authority to handle the relocation of 1800 families. These people were dispersed into other communities in the city as well as throughout Middle and Upper Hayti.

Prior to this upheaval, in 1930, Middle Hayti families fared about the same as other working class groups in the city. There was little overcrowding of dwellings and the biggest problem was economic. Yet, this housing supply was far from adequate. Consequently, there was much excitement when, on December 19, 1938, the Housing Authority broke ground for a low cost three million dollar housing project for 420 families in Middle Hayti. This welcomed project, Hayti Dwellings, was built on waste land, rather than a slum clearance endeavor so that existing housing was not sacrificed for the addition.

This boom occurred largely because of the appointment of a black attorney to the Housing Authority. In 1979 the majority of School C's parents lived in Hayti Dwellings.

Row houses surrounded the school on three sides in 1979. Well kept houses were interspersed between dilapidated and boarded up dwellings. These were the homes built in the late 20's and 30's for blacks moving out of Lower Hayti. The yards on the street across from School C were neat and well maintained and the streets were clean with some exceptions. A business area on the busy street south of the school was somewhat seedy and some of the houses on the street were deteriorating. These exceptions showed the signs of blight creeping into Upper Hayti. Boarded up houses were a common sight as one proceeded downhill from the school toward downtown. Children looked out of second story unscreened windows down on the street below and played in that street on warm days after school.

Proceeding east uphill, a well kept house stood between two abandoned buildings. On side streets, good houses and bad houses stood side by side. According to the 1970 U.S. Census this area is low income. The median age of the male population 25 years or older is 52. The median number of persons per household is 3.2. Ten percent of the houses are owner occupied. Thirty-four percent of the families have children under the age of 12 and the median years of school completed is 9.7. Twenty eight percent of the housing units are unit structures. Sixty-three percent are three or more unit structures and two percent are 10 or more unit structures. The residential count was 482 with 28 new residences. Just southwest, the area is also designated low income but 36 percent of the houses are owner occupied; the median age is 53 and the median number of persons per household is 2.7. Twenty-six percent of the families have children under 12 years of age and the median years completed in school is 9.8. Sixty-two percent of the housing units are unit structures and 10 percent are three or more.

The Melchior District

There is no one black community in the sense of a consolidated, concentrated area such as Chicago's Southside or Westside and New York's Harlem. The black population of Centre City is scattered over several areas divided by geographical barriers.

Blacks live in Millside, Melchior, Shiloh and in Hayti. While the largest concentration of blacks has always been in Hayti, other communities have long histories of black residency. School A is located in Melchior which had been a growing black community during a period of city-wide decline. The 1970 Census counted 4,100 black people, a sure undercount. That undercount showed a doubling in size from 1950. Historically, the Melchior District, a German immigrant community, received blacks brought at the turn of the century to help build the -mile long tunnel wedding the city's south hills to the central city. At mid-century, blacks in Melchior were a more affluent unionized blue collar community of black miners, steelworkers and domestic service workers than the better educated blacks on "Preachers' Row."

The northern and southern sides of Melchior have always differed. The southern tier has been traditionally better than 90 percent black; the northern tier has been integrated. The heavier segregated southern tier always has had a higher level of education and income than the integrated poorer section. The characteristics of the two adjoining black communities had an impact on the school enrollment patterns over the last fifteen years. The school had always kept a white minority composed of ten percent of the school population. Before 1976, local demographic conditions facilitated this white minority presence. After 1976, the clusterings of special education classes for the southern end of the city prevented the school from being totally black.

Since midcentury, the number of families nearly tripled from 505 to 1,465. Many multigenerational family members live here and the school has various extended kinship networks within the present membership. A good number of these multigenerational families own modest homes. The dwellings comprise two vintages: a southern tier with sturdy older large brick homes and smaller frame and siding structures, typically built during the 30's and 40's when the city experienced a severe housing crunch; and a northern tier of less substantial frame and siding structures and smaller, poorer built cinderblock or brick dwellings. In both areas, the majority of the structures are detached family homes. The terrain is rough and high. Public and private transportation use the steep and narrow streets made still of cobblestone and brick.

Conditions in the community have deteriorated over the years. In 1979, the outward migration of whites and the inward migration of blacks had left many houses abandoned and many desolate pockets scattered throughout the community. Absentee landlords have contributed to the general decline of the community. Efforts are underway to renovate this area. In 1979 city policies to stimulate housing preservation and renewal by granting low interest loans to poorer homeowning families had an impact on the housing stock in the School A community. Everywhere around the school, modest houses had been renovated. Some were winterized with modern storm doors and windows, a circumstantial windfall from the county's winning a large grant for aiding poorer communities to conserve energy. Some marginal structures have been rebuilt by speculators and homeowners, partly to attract gentrification and partly to take advantage of the seven minute proximity to downtown, a projected asset for enticing white suburbanites to return to the city. There are no densely populated housing projects in Melchior and a large sprawling park is nearby. The city's planning characterizes potentially viable neighborhoods like the School A community as ripe and ready for community development because basic social overhead capital, roads, sewers, public lighting, public transportation arteries and salvageable housing stock still have long life and can be restored and rebuilt.

Reasonably low prices for the renovated housing in Melchior, often 50 percent below market value for the same dwellings in other parts of the city, and ample low interest city loans for housing improvements now facilitate a favorable economic climate for racial and demographic change in this community during the next decade. Presently, constant housing renewals show ample risk takers among owners and outside speculators investing in a promising community in transition. At the same time, the city's stakes in promoting economic and racial transition in Melchior centers around expanding its dwindling tax rolls to cope with the expanding financial crisis.

The History of Centre City Schools[1]

In its first constitution the state provided that "a school or schools shall be established in each county by the legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters paid by the public. . ." From that time until 1834, the beginning of early educational endeavors in the western part of the state came from education-minded parents, self-professed teachers and church groups. In 1790, the 1776 legislation was expanded providing "the legislature shall, as soon as possible. . .provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis." The state legislature passed other acts in 1802 and 1809 providing for the education of poor children. Often these laws were neglected, partially executed or abused.

The mobilization for the creation of a set of common schools for all children supported by the public commenced in 1882. Many supportive organizations were created to sustain this impetus for public education. One such organization was a special interest group representing the needs of blacks. The African Education Society was born in this city on January 16, 1832 and stated in the preamble of their constitution that "ignorance is the sole cause of the present degradation of the people of color in the United States." In Article 5 they empowered a board of managers to purchase books, raise money, acquire land and erect suitable buildings to accommodate ininstruction. In effect, the board of managers acted as a school board and initiated a successful school operation.

The Act of April 2, 1831 and the Act of April 1, 1834 provided for a common school system for the state. The former set up a general system of education by establishing a Common School Fund derived from a tax of one mill per dollar on land collected locally and continuing until the fund yielded interest of $100,000 per annum for the support of public schools. The latter provided for free public schools in the state.

The state legislature made schools in Centre City an independent school district by the Act of February 9, 1855. This act gave the city the powers to establish a more extensive system of common school education within the corporate limits of the city to make policy and administer the public schools and thereby create a central board of education. The structure and specifications of the Board were given in the act. Until this time the schools in the city had been governed by ward boards.

On December 18, 1835, blacks in the city sent a letter to the Director of the Second Ward (or South School District) asking the Board to permit blacks from all wards to attend the school operated by them and that the Board pay the teacher. They did not ask for permission to attend the white schools. After several requests the Board finally opened a school for black children in the Baptist Church in 1837. Between 1844 and 1867 it moved to several locations.

In 1855 there were nine wards. During that time the public elementary school for colored children had been dependent on voluntary contributions from the nine school ward boards. The central board brought permanence to the ephemeral existence of the school for colored children. The board hired a former teacher as the principal and reopened the school in a rented church basement in April, 1855. The school moved several times meeting in many places. In 1854, Act 610, Section 24 of the state legislature provided that all districts set up separate schools for black students. The act said, "Districts are hereby authorized and required to establish separate schools for Negro and Mulatto children." The law remained in effect until 1881 when separate schools were abolished.

On March 27, 1855 a special meeting of the Central Board was called to take action on the establishment of a colored school. On April 10, 1855 the rear basement room of the Wesleyan Methodist Church was rented for the colored school. On January 21, 1856 an assistant teacher was hired in the colored school as of February 1, 1856. Beginning on April 9, 1867 the Central Board worked on setting up a separate building for black students and a lot for the construction of the school was purchased in Lower Hayti and named the Hayti School.

Legal segregation in the public schools of the city continued until the Act of June 8, 1881 was passed by the state legislature. It stipulated that it:

> shall be unlawful for any school director, superintendent or teacher to make any distinction whatever, on account of. . .race or color of any pupil who may be in attendance or seeking admission to any public school. . .in this Commonwealth.

By this time, the city central board had already taken steps to eliminate segregation in the schools. Sub-district school boards were voluntarily admitting black school children to their classes in many cases. The Hayti School began to experience a decline in average monthly enrollment from 187 in

1872 to 79 in 1874. By 1875 the central board of education closed the Hayti School by the cessation of funding and reporting. De jure segregation was eliminated in 1881, but de facto segregation increased.

This uneven distribution of black children in the schools created a need for new schools which were built to accommodate them. On May 18, 1911, the School Code of 1911 was passed by the state legislature and under its provisions Centre City became a first class school district having a population of 500,000 or more according to the 1910 Census and its board of school directors became known as The Board of Public Education (BPE).

The Formal and Informal Structure and Arrangements of CCSS

As this history shows, schools are formal organizations created for the explicit purpose of achieving certain goals. Within these formal organizations, informal organizations develop as the organizational actors respond to the opportunities and problems presented by their environments. The network of informal relations and the complex of unofficial norms are generated by the constant need of the actors to develop routines, scenarios and processes to deal with uncertainties arising around the achievement of these goals.[2]

Perrow lists five types of goals: (1) societal; (2) output; (3) system; (4) product; and (5) derived. The referent for societal goals is society itself and deals with large classes of organizations that fulfill societal needs.[3] For output the public in contact with the organizations is the pertinent target. System goals refer to the state or manner of functioning of the organization, independent of the goods or services it produces or its derived goals. Product goals deal with the characteristics of the goods or services provided. Derived goals refer to the uses to which the organization puts the power it generated in pursuit of other goals.[4] The output goal for the schools in this study is the provision of educational services for the society. System goals are those which pertain to desired conditions of the organization as an organization rather than to the goods or services it produces. Such a goal would be the public image goal wherein organization actors are expected to produce events which place the schools in a favorable light with the public.[5] Product goals are concerned about such characteristics as quality, quantity, type, cost, styling and availability and so forth. Two schools may have the same output goal but differ substantially in terms of the product goals. Derived goals emerge from political aims such as the procurement and protection of job rights and privileges.

Formal Goals

The State Board of Education adopted the following revised Goals of Quality Education on March 8, 1979 to foster achievement. It said the school program should reflect the following:

1. Communication skills. Quality education should help every student acquire communication skills of understanding, speaking, reading and writing.

2. Mathematics. Quality education should help every student acquire skills in mathematics.

3. Self-Esteem. Quality education should help every student develop self-understanding and a feeling of self-worth.

4. Analytical Thinking. Quality education should help every student develop analytical thinking skills.

5. Understanding Others. Quality education should help every student learn the history of the nation, understand its systems of government and economics and acquire the values and attitudes necessary for responsible citizenship.

7. Arts and the Humanities. Quality education should help every student acquire knowledge, appreciation and skills in the arts and the humanities.

8. Science and Technology. Quality education should help every student acquire knowledge, understanding and appreciation of science and technology.

9. Work. Quality education should help every student acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to become a self-supporting member of society.

10. Family Living. Quality education should help every student acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for successful personal and family living.

11. Health. Quality education should help every student acquire knowledge and develop practices necessary to maintain physical and emotional well-being.

12. Environment. Quality education should help every student acquire the knowledge and attitudes necessary to maintain the quality of life in a balanced environment.

A formal philosophy for the public school system was adopted by CCSS and states the following:

> To transform the young into a community of citizens who are mature physically, intellectually and socially, we who work in and are responsible for the city public schools are committed to providing:
>
> 1. Free and appropriate public education to all children, including the handicapped.
>
> 2. Educational programs designed to enable students to acquire those skills needed to cope with the demands of adult life.
>
> 3. Educational environments and experiences which foster ethnic, racial and sexual equality.
>
> 4. Experiences which enable students to acquire those attitudes and behaviors associated with responsible citizenship.
>
> 5. A variety of pupil services designed to assist the student's educational progress, personal adjustment and job placement.
>
> 6. Schools that are clean, orderly and conducive to learning.
>
> 7. An opportunity for the wide range of community opinion to be heard.

8. Community use of school facilities for purposes of continuing education and recreation.

In addition, the statement emphasizes knowledge and the application of knowledge as the central concern of the schools. It acknowledges the expectation of society that reading, writing, listening, speaking and mathematics skills become the possession of all youth. It expresses the additional need for development in the areas of health and physical growth, man and his social and physical world, the sciences and the arts.

The statement of philosophy indicated an awareness about the connectedness of schools and the environment. It states:

> The curriculum encountered must be relevant and reflect the real needs of youth. Students should sense that the curriculum is both exciting and rewarding. Teachers must be genuinely concerned about youth and interested in their welfare as well as their intellectual growth. The school in its physical, psychological and social atmosphere must be a place that is friendly, orderly and conducive to learning. When curriculum, teaching and facilities, including community resources, are provided in this manner, the attitudes necessary for constructive and responsible citizenship can be developed.

Lastly, the statement shows a commitment to providing the means for giving the best education to the students in the public school system.

In 1978, the Superintendent of the CCSS set forth the following product goals for SY 1979-1980:

1. Greater achievement in fundamentals . . . reading and mathematics. . . as measured by national standards;
2. Improved student attendance;
3. Improved cumulative school holding power;
4. Improved standards of student conduct.

These product goals have been the same since September, 1976, and, although they were not established as the formal goals in 1980, attempts to effect improvements in each were to continue to be an inherent part of the instructional program. A new superintendent was selected in August, 1980, however, and different goals have been established for the future.

In addition to these system-wide goals, for SY 1979-1980. the Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Schools added two process goals for all elementary schools:

1. A positive warm teaching climate.
2. The creation of a positive relationship between home and school.

Moreover, since 1965, the public school system has had desegregation as one of its goals. The Annual Report for 1965 of the BPE contained a statement of policy on integration. It was as follows:

> . . .Board of Public Education deplores the segregation of children for reason of race, religion, economic handicap or any other difference. We face a situation we inherited and did not create. Our Board has never initiated or encouraged de facto segregation. Instead, we have seized upon opportunities to prevent and alleviate it. The ideal of American education has been service to all the children of all the people brought together in schools and classrooms for the optimum fulfillment of every individual. Every reasonable and constructive measure that can be afforded will be taken for the ultimate elimination of de facto segregation in our schools.

The same report also presented a Statement of Policy on Equal Educational Opportunity. It said:

> The best hope for an integrated society rests upon the education of the children of minority groups who for reason of racial difference have suffered through generations of suppression, despair and poverty. Equal educational opportunity for these children calls for larger investment and sacrifice by our society than for the typical or middle class child if our long-term hopes for integration are to be realized. The combined shackles of racial discrimination and poverty must be broken. Since the problems of racial discrimination and poverty are problems of the total community, they can only be broken by the schools in partnership with other governmental and social agencies. The (city) Board of Education will continue and will extend those measures

termed "compensatory education" through every reasonable and educationally sound process that can be afforded.

But in spite of these reports and policies, the CCSS did not have a system-wide desegregation plan as of September, 1979. During the study year, however, such discussion did occur and the BPE adopted a plan. Although the plan was not approved by the State Human Relations Commission (SHRC) and in 1982 was in litigation, it was implemented in September, 1980.

Informal Goals and Practices

Achievement was often displaced by growth in many black and/or poor schools as a high priority goal. Principals judged the effectiveness of their students' progress by however many months' growth in achievement had occurred between the October and May standardized test scores. Where students had maintained seven to nine months growth, progress was deemed acceptable although the achievement scores were low. See Table 6 for progress of study schools.

Table 6

Achievement and Growth: SY 1975-1976 through 1979-1980
Schools A, B, and C

ACHIEVEMENT	Name	# of Grades	Name	# of Grades
H	School A	0	School A	22
	School B	1	School B	12
	School C	1	School C	35
	School A	0	School A	18
	School B	5	School B	22
L	School C	0	School C	4
	L	GROWTH		H

H-High
L-Low

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The numbers in the table represent the number of grades where achievement was high (equaled or exceeded the city or national norms) and growth was high (equaled or exceeded the city or national norms) or where they were both low or where one was high and the other was low. The test used was the MAT. Grade 1 was excluded because there were no growth norms for this grade since the test was not administered in Kindergarten. School A was a K-6 school during SY 1975-1976 and Schools B and C were K-7. Only Grades 2, 3, 4, and 5 scores were used. The total number of times a grade score could appear is 40. Twenty two times out of 40 School A accumulated scores which were high in achievement or 55 percent of the time while high growth occurred 100 percent of the time. For School B, high achievement occurred 13 times out of 40 or 32 percent of the time while high growth occurred 34 times out of 40 or 85 percent of the time. At School C high achievement occurred 36 times out of 40 or 90 percent of the time. At all three schools high growth gains exceeded high achievement. For many schools these growth gains were substituted for achievement and the school officials claimed that the schools were doing a good job because of the growth*

---

*To determine whether or not high growth yielded high achievement the following calculations were made:

For School A, (1) P (high achievement/regardless of growth)=

$\frac{22}{40}$ + .55 P = the percentage of times the majority scored at or above the national and/or local norms on standardized tests

$\frac{22}{40}$ = .55; (2) P (high growth/given high growth occurred)=

$\frac{22}{40}$ = .55; (3) P (high growth/given high growth occurred)= $\frac{40}{40}$ = 1.00; (4) P (high growth yields high achievement)=

$$\frac{\text{P (high achievement/given high growth occurred)}}{\text{P (high growth)}} = \frac{.55}{1.00} = .55$$

For School B, (1) $\frac{13}{40}$ = .325; (2) $\frac{12}{34}$ = .3529; (3) $\frac{34}{40}$ = .85;

(4) $\frac{3529}{85}$ = .415.

For School C, (1) $\frac{36}{40}$ = .90; (2) $\frac{35}{39}$ = .8974; (3) $\frac{39}{40}$ = .975

(4) $\frac{8974}{9750}$ = .9204.

Additionally, the relationships between school and home were generally client relationships wherein the role of the parent was prescribed and supportive rather than a partnership where the parent showed intitiative. In fact, some schools attempted to relegate discipline in school to parents outside of a school.

Furthermore, citizens in the Equity Coalition did appeal to the Court for a stay in the desegregation order, but this was not granted since the judge felt that some desegregation was better than none. The Equity Coalition (EC) was an alliance of groups formed by the Black Caucus of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Desegregation (CACOD) formed by the BPE to make recommendations to the board on desegregation. CACOD was composed of approximately 100 persons divided into three working committees on elementary, secondary and middle schools. EC opposed the recommendations of the CACOD and presented its own plan to the BPE. That plan called for more extensive desegregation of the elementary and senior high schools. In 1982 the Court issued an order calling for more desegregation in those areas and the BPE voted 5-4 to appeal that decision.

Following is a brief discussion of formal and informal practices associated with the four goals of the Superintendent and the two sub-goals of the Assistant Superintendent.

Formal Goal #1: Elevating Achievement in the Fundamentals

Reading

The Department of Elementary Schools distributed some Reading Guidelines for Grades K-5 in January, 1979 to improve achievement in reading. These guidelines suggested the following time distribution for the teaching of reading:

Grade 1	20 periods a week
Grade 2	17 periods a week
Grade 3	14 periods a week
Grade 4	8-10 periods a week
Grade 5	8-10 periods a week

CCSS required that reading be conducted by levels across all five grades in the elementary school. Twelve sequential levels covered the primary and intermediate grades. By the publisher, levels one to four were kindergarten; five and six, first grade; seven and eight, second grade; and nine and ten, third grade. But in the fourth grade, level eleven is the sole reader as is level twelve for fifth grade. Six units or chapters comprise a level. After each unit, a skill and diagnostic test followed. They demonstrated mastery or weaknesses for each topic covered. After the sixth unit test, a level mastery test was administered. This determined whether a student should go on to the next level or repeat the level he just finished. The texts and accompanying tests belonged to the Ginn 360 reading series, subsequently revised as the Ginn 720. Each student read and left the basic text in school. He owned a skill mastery book for written exercises. The Reading Guidelines suggest 80 percent mastery of the basal reader unit and level tests before proceeding to the next unit or level. There are three assessments given: Ready, which means that the student scored 80 percent correct or more; Probably Ready, which means the student should have a period of remediation in those areas in which he/she has not scored 80 percent or more; and Needs Help, which means the student should have an intensive period of remedial instruction using the materials listed in the Reading Guidelines under remediation.

The BPE's promotion and retention policy is tied to the reading series mastery and is as follows:

Grade	Reading Level Range	Retention of Any Student Below
1	1-6	Level 4
2	5-8	Level 7
3	7-10	Level 8
4	8-11	Level 9
5	9-12	Level 10

Mathematics

During the year of this study, the CCSS adopted a new math text, the Heath Math Series. It included a pre and post test procedure. Prior math texts did not. Widespread dissatisfaction occurred over the last texts. Teachers seemed to be happier with the Heath Series but had not had enough time to make a decision.

In SY 1981-1982 the new Superintendent initiated a Monitoring Achievement Program (MAP) consisting of a series of stated objectives for each grade to be taught within a certain time in a pre and post test routine. CCSS does have federally funded programs for remediation in reading and math.

While grouping is rigorously practiced in all three study schools in reading, it is seldom practiced in other subject areas, except at School C where students in Grades 4 and 5 are grouped for mathematics instruction. Social Studies, Language, Spelling, Science and Mathematics are taught by whole group instruction in most CCSS schools as are Art, Music, both vocal and instrumental, Physical Education and Health. All students use the same textbook and workbook materials. Teachers do provide enrichment material for accelerated and slow learners.

Title I - Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

Title I of the Act provides local school districts with funds to carry on educational activities which supplement instruction for eligible students. The funds can only be used in school attendance areas where large numbers of low income families are concentrated. However, once a school is identified as eligible, any child in that school who is performing below grade level is eligible to participate in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) program offered there. The program serves both public and parochial school students, provided there are enough students in a given school to warrant a full time or part time teacher there. This information and that below is taken from the school district Title I brochure.

The Title I programs in Schools A, B and C are called Reading Achievement Centers (RAC) and Mathematics Achievement Centers (MAC). The RAC and MAC programs are designed to improve the reading and math skills of eligible students in Grades 2 through 8 in

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48 public and 21 parochial schools in the school district. Eligibility is determined by the students' achievement in reading and mathematics on the Spring MAT. Those students who are below grade level one year or more are eligible. Each child attends RAC or MAC for a minimum of three periods, but preferably five periods, per week. The reading or mathematics specialist provides individual diagnostic and prescriptive services for each student in the center. An educational assistant or aide works full time in the center with the students under the direction of the reading or mathematics specialist.

The MAC lab features a room with a teacher who, through individualizing techniques, diagnoses and remedies the math deficiencies of each child through games, songs, manipulatives, drills and teaching. It is fun for the youngsters and rewarding for the concerned teachers. The program covers Grades 2 through 8 with a maximum of 15 pupils per period, supplementing the regular mathematics program. Title I programs are supplementary and may not supplant regular school programs.

School A, B and C have Title I programs. The percentage of the student population which is low income for SY 1979-1980 at School A was 73.8 percent, at School B, 56.7 percent and at School C, 91.7 percent.

All three schools are in low income census areas. School A maintained a full time RAC and a half-time MAC program in SY 1979-1980. School C had only enough children to maintain a half-day RAC and no MAC. School C lost its MAC because of a decline in the number of children one year or more below in mathematics on the Spring MAT during SY 1978-1979. School B had a half-time RAC and MAC program during this period.

In order for a school to qualify for a half-time teacher in RAC and/or MAC, there must be 30 to 65 students who meet the Title I qualification requirement in reading and mathematics. For a full time teacher there must be 66 to 120. These numbers are accurate if there is enough funding to staff all eligible schools. If there isn't, then schools will be dropped off the bottom of the list, with the smallest numbers going first. These numbers are based on the student's scores on the Spring MAT. If they test below the Title I eligibility score, they are counted. All three schools have a Title I Primary Readiness Experience Program (PREP) which is designed to identify children in kindergarten and first grade who may have difficulty in coping with expected school activities, especially in areas of readiness and self esteem. The general areas where eligible children demonstrate deficiencies are in attitudes about school including perception of themselves as adequate individuals, in the use of language to express goals to be reached, in perceptual skills, in conceptual skills and in motor development. This supplementary program consists of systematic treatment for small groups in a minimum of 20 minute sessions daily by the educational assistant, under the direction of the classroom teacher. Individual tutoring by the educational assistant may also be scheduled for eligible students. The supervisory instructional specialists assist the teacher in setting up the program and the educational assistants' schedule. The specialists monitor the program regularly to assist the teachers in providing appropriate activities for the educational assistants.

For the PREP the ratio is one aide to 35 eligible children. Prelimary staffing is based on the number of participants carried in the previous year. The abbreviated kindergarten inventory is given in September, and then, aides may be moved to different locations, depending on the actual number of eligible children.

Informal Goals and Practices

High achieving schools are penalized for achieving under the present ESEA Title I regulations. As a result, the students in these poor communities who need such service are denied them because the numbers of students below grade level in reading and mathematics are too small. Principals who are concerned about achievement must search for other means to meet their students' needs. In addition, principals have a difficult time developing schedules which supplement reading and arithmetic rather than supplant school programs. Sometimes students must be denied certain subjects, i.e., music, art in order to receive this Title I instruction.

Students who can not get or do not profit from Title I compensatory and/or remediation services often become referrals for special education.

Special Education

Classes for the Trainable Mentally Retarded, the Severely profoundly Mentally Retarded (EMR), the Socially and Emotionally Disturbed (SED), the Physically Handicapped, the Learning Disabled (LD), the Hearing Impaired and the Mentally Gifted are available. There is one EMR class and one LD class at School C and two EMR and two LD classes at School A.

Individualized Education Programs (IEP) are designed for students following documentation of student difficulty resulting in evidence that the pupil is thought to be exceptional. Permission to evaluate must be obtained from the parent, or if such permission is denied, a referral to the social worker is made for parent consultation. If follow up conferences are unsuccessful, a hearing may be requested. If permission is secured from the parent or the hearing officer, the Principal initiates a referral for psychological services.

Personnel included in the IEP conferences are: the regular class teacher, the school system representative, the school psychologist, the parents and the pupil when appropriate. Additional personnel is included as required. Present educational levels are determined by an analysis of the classroom performance and information is secured from teacher made tests, standardized group achievement and ability tests, teacher observation checklists, pupil assignments and the psychological evaluation.

The psychologist reviews and explains the pupil's performance on the psychological assessment including but not limited to appraisal of intellectual performance, academic achievement levels, visual/motor perceptual development. Parents are requested to share their observations of the pupil's behavior at home. Goals are established from the present education level statements and all participants in the conference are motivated to contribute as the goals are developed. The goals agreed on here at the IEP conference are in effect for a year or they can be modified earlier when a review/revision IEP conference is needed.

Mentally gifted elementary pupils, those who have outstanding intellectual and/or creative ability, are taught one day a week in a Scholar's Center (Triple-E Program), housed at various school sites in the school district. Class size per teacher at these centers does not exceed eighteen. A thematic interdisciplinary approach is used to focus on a variety of enrichment activities fostering creativity and elaborative thinking processes. Pupils are assigned to this program when they have an IQ of 130 or higher although a limited number of pupils with lower IQ scores are admitted when other educational criteria in the pupil's profile strongly indicate giftedness. Such a Center is at School E.

Mainstreaming is the policy of the public school system, and the BPE-teachers' union agreement stipulated that no more than six special education students be assigned as part of any mainstreamed class. Primary and intermediate special education students are not assigned to the same class and lower class sizes are maintained for this service.

Informal Practices

Some special education students are not mainstreamed except in special subject classes. Students are frequently referred for special education because of slow progress in skill mastery in reading and/or mathematics. Special Education teachers think that students should be placed in Special Education early and returned to regular classes when the problem is corrected. In actuality, students are placed late and rarely returned to the regular stream.

Time Distribution

There is an Elementary Time Distribution based on 40 periods per week of 40 minutes each which suggests, not mandates the number of periods, minutes and percentages of time allocated for academic and non-academic areas in Grades 1 through 8. Table 7 shows this distribution for Grades 1-5.

Table 7

Public Schools: Elementary Time Distribution
40 periods per week - 40 minutes each
(from 1959 revision)

Subject	Grades	1	2	3	4	5
NON-ACADEMIC SUBJECTS						
ART	Periods	2	2	2	3	3
	Minutes	80	80	80	120	120
	% of time	5	5	5	7½	7½
MUSIC	Periods	2	2	2	3	3
	Minutes	80	80	80	120	120
	% of time	5	5	5	7½	7½
PHYSICAL EDUCATION *Gym	Periods	2	2	2	3	3
	Minutes	80	80	80	120	120
	% of time	5	5	5	7½	7½
HOME ECONOMICS INDUSTRIAL ARTS	Periods	0	0	0	0	0
	Minutes	0	0	0	0	0
	% of time	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL-ACADEMIC AND NON-ACADEMIC SUBJECTS	Periods	40	40	40	40	40
	Minutes	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600
	% of time	100	100	100	100	100

*The science of health is part of the total science program. Health instruction may be assigned to the science teacher or to the physical education teacher according to the best interests of the local school.

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Table 7
(Cont'd)

Public Schools: Elementary Time Distribution
40 periods per week - 40 minutes each
(from 1959 revision)

Subject	Grades	1	2	3	4	5
ACADEMIC SUBJECTS						
LANGUAGE ARTS:						
Reading	Periods	20	17	14	7	6
	Minutes	800	680	560	280	240
	% of time	50	42½	35	17½	15
English	Periods	3	3	4	5	5
	Minutes	120	120	160	200	200
	% of time	7½	7½	10	12½	12½
Spelling	Periods	0	2	3	2½	2½
	Minutes	0	80	120	100	100
	% of time	0	5	7½	6¼	6¼
Handwriting	Periods	2	2	2	½	½
	Minutes	80	80	80	20	20
	% of time	5	5	5	1¼	1¼
Library-Literature	Periods	1	1	1	2	3
	Minutes	40	40	40	80	120
	% of time	2½	2½	2½	5	7½

Table 7

(Cont'd)

Public Schools: Elementary Time Distribution
40 periods per week - 40 minutes each
(from 1959 revision)

Subject	Grades	1	2	3	4	5
ACADEMIC SUBJECTS (cont'd.)						
ARITHMETIC	Periods	3	4	5	5	5
	Minutes	120	160	200	200	200
	% of time	7½	10	12½	12½	12½
SOCIAL SCIENCES	Periods	2	2	2	5	5
	Minutes	80	80	80	200	200
	% of time	5	5	5	12½	12½
SCIENCE *Health	Periods	3	3	3	4	4
	Minutes	120	120	120	160	160
	% of time	7½	7½	7½	10	10
TOTAL- ALL ACADEMIC SUBJECTS	Periods	34	34	34	31	31
	Minutes	1360	1360	1360	1240	1240
	% of time	85	85	85	77½	77½

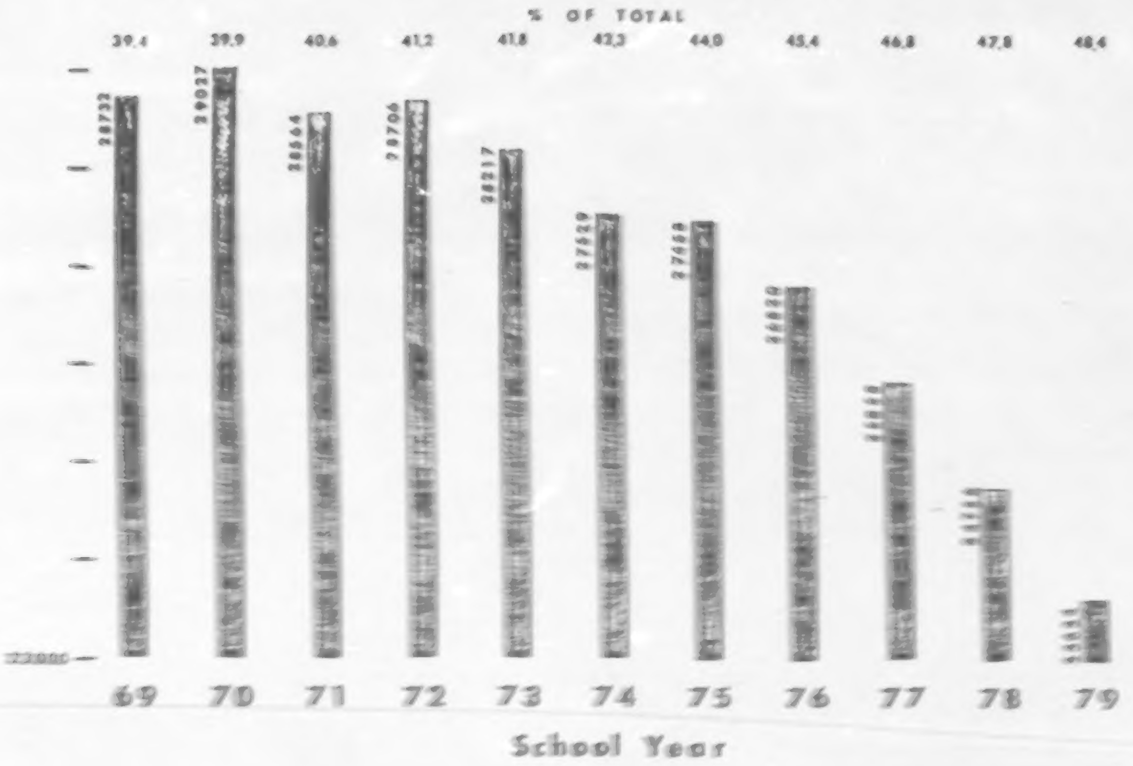
*The science of health is part of the total science program. Health instruction may be assigned to the science teacher or to the physical education teacher according to the best interests of the local school.

Figure 1

BLACK MEMBERSHIP

1969 THROUGH 1979

City Public Schools



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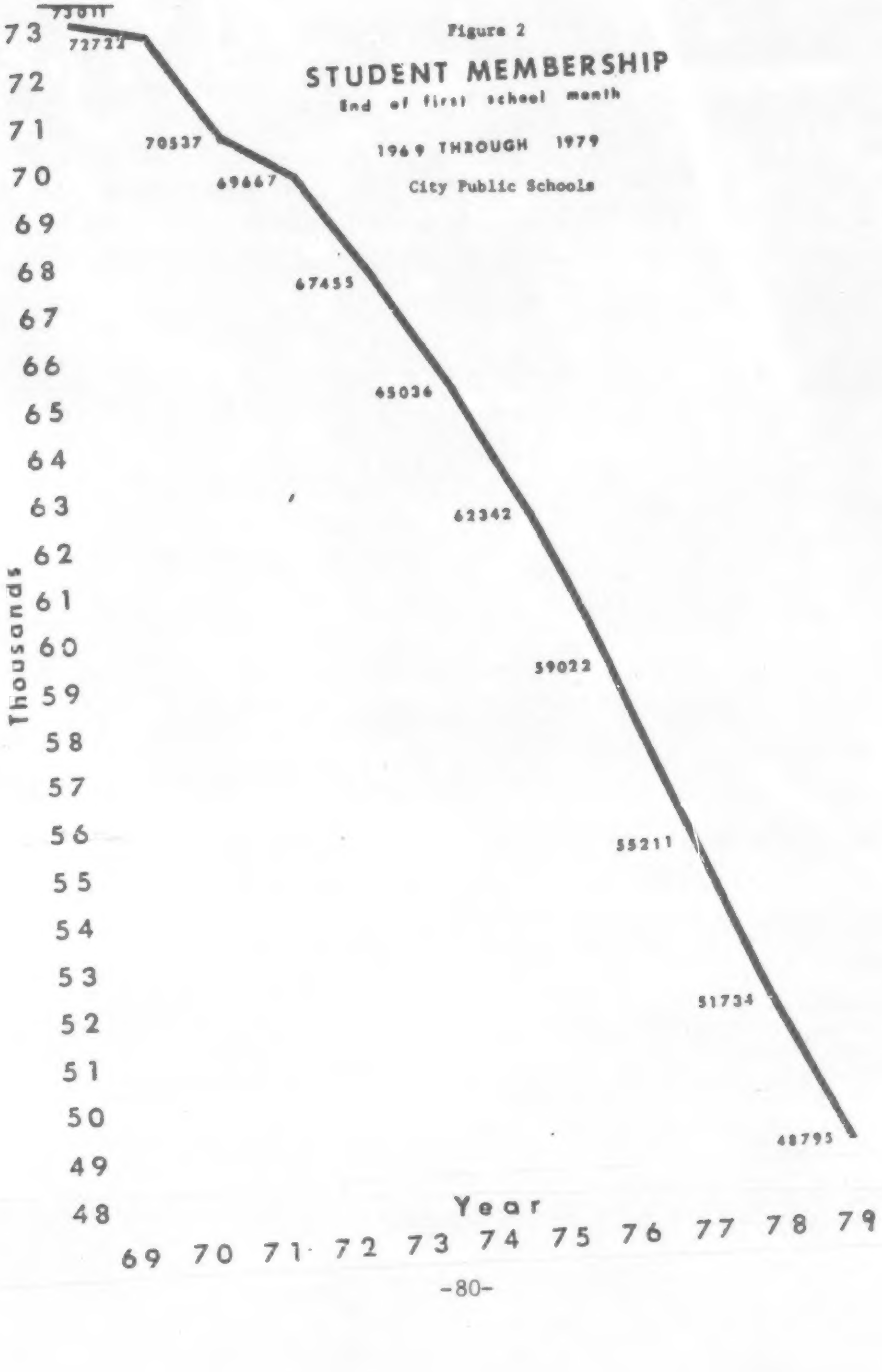

Figure 2

STUDENT MEMBERSHIP

End of first school month

1969 THROUGH 1979

City Public Schools

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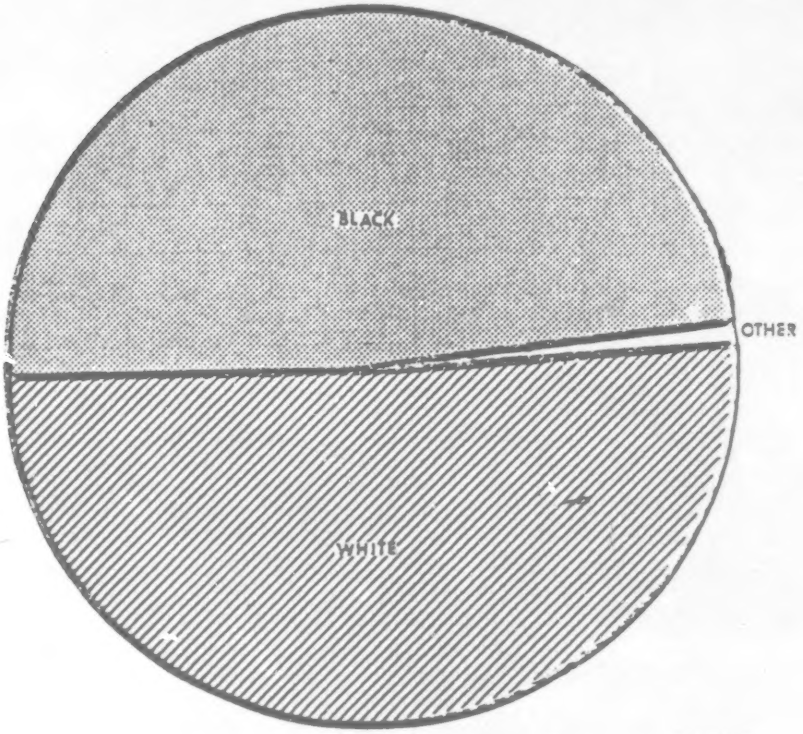
Figure 3

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION
OF MEMBERSHIP
OCT 1 1979

City Public Schools



RACE	MEMBERSHIP	PERCENT
* AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE	4	0.01
* ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER	226	0.46
BLACK	23,634	48.44
* HISPANIC	85	0.17
WHITE	24,846	50.92
TOTAL	48,795	100.00

* SHOWN AS "OTHERS"

Teachers in elementary schools are normally scheduled to teach seven class periods per day. Efforts are made to provide each teacher with five preparation periods per week on a one per day basis when possible except for kindergarten teachers who get two preparation periods per week. The period from 2:40 p.m. to 3:05 p.m. every day is for Essential Staff Educational Practice (ESEP). Students are dismissed at 2:35 p.m.

Informal Goals and Practices

Generally, preparation and ESEP periods are maintained, except in emergencies when no substitutes come and no other arrangements can be made. However, teachers feel free to lengthen or shorten class periods according to the needs of the various subject periods according to the teachers' preferences.

The Elementary Time Distribution is merely a suggested guideline, but because it recommends more time to reading and language than to any other skill, more time is given these in most schools. However, some teachers substitute other language skills for reading.

Testing

Standardized testing is administered twice a year, in October and May. The Metropolitan Achievement Test was given in the CCSS from October, 1975 until May, 1981. At that time the California Achievement Test was substituted. The reason for the change was to bring the test closer in line with the curriculum. In his letter to parents and guardians of children in the CCSS in June, 1981, the Superintendent gave this information about the test change:

> The California Achievement Test (CAT) replaces the Metropolitan Achievement Test. One reason for changing to the CAT is the availability of the test information to parents that you have in your hands. Another reason is that these new tests reflect more closely what we are teaching in the various subject areas.

The Otis-Lennon Mental Ability (OLMA) Tests, Elementary II Form in Grade 2, Intermediate Form J in Grade 5 and Grade 9 are administered in February of each school year. These tests are used primarily to place students in Special Education programs.

Informal Practices

Neither the MAT, CAT or OLMA are used to assess and determine student progress in reading or mathematics in his/her daily classwork. There is little correlation between the students' scores in reading and mathematics on the standardized tests and their grade level placement in textbooks and workbooks in the primary grades especially.

Mini-Testing for the MAT

In December, the central office staff, through the teaching supervisors, notified the principals and teachers that practice testing would be added to the normal work week. The district bought a series of test preparation, diagnosis and record keeping items to assist the district in preparing for the May MAT.

Informal Practices

Teachers already harassed for more time to teach those who were hard to learn, relegated these mini-tests to busy work. Complaints centered on the detailed record keeping requirements. That was a new clerical duty. To make matters worse, at the end of the school year, the central board staff gave no directives on what to do with the mini-test detailed records covering nearly 16 weeks of testing. Principals had to create ad-hoc procedures on the closing day.

In meeting one goal, preparation for testing to overcome the urban school disadvantage, the school district incompletely thought out all the procedural questions surrounding its new mandates. It generated a wealth of data on student performances across the district at each grade level. Because it had no central research office, it contracted major research demands to the neighboring learning research center at the local state university. In this instance it wasted the data it generated for systemwide and discrete school diagnosis of testing problems and achievement monitoring during fractions of the school year. Given its implementation across the study schools, the mini-testing contained more dysfunctional outcomes than its proclaimed end, more readiness to test. It indicates the quality of central office management of new directives and their full developed procedures for immediate use and long term utility. Inefficiency and ineptness on the mini-testing could be discerned. Teachers claimed it was disruptive and dysfunctional.

Openly, in December, teaching supervisors hinted that this mini-testing directly related to the superintendent's political desire for reappointment. The most visible element of the school is the annual publication of the school district's May MAT performance in the local press. Since the superintendent had not come to contractual terms with the board about his reappointment in July, 1980, a better achievement performance in May would have been a feather in his cap. This blatantly political expectation of the chief executive officer by a central office staff member was not explicitly verbalized by others.

Formal Goals #2 Improving Student Attendance and #4 Improving Student Conduct

Discipline and Attendance

The public school system has a School Discipline Code and Procedures and Attendance Standards for the city public schools which was issued in December, 1978 to achieve its goal for improved student conduct and attendance. It describes and presents nine categories of serious student misconduct prohibited by the public school system: (1) disruption of school; (2) damage, destruction or theft of school property; (3) damage, destruction or theft of private property; (4) assault on a school employee; (5) physical abuse of a student or other person not employed by the school;(6) possession or use of weapons and dangerous instruments; (7) use of narcotics, alcoholic beverages and stimulant drugs; (8) repeated school violations; and (9) unauthorized presence on school grounds. The Code outlines the responsibilities and procedures for teachers and principals to deal with any violations.

The principal must deal with any and all alleged misconduct which a teacher considers serious or whenever the principal deems it advisable that he/she deal personally with the misconduct. Teachers must make every effort to resolve discipline problems as fully as possible within their own classrooms or other areas of responsibility. But, when the teacher refers a problem to the principal, the principal must investigate it and take action. Principals must report their findings to the teacher on the same day decisions are made about the violation. Students may be suspended up to two days without an investigation. Suspensions which last longer than three days require a hearing. A three day suspension requires a parent conference.

The City Federation of Teachers (FOT) approves paddling or corporal punishment as a means of discipline in the public schools but is restricted by the agreement with the BPE. The Board prohibits paddling. The agreement stipulates that the Board will support teachers and other members of the representation unit covered under the agreement in the appropriate and proper exercise of disciplinary authority relating to students in accordance with applicable provisions of the School Discipline Code and Procedures or of any other established and published Board policies and procedures for dealing with student misconduct. This Board support includes situations where the exercise of appropriate and reasonable physical restraint in relation to students may be necessary on the part of teachers and other professional employees covered under the agreement during unusual or emergency circumstances affecting order either within the school or its immediate environment. The Board must also provide legal representation for teachers where it is appropriate and an orientation to the School Discipline Code.

The School Discipline Code contains Attendance Standards, also. Section 1327 of the Public School Code of 1949 of the School Laws of the state (P.L. 30 Article XII, "Pupils Attendance." Sections 1317, 1318, 1326, 1327, and 1333) on Compulsory School Attendance states:

> Every child of compulsory school age having a legal residence in this state, as provided in this article, and every migratory child of compulsory school age, is required to attend a day school in which the subjects and activities prescribed by the standards of the State Board of Education are taught in the English language.

Additional mandates for penalties for violation are stipulated.

> Every parent, guardian or person in parental relation having control or charge of any child or children of compulsory school age, who shall fail to comply with the provisions of this act regarding compulsory attendance, shall on summary conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay a fine, for the benefit of the school district in which such offending person resides...

The School Discipline Code Attendance Standards state:

> In order to be eligible to receive passing grades for a report period, a student must attend school at least 80 percent of the total number of scheduled student days for the report period, and in order to be eligible to receive passing grades for the complete school year a student must attend at least 80 percent of the total number of scheduled student days for the year. Exceptions to these attendance standards may be made in special or unusual circumstances surrounding incapacitation due to illness or injury, hospitalization or principal-approved reasons for protracted absence. Students must be given the opportunity to make up the work missed when absent.

The attendance related procedures require that parents be notified of absences when illegal absence exceeds six school days.

Homeroom teachers are required to maintain accurate school attendance records and must make at least one contact with parents after three questionable absences, which need not be consecutive. Teacher contact should be by telephone or mail. After the fourth questionable absence, a student should be referred by the teacher to the administrator and/or school social worker for further parental contact and appropriate action.

Board rules required teachers to keep records for the proper enrollment and accounting of pupils in all classes, and shall require an excuse in writing from parent or guardian or official admission from the principal before admitting pupils to classes after absence or tardiness.

Attendance is taken every day, morning and afternoon, in every classroom and reported to the Principal's office. A monthly report is compiled for the Central Office. Daily absence and tardy sheets are kept for six years. These forms will show every pupil who attended the school the past semester and before. They are wrapped securely and stored for the State Auditor. Principals have the responsibility to see that teachers' homeroom roll books agree with Daily Absence and Tardy Sheets. Teachers record the total absences and tardinesses of each homeroom pupil in the roll book.

Informal Practices

While the CCSS Discipline Code and rules are specific, their application varies from school to school. Generally, teachers are expected to handle all classroom discipline problems. When teachers refer cases to the principal, his/her primary weapon is suspension although students are referred for Special Education and to Child Guidance. Most principals send students home at the end of the day to return the next day with a parent and/or guardian. In some schools parents send principals written permission to administer corporal punishment to their children. Most principals decline this opportunity. Adherence to the attendance criterion for passing a student is not widely observed. Other criteria are more important such as the students' test scores, general ability, parents' status and attitude, and previous school work.

In addition, in spite of its dedication to equal educational opportunity and desegregation during SY 1979-1980, 69 percent of the students in EMR classes in elementary schools and 77.1 percent of the suspensions in the CCSS were black during that time. Very few respondents knew about system plans for studying these phenomena. Most feel that the central office personnel considered this normal and were unresponsive to it.

Formal Goal #3: Improve School Holding Power

This goal was generally promoted in elementary schools through the Assistant Superintendent's system goals: (1) positive warm teaching climates; and (2) positive relationships between home and school. Both were left to the principal's initiative.

Informal Practices

In two schools in the study, boundary spanning structures were devised to establish a positive relationship between home and school. Although both were advisory, one attempted to give the parents monitoring powers. Generally, principals resorted to public relations routines in order to achieve good relationships with home. Some activities were: (1) school assemblies; (2) art exhibits; (3) school plays; (4) feeding programs; and (5) special school drives. In most schools the creation and maintenance of warm teaching climates were left to the teachers' judgment.

The Organization of the CCSS

The CCSS was divided into 71 elementary and 24 secondary schools during the 1979-1980 school year. Of these there were 10 middle and 14 high schools. Additionally, there were two Occupational and Vocational Training (OVT) Exploratory Centers and four Special Schools. The elementary schools were of four kind: K-3; K-5; K-6; and K-8. During SY 1979-1980 the system was unified. All elementary schools were made K-5 and all children in Grades 6-8 attended middle schools accommodating those grades. This was a part of the desegregation plan which was implemented in September, 1980. All three schools in this study are K-5 elementary schools. See Table 9.

There were 23,634 black students in the CCSS in 1979, a decline in black enrollment. The black membership decreased by 5,098, or 18 percent, between 1969 and 1979. The total school population declined from 72,722 to 43,795, or by 33 percent, between 1973 and 1979. See Figures, 1, 2 and 3.

Students were placed in groups in classrooms according to chronological age. These groups are called grades. See Table 8. Children who are less than the age requirement are underaged for the grade and those more than this age requirement are overaged. There are provisions made for children with slower progress rates who need more time to master scheduled skills. Classes in Early Learning Skills (ELS) for kindergartners unready for first grade were available in some schools as were all day kindergartens during the year of the study. School C had an ELS division. During SY 1979-1980 the BPE also passed a provision for Project Pass which was a class for students who failed to achieve the standard skills during the scheduled time. These classes were for primary children, Grades 1-3, and intermediate, Grades 4-5. These classes became 70 percent black or more soon after their organization.

Informal Practices

Because the progress of students is not uniform, teachers also group children according to reading achievement by skill mastery levels using the Ginn 360 or 720 series. Most schools permit no more than three levels per class. Where more than three levels are required, students are sent for reading to other classes where these groups exist.

Table 8
AGE-GRADED GROUPINGS IN K-5 SCHOOLS

Grade	Age
K	5-6
1	6-7
2	7-8
3	8-9
4	9-10
5	10-11

Table 9
SCHOOL ORGANIZATION OF CENTRE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
SY 1979-1980

Elementary	Number of Schools	Middle	Number of Schools	High	Number of Schools
K-3	1	4-8	1	9-12	12
K-5	37	6-8	8	Alternative	1
K-6	17	7-8	1	Performing Arts.	1
K-8	16			OVT	2
				Special	4

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The pupil-teacher ratio in elementary schools is determined by counting the number of pupils in Grades 1-6 or 1-8 (excluding students in Special Education and Project Pass) and dividing by the number of teachers (excluding Special Education and Project Pass teachers). Data were provided for this determination by the Department of Elementary Schools. The computation of the average class size in elementary schools does not include sections in Project Pass, Kindergarten, Special Education, MAC and RAC. The average class size is computed by summing the total number of students in each academic section and dividing by the total number of academic sections. The citywide average for pupil-teacher ratio is 18.7:1 and for class size, it is 22.3. The citywide average for general fund expenditure for the school was $1565.62. This does not include the cost of plant maintenance and operation. Poverty data in the CCSS is obtained from requests for free and reduced lunch fees. Although these data are not completely reliable, coupled with the census reports on the SES of the area, Schools A,B, and C are classified as low income schools with the following percentages of low income families: School A, 73.8 percent; School B, 56.7 percent and School C, 91.7 percent.

Table 10

Teacher/Pupil Ratio and Per Pupil Cost in the City Public Schools A, B & C October 1979

			Per Pupil Cost*	
	Grade Level	Enrollment	General Fund Expenditure	Total Per Pupil Cost
School A	K - 5	385	1678.62	2205.28
School B	K - 5	208	1719.85	2198.31
School C	K - 5	303	1284.47	1974.09

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*Differences between per pupil general fund expenditures and total per pupil costs are accounted for by expenditures such as those related to plant operation and maintenance, district wide administrative costs, and supplemental fund expenditures for federal and state programs such as ESEA.

Table 10 (Cont'd)

Teacher/Pupil Ratio and Per Pupil Cost in the City Public Schools A, B & C October 1979

	Number of Teachers	Pupil-Teacher Ratio	Average Class Size	Percentage of Students on Free & Reduced Lunch
School A	26	18.8	21.4	73.8
School B	18	16.6	20.3	56.7
School C	18	18.8	22.3	91.7

The Hierarchy

The CCSS is organized in a hierarchical line from the nine member BPE to the teacher in the classroom. The nine members of the BPE are elected from nine school districts to serve four year terms on a staggered basis with four being elected at one time and five at another. There are six whites and three blacks on the Board. The three blacks are all males. Of the six whites, five are female and one is male. The majority of the Board consisted of four of the white females, one white male and one black male during SY 1979-1980. The three black males all have doctorate degrees; two are professors at a local university, one a clinical psychologist and the other a professor of social work and a lawyer. The third is a Presbyterian minister. The lone white male is a professor of education at the same university. The President of the Board is the daughter of a former Board President and the granddaughter of one. She is also the wife of a university professor.*

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*Of the four remaining females, two are housewives, one is a city administrator and the other a musician.

The Superintendent of Schools during SY 1979-1980 was an insider having worked in the public school system as Assistant Superintendent for OVT education. He was appointed acting superintendent on June 18, 1973 following the resignation of the former Superintendent and appointed Superintendent on November 20, 1973. He served until August, 1980. See Figures 4 and 5 organization chart of the public school system. Under the Superintendent is a Deputy Superintendent under whom are three Assistant Superintendents: Elementary, Middle and High School and the Director of the Division of Educational Program Development. The Deputy and two of the Assistant Superintendents are black. The Assistant Superintendent for Middle Schools and the Assistant Superintendent for High Schools are black; the latter is a female.

The Department of Personnel and Employee Relations and the Department of Business Affairs, The Division of Contract and Compliance and Title IX, the Division of Computer Services, The Division of Information Services, the Division of Government Liasion and the sub-city Intermediate Unit all report directly to the Superintendent.

The elementary school principals report to the Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Schools. She supervises the leadership of the 71 elementary schools with the help of the Director of the Division of Instruction for Elementary Schools and the Director of the Division of Pupil Services for Elementary Schools. The main help for school principals is the Supervisory Instructional Specialist who works under the general direction of the Director of Instruction.

The Supervisory Instruction Specialist (SIS) devotes at least 90 percent of his/her time during the school year to working directly with classroom teachers to improve the instructional process according to the position description of December, 1973. He/she works with the teaching staff to provide an enriched and sequential learning situation for each child, and assists in curricular revisions which facilitate the learning process. The SIS makes recommendations for innovations in curriculum and method and assists in curriculum development and special programs as assigned; assists the classroom teacher in observing individual students and making diagnoses of students who need a corrective or advanced program; keeps accurate anecdotal records of supervisory visits, and supplies objective

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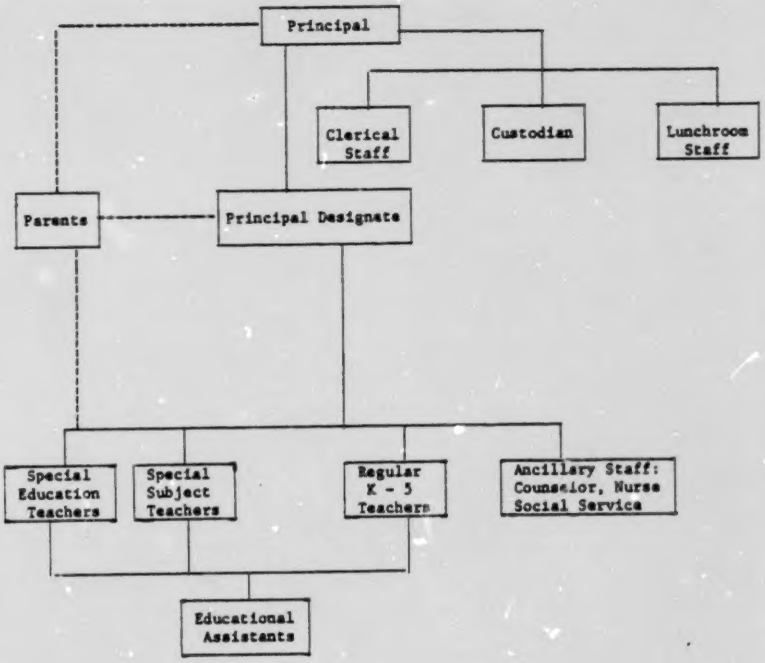
Figure 4

Formal Structural Arrangement



———— Formal lines of responsibility

- - - - - Informal lines of responsibility

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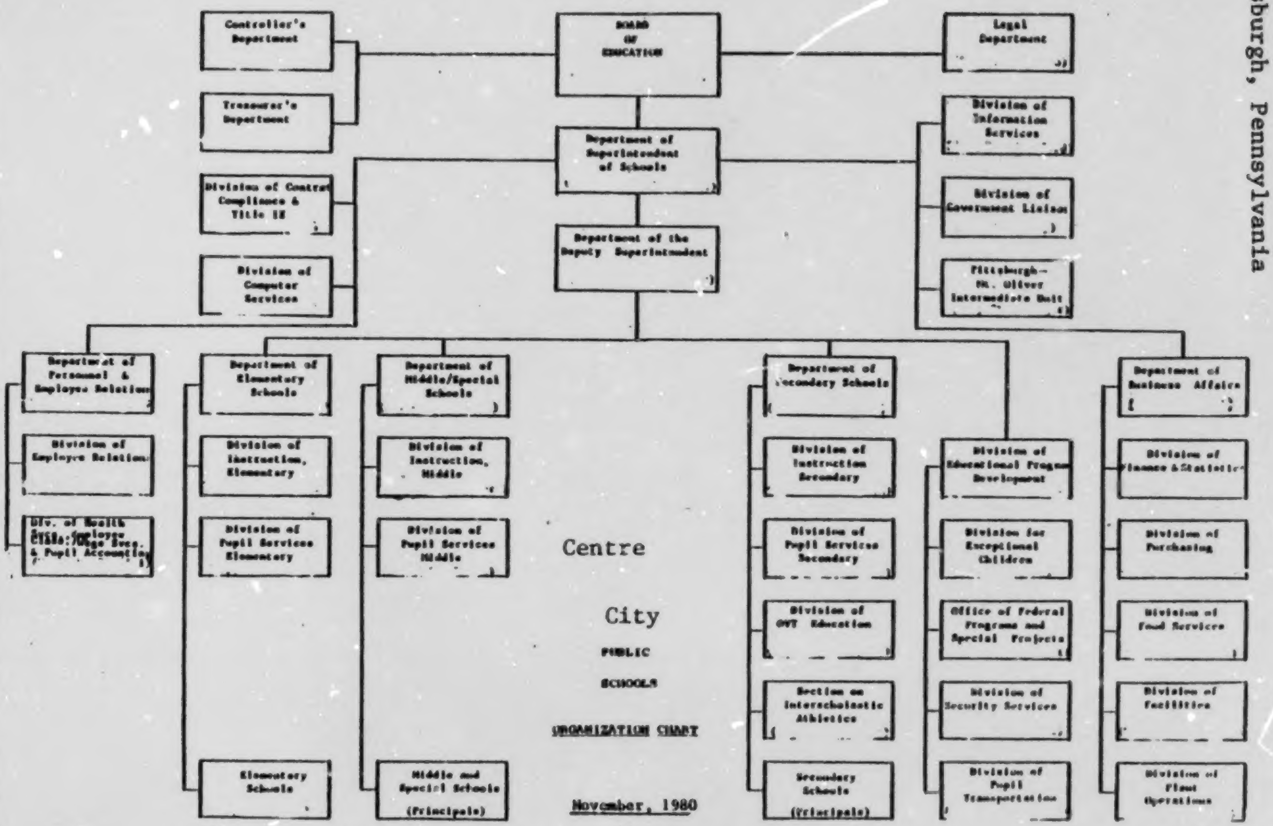
Figure 5


Controller's Department
Board of Education
Legal Department
Treasurer's Department
Department of Superintendent of Schools
Division of Information Services
Division of Contract Compliance & Title IX
Division of Government Liaison
Department of the Deputy Superintendent
Division of Computer Services
Pittsburgh–Mt. Oliver Intermediate Unit
Department of Personnel & Employee Relations
Department of Elementary Schools
Department of Middle/Special Schools
Department of Secondary Schools
Department of Business Affairs
Division of Employee Relations
Division of Instruction, Elementary
Division of Instruction, Middle
Division of Instruction Secondary
Division of Educational Program Development
Division of Finance & Statistics
Div. of Health Serv., Employee Claims, Wage Recs. & Pupil Accounting
Division of Pupil Services Elementary
Division of Pupil Services Middle
Division of Pupil Services Secondary
Division for Exceptional Children
Division of Purchasing
Division of OVT Education
Office of Federal Programs and Special Projects
Division of Food Services
Section on Interscholastic Athletics
Division of Security Services
Division of Facilities
Elementary Schools
Middle and Special Schools (Principals)
Secondary Schools (Principals)
Division of Pupil Transportation
Division of Plant Operations

Centre City
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ORGANIZATION CHART

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feedback to teachers, principals and the Director of Instruction about the quality of the instructional process. The specialists assist teachers in planning, in the use of instructional materials and curriculum guides, in methods and techniques, and in the requisitioning of learning materials, equipment and textbooks. They recommend and arrange for the services of the Media Coordinator, Educational Program Development Division Director and other specialists in the district assisting individual classroom teachers and the total staff of the building assigned.

These specialists, more than any other, are the main resource for the Principal who is trying to improve instruction or to bring about a change in a school's direction such as from a low achieving to a high achieving pattern. The SIS also meets with parents and community to interpret school programs.

Informal Practices

Supervisors are considered ineffective because their assignments are too large, and although teachers say that the supervisors are willing to provide services and are helpful whenever they do so, most of those interviewed considered the supervisors' contribution to high achievement as minimal. These supervisors do not participate a great deal in the ESEP program either since most schools do not use this item for in-service. Teachers mainly use it to tutor, prepare for the next day or mark their students' work.

The Principal

"The Principal is first and foremost an instructional leader by enhancing the learning experience of the students" stated the city position description for principals in Classes I, II and III. He/she is "the administrator of the school by clarifying objectives, assessing programs, and establishing priorities." The principal is declared to be "a communicator, explaining the school's goals, procedures, and objectives to everyone concerned ;" "a conflict mediator, recognizing that people differ on means and ends, using conflict situations as an opportunity for personal and professional growth;" and is "responsible for the preparation and submission of all necessary reports."

The Principal "supervises the comprehensive program of studies consistent with state and local Board mandates and develops with staff a statement of local school instructional objectives;" "organizes and supervises the faculty and staff, making provision for the balanced assignment of curricular and co-curricular duties;" and is "responsible for construction and implementation of the master schedule, student schedules and supervision of testing programs." The principal also has typical duties relating to staff relations, pupil personnel, community relations and operations administration.

The principal "makes recommendations to the Assistant Superintendent regarding leaves of absence, suspensions, dismissals, probationary status and tenure status of all teachers, assistant principals and other personnel for whom he/she holds responsibility;" "works with the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel and Employee Relations in the recruitment, interviewing and selection of teachers, surveys staff needs and makes recommendations;" "meets with employee organization representatives for the purpose of reviewing problems;" supervises daily attendance of all staff and institutes procedures for substitute service;" and "assists appropriate personnel in the development of handbooks for teachers and students, and active communication flows by means of such tools as an information bulletin." He/she "assists in the development and implementation of in-service education programs for the professional staff including orientation of new teachers;" "assists in the assignment of school personnel involved in athletics or intramurals in the building;" "supervises, directs or coordinates through regular meetings, interviews and observations, the work of all professional, auxiliary professional and non-professional personnel in the building'" "provides written performance evaluations of all personnel assigned."

The principal is "responsible for the administration of a system of pupil progress reporting, attendance and activities; "supervises and helps to expedite individual pupil referrals, including the processing of referrals for mental health, psychological and exceptional children's program;" "plans, organizes and manages a comprehensive program of school discipline, including an organized process of referrals, conferences, investigation, parent contact, suspension and reinstatement."

The position description states that the principal acts as "advisor for local parent groups and assists in planning and management of all parent group programs;" "attends various community functions and conducts frequent parent meetings on matters of school interests, concerns and issues, communications to all parents regarding special programs, activities, schedules and policy changes;" and conducts "telephone communication or personal office visits with parents and others regarding individual student concerns or concerns of community groups about school programs."

Additionally, the principal is "responsible for handling school financial accounts including receipts and expenditures and submits statements and reports for audit;" is "responsible for the efficient requisitioning of all materials, supplies and equipment, and the receiving of all orders;" "oversees all monies collected and is responsible for the deposit of same;" is "responsible as co-sponsor, for the operation of all school lunch and transportation programs," is "responsible for planning, organizing and supervision of clerical staff services and for the readiness of the school plant for safe and comfortable instructional use;" "reviews and submits building permits to the appropriate authorities according to community needs, and observes custodial performance;" and "organizes and supervises fire, disaster and bomb scare drills and reports same to the proper authorities." As well, he/she "reports, investigates and endeavors to control vandalism, and conducts along with the custodian monthly building inspections and reports same to the proper authorities."

The Principalship requires a master's degree, principal's certification, five years teaching experience, three years in the public school system and five years experience as administrator or supervisor. The level of a principalship is determined by the number of full time employees plus one-half the number of part time employees requiring supervision. A Level I school has from 110 plus employees; a Level II school has 55 to 109 and a Level III school has from none to 54.

The Teacher

There are several categories of teachers in the elementary schools: regular classroom teachers K-8, special subject teachers, i.e., music, art, physical education, library, special education, counselors, day care, Headstart and Scholars' Center.

Supportive service is provided by part time social workers, school psychologists, nurses, dental hygienists, therapists for the deaf, hard-of-hearing, blind, partially blind, speech correction and teachers for other handicapped conditions. This supportive service is available to the schools on a part time basis as are also the special subject teachers.

Teachers in the public school system must take the National Teachers' Examination (NTE). A composite score for ranking is acquired from the NTE score, a score received from the results of a panel interview conducted by central staff and principals and a score assigned after a review of the candidate's credentials. The structured interview is administered at the central office. Principals, assistant principals and deans are selected to serve as panelists. All work on the candidate's placement file and letters of reference must be verified. Then the prospective teacher is ranked from high to low on an eligibility list by grade and by subject for elementary schools and by subject for middle and secondary schools. When this list is completed, it is distributed to the principals. Whenever there is a vacancy in the public school system, teachers must be hired from this eligibility list according to their rank. The Personnel Department interviews and sends to the principals the next in order of rank. The principal then must choose them in that order. Newly assigned teachers are considered "temporary professionals" for two years. There are five categories of teachers: (1) probationary (certified teachers not on the eligibility list); (2) special probationary (uncertified teachers not on the eligibility list); (3) temporary professionals (newly assigned teachers); (4) status professionals (3rd year teachers eligible for certification as permanent); and (5) permanent professionals.

FOT-BPE Agreements limit the principal's control over recruitment and transfer of teachers. A number of factors such as teacher seniority and longevity are constraints. Teachers are evaluated twice a year by principals and the process of firing a teacher is initiated by the building principal. But, it takes two unsatisfactory ratings from two different schools consecutively to dismiss a teacher from the system. The first step is to have the teacher transferred, and, if the receiving principal gives the teacher an unsatisfactory rating, then the teacher can be dismissed from the system. If, however, the receiving principal accords the teacher a satisfactory rating, the teacher remains in the system.

The Union Representative

Teachers are represented by the Centre City Federation of Teachers (FOT), and the Building Representative is the agent of the FOT in any work location, functional division or group. Every school has an FOT representative and the BPE-FOT Agreement stipulates that the principal shall meet at least once a month, if requested, with the FOT Building Committee to discuss professional concerns and recommendations, with such meetings to be held at mutually agreeable times. The BPE-FOT contract honors building seniority in any school district cutbacks. Teachers, then, benefit from keeping building seniority rather than requesting transfers.

Goal Displacement and the Informal Structure

The Board majority (five members) develops board policy which is interpreted by the Superintendent who directs the Assistant Superintendents, who, in turn, direct those under them. But little monitoring or supervision seems to occur in a consistent way to accomplish system goals and philosophies as stated for public consumption. What monitoring and supervision there is, seems to protect jobs, parochial interests and privileges. Ineffective and incompetent personnel are often retained, relatives are frequently employed and instruction and high achievement become secondary concerns especially in black and poor schools.

Another outcome of these informal arrangements was the implementation of the desegregation plan adopted during the study year. The placement of 99 black children in each of two already predominantly black schools increased segregation. This was accomplished because the children had an option of one way busing into a community resisting desegregation or the movement to a high achieving black school. Parents and their board representative chose the latter. There was no consideration given to a two-way option for these children by the board majority because of trade-offs by various board members.

Informal Arrangements Around Evaluation

The board member representing School B and School C pressed for increased monitoring and evaluation of school programs and student progress during the study year, influenced greatly by a case in one of his schools. In this instance, the principal attempted to rate a teacher unsatisfactory after the incompetency was brought to her attention by parents and other teachers. The SIS was requested to assist the principal in evaluating the teacher. The unsatisfactory teacher was the relative of a high level school administrator which posed conflicts for the principal who tried to follow the system guidelines for issuing the rating. The rating was not sustained by the central office on a technicality. It arrived after the evaluation deadline.

The principal was quizzed by superiors about the anecdotal record keeping. The Director of Personnel found fault with his own reporting sheet for faculty unsatisfactory ratings. He allegedly claimed the principal incorrectly used his anecdotal form. Moreover, ordinarily, the teaching supervisor supports the principal's record keeping by filing a collaborating report with the principal. This was done, yet its double witness functions was not honored. The FOT was called in too.

The principal found these maneuverings unusual. The case was difficult enough because it involved a tenured teacher. But the first line of defense for teachers is usually the FOT. In this case, the FOT came in late and decided to stay out. The principal's unsatisfactory rating was denied because of the relationship between the teacher and the central office administrator. For the relative of the faculty member, it would have been embarrassing if his kin had to receive a signed dismissal rating from the Superintendent. Likewise, lower school administrators had to sign the rating of the relative of their central office colleague. Hence, internal bureaucratic politics at the top solved this matter and imposed that solution on the principal following directives.

Often serious formal rules of the school district are circumvented by larger constraints of central office bureaucratic politics or privilege. These underlying realities, the principal suggests, cannot be ignored. Yet, their full disclosure is hard to unearth. During this study, the SIS and the principal were drawn into a protracted struggle over internal conflicts over the evaluation. To many it was a case of special privilege that resulted only because of advantageous family membership at the right place in the school hierarchy.

Routines developed by these informal arrangements and practices sometimes impede and sometimes facilitate high achievement in reading and mathematics. The following ethnographies reveal the attempts of the actors in the three study schools to operate within the formal and informal structures of the CCSS.

Notes:

1. The references used to write the history of Centre City and the CCSS are not revealed to preserve their anonymity.
2. Blau and Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7
3. Perrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-136.
4. Ibid, pp. 158-165
5. Ibid, p. 144-158

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Chapter IV

School A: Loose Coupling and Hierarchical Independence in a Cohesive Community

Introduction

"The man is a dynamite person, who is full of drive. He gives our children a top sound educational basis. He reaches all children and more importantly, he has a magic touch with the troublesome child. That is the true essence of a teacher . . . I am sorry we don't have a dozen more in the city like him, for we won't have so many problems. I admire and respect him greatly. He is one of three people I know, who I would go back into politics for."

This description of the Principal of School A was given by a resident and parent of the School A community, who has been living there for thirty-two years, twenty-four years of which he served as the Local Committee Person. His three children attended School A.

The principal of School A was selected by that community to provide the kind of leadership and direction their children needed. As principal, and to some extent community representative, his perceptions of what School A needs for its students are different though not inconsistent with the Superintendent's goals for the entire school system. At each level in the administrative hierarchy, the actors' perceptions of the problem are shaped by their relationship to the school system and their commitment to that relationship. Faced with critical problems over the years, such as a sharply declining enrollment of twenty four thousand less students than were enrolled in 1970, financial obstacles resulting from a depressed economy, public loss of confidence in public education and the issue of desegregation, certain product oriented goals were outlined by the Superintendent of the Public Schools to eliminate or minimize some of these problems. These product goals are as follows: (1) greater achievement in fundamentals . . . reading and mathematics. . . as measured by national standards; (2) improved student attendance; (3) improved cumulative school holding power; and (4) improved standards of student conduct.

Additionally, the Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Schools submitted: (1) a positive warm teaching climate; and (2) the creation of a positive relationship between home and the school.

Since the principal shares a direct relationship with School A and its community, his goal priorities for the school do not reflect the order of priorities of the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent who are further removed from the school setting. The Superintendent, for example, sets the goals for the public school system but has only visited School A twice in seven years. The principal modified the Superintendent's goals where necessary to meet the specific needs of School A students. School A's product goals were as follows: (1) to build a strong healthy self image; (2) to acquire sound academic skills and knowledge; (3) to cooperate with others; and (4) to transfer those skills acquired to the community. These goals evolved through a process of student behavioral observations and interactions inside and outside of the school context.

The Principal states in explanation:

> I arrived at the goals over a period of time by watching children interact in school as well as the community. I found that a lot of time was being spent on trying to extricate themselves from all of the outside negative influences on their lives while putting very little time on the acquisition of skills. I also found that because of poor self-image the problems extended out into the community. So I decided that, one, I would systematically attack the self-image and thereby improve the acquisition of skills and thereby improve the climate in the community.

Unlike the other administrative levels, the principal has developed a more holistic view of student growth at School A which is different though not incompatible with the overall system goals. The critical question is whether the designated role of the principal permits him to utilize strategies that he considers vital to the attainment of these goals. The Principal believes that his role, as defined by the Board of Education, inhibits goal attainment, rather that promotes it. But, he is committed to making the goals that he has set for School A a reality, even if this entails the use of measures which do not necessarily agree with those advanced by the Board of Education. Here is the way he puts it:

> The definition that the Board of Education applies to me, if I followed it, specifically, would be an inhibitor of change. What you must do is what you have to do within the school setting to improve the education of kids even if you have to stretch guidelines, even if you have to alter regulations, even if you have to be a militant or vociferous in your demands you have to do it. If it means being non-cooperative, then you have to do that too. If you have to be a rebel you can be that.

This formal dominance of higher levels of authority in the educational system does not become an excuse for inaction with community support; the Principal is independent enough of the hierarchy to take the necessary risks for making the Board of Education and the Superintendent responsive to the needs of School A.

However, to this end, the policies of the Board of Education are firm but malleable. To accept the status quo is to fail at School A, for the needs of the students here are unique. The process by which goals are attained at the school deviates from that prescribed by the Board of Education which tolerates these deviations only because the Principal gets his job done. Over the period of 1976-1980 School A was the third highest achieving predominantly black poor school and the highest achieving during SY1979-1980. The School A Principal believes that his students can learn and that the routines ordinarily used to educate them are inefficient, underfunded and ineffective. He agrees also that the larger social order perpetuates the imputation of black inferiority through its value system and education. He developed a consensus among the school community actors around his goals and with them he proceeded to construct and implement routines, scenarios and processes for goal attainment. His authority rested on the willing compliance of his subordinates who felt an obligation to him for his management of student discipline and parental conflict, and, consequently, agreed to his constant observation and monitoring of their observance of the rules.

At each level of authority in the administrative hierarchy there are deviations, but the ultimate results are the same. The policies of the Board of Education and the practices of School A represent different ways of getting to the same end. This ethnography shows that loose coupling between the Superintendent and the Principal of School A and tight coupling between the Principal of School A, his teachers and his community facilitate high achievement as it is defined in this study.

School A: History and Characteristics

School A was constructed in 1903. A second wing, the perpendicular center structure forming a T building shape was added in 1906. Its original population was composed of German immigrant students. When the school was built, itinerant vendors of fruit and vegetables, fish, fowl and meat still made weekly wagon rounds selling their wares. The school itself stands on the top of a steep hill. All approaches to the school require hill hiking. It was named after the head of a wealthy immigrant landowning family, who donated the land for the school. From its inception, a few blacks have attended.

School A stands on the second set of mountain ridges on the city's south side in the Melchior District. It is surrounded by traditionally white working class communities on all sides, a closed black enclave. The school has been threatened with closing because of the school system's need to desegregate. Before this attention, however, the school experienced a strong demographic shift during a period of rising population. In 1966, the school housed 780 students. In the Fall of 1979 enrollments dipped by 51 percent to 385. The record suggests a natural attrition averaging 30 students per year from 1966 to 1970. In 1971, redistricting quadrupled that rate in one year and left a student body of 543. Racial proportions stayed constant, nine blacks for every white. The school operated as K-6 after 1971. For the next four school years, enrollment stayed roughly constant as attrition registered a stunningly low average of six per year. Yet, as a part of the overall political maneuvers to avoid desegregation, School A was again reorganized and lost its sixth grade in 1976. This cost the school a one time loss of 110 students, 18.3 times the rate of annual attrition in one year. The student body slipped from an average of 520 to 408, downsized by a fourth. The new K-5 school since 1976 kept its pervious low attrition record now at eight percent per year. But the overall effect after fourteen years produced a school with half the students it once had. See Table 11. At the recent attempt to close the school as part of the city's projected desegregation package, a long-time community activist at School A made these observations:

> We ain't got much. But we've fought hard to keep this school time and time again. And today we don't intend to let it close and lose one of our last precious stones . . . one of the keys to our children's futures . . . the centerpiece for our long haul up. We want that Principal and that school to stay there. Enough has been enough!

This community activist's comments reflect anguish and discontent over long years of school policy dismantling, chip by chip, a black blue collar community school with viable student demand and ample population pressure. School A also accommodates a large and diverse religious community composed of several unique sects devoted to the school's presence.

The pupil-teacher ratio for School A during School Year (SY) 1979-1980 and was 18.8:1 and the average class size was 21.4 See Table 10. The total per pupil School A was $2205.28. The total general fund expenditure for the school was $1678.62. This does not include the cost of plant maintenance and operation. The city-wide average for pupil-teacher ratio is 18.7:1 and for class size it is 22.3.

Table 11

School Enrollment in School A: 1967-1979

Year	Enrollment	Loss
1967	793	+ 13
1968	736	- 63
1969	717	- 13
1970	655	- 62
1971	543	-112
1972	536	- 7
1973	520	- 16
1974	505	- 15
1975	518	+ 13
1976	408	-110
1977	413	+ 5
1978	396	- 17
1979	385	- 11

Site Description

Conditions in the community have deteriorated over the years. The outward migration of whites and the inward migration of blacks have left many houses abandoned and many desolate pockets scattered throughout the community. The high prevalence of absentee landlords has also contributed to the general decline of the community. Efforts are underway to renovate the community.

Almost three-fourths of the student population at School A are considered poor. This estimate is based on the number of students receiving free lunches at the school. Some students often come to school without having breakfast so the Principal keeps a supply of cereal and milk for this purpose. He estimates that approximately 75 percent of the student population come from single parent families.

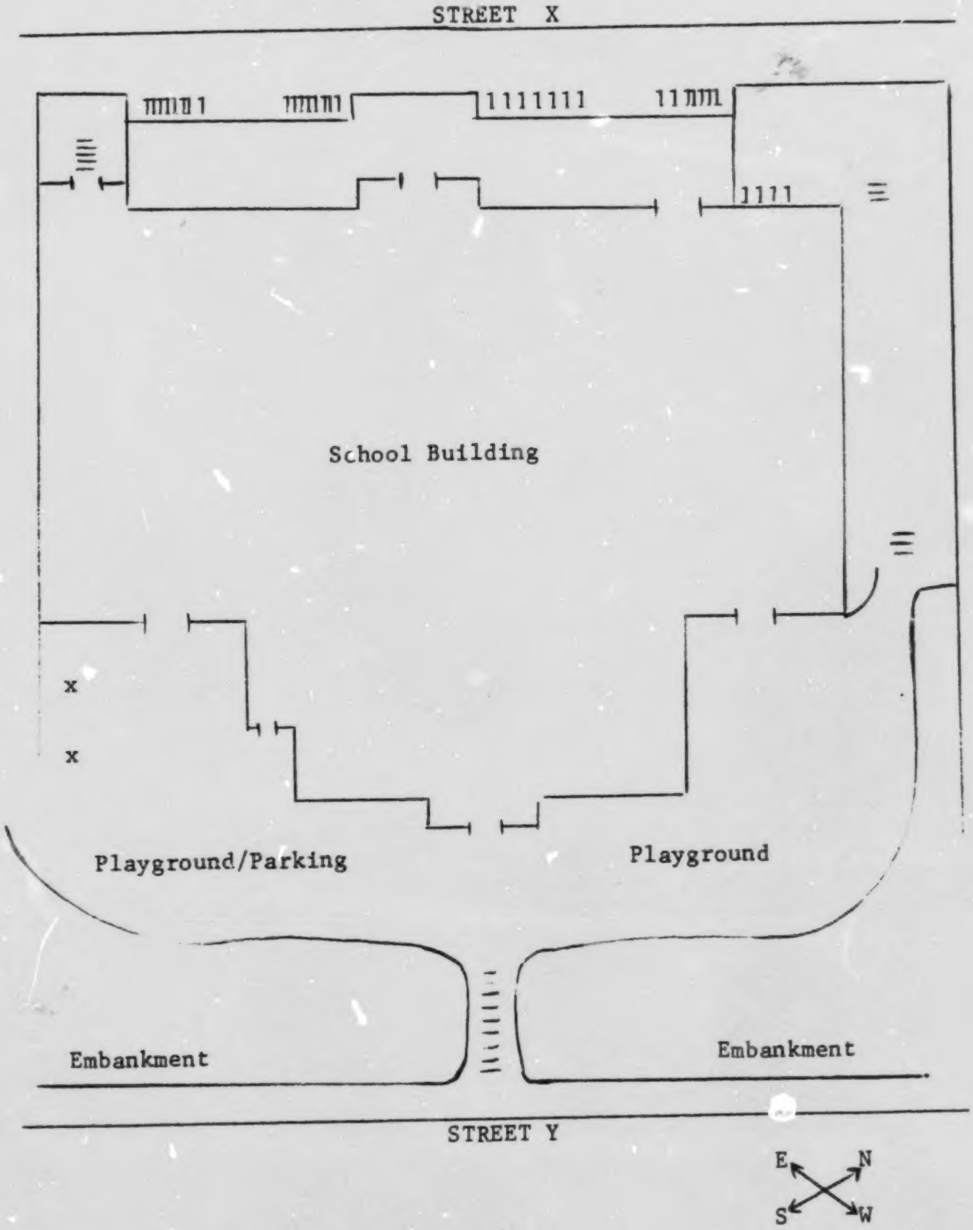
The building is a solid red-brick structure, located on top of a hill in the middle of a residential area. The area is extremely quiet. A series of steps rise sharply from the street to the front and back entrances of the school. The small play area is at the back of the school. There are a couple of basketball hoops and various game strategies painted on the pavement. Part of the playground is used for parking.

For a building nearly 75 years old, the structure is sound. The wide open stairways, by central staff conclusion, should be enclosed to meet newer fire codes for school buildings.Because of this defect, the structure has been rated unsatisfactory. Yet, its lavish use of space could not be rebuilt; the cost and luxury would be prohibitive. The large walk-in closets, individualized classroom sinks, continuous decorative woodwork, oversized windows, solid oak floors and high ceiling rooms are common architectural features of late 19th century school buildings which, in material and labor cost, cannot be replicated today, and make the building a promising candidate for a historical landmark. Direct sunlight hits three sides. The painting is rather fresh and clean, although it is more than three years old in most classrooms. The rooms have various colors, bright and appealing, rather than the traditional monotone beige or off-white. Student restrooms have been completely renovated on all floors, including retiling. The heating system is a new replacement.

Daytime plant maintenance falls under the head school engineer who tackles all building and grounds requests, routine outside clean-ups, overnight mishaps, boiler and furnace operations, daytime restrooms supply shortages; and after-lunch refuse removals. He has a night-time service operation immediately after dismissal and removes all daytime refuse. Mechanical plant maintenance services are kept up and performed.

Figure 6

Physical Layout of School A



School Organization

School A is organized vertically from kindergarten through fifth grade. It also has a Day Care Program, two Learning Disabilities/Brain Injured (LD/BI) classes, and two Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) classes. Supplementary programs like a Primary Reading Readiness Program (PREP) in kindergarten and first grade, a full time Title I RAC Program, a half time Title I MAC Program, instrumental music classes once a week, vocal music classes, art classes and library 2½ days a week are available. There are two half day kindergarten classes, two first grade classes, three second grade classes, three third grade classes, three fourth grade classes and three fifth grade classes. There is a part-time counselor and a physical education teacher who is also responsible for health instruction. There are fifteen regular classroom teachers at School A, four special education teachers, seven special subject teachers, six educational aides and six lunchroom aides. There is one principal, one clerk, no assistant principal and one lunchroom manager.

Pupils report to school at 8:30 a.m. Opening exercises occur between 8:35 a.m. and 8:40 a.m. after which there are eight periods of class approximately 40 minutes each. There are three lunch sessions during the 5th and 6th periods. The first lunch period commences at 11:15 a.m. and ends at 11:45 a.m. Curiously, this lunch period is for fourth and fifth graders. The second lunch period begins at 11:45 a.m. and ends at 12:15 p.m. This lunch period is shared by the third graders, one second grade, one fourth grade and two special education groups. The last lunch period is from 12:15 p.m. until 12:45 p.m. and is shared by the first and second grades and the special education classes. From 2:35 p.m. until 3:05 p.m. there is a period for teachers to have ESEP. Children are dismissed each day at 2:35 p.m. Children in special education are bussed into School A from a larger school district and leave at 2:00 p.m. School A children who are in the Scholars' Program (for children who test 131 I.Q. or higher) are bussed to another school. Teachers then use the ESEP period for their preparation or work period. Sometimes the Principal calls meetings at this time, but this is not done frequently or regularly. Teachers are tardy at 8:30 a.m. and pupils are tardy at 8:35 a.m. Teachers may not leave the building during the ESEP period without permission of the Principal.

School A is a school of self-contained classrooms. The Principal says that they have tried departmentalization, team teaching and everything else you could imagine in their attempt to elevate the achievement at School A. This year they have decided to stick with self-containment. There are part-time teachers for library, art, vocal and instrumental music. The instrumental music teacher is at School A one day a week and the others are there 2½ days a week. There is some exchange of students for reading and mathematics. One first grade student takes reading in the second grade. Several second grade students take reading in the third grade and there are some exchanges within the grades where the reading levels are not available. These arrangements are made with the Principals' approval and the teachers' recommendations.

The horizontal organization of this school is based on reading achievement. The regular basal reading series is Ginn 360 (1978). The Principal does not want more than three levels in one class; therefore, teachers exchange students in levels not available in the class to which they are assigned because of their age-graded placements. The kindergarten students at School A are assessed on a checklist of skills which must be mastered prior to the student's entry into first grade. Their horizontal placement is dependent upon their degree of mastery.

Except for kindergarten and special education, the assignment of teachers to classrooms is rotated. One year the teacher receives the accelerated achievers, the next year the low ones. A new student's reading record is received from the sending school without prejudice and the student is placed in a classroom where the level is taught and where there is not overcrowding. However, if a student shows that he/she reads better or less well than the previous school's records indicate, the Principal may recommend that the student be moved to another level and/or classroom.

Each teacher administers his/her own mastery level and unit level reading tests whenever the student completes a unit or a level. At this time such an accomplishment is reported to the Principal who sends for the group achieving this goal. The group comes into the Principal's office and reads the finished level. The Principal discusses their accomplishments and congratulates them for doing so well. Students who do not master the level are brought into the Principal for a "pep" talk. He encourages them to do better next time.

Mainstreamed children with handicaps or learning problems receive special services from speech and hearing therapists, psychologists, social workers, visual therapists and other itinerant services. Additionally, there is a part-time counselor at School A. Children are seen regularly and on call. There is a part-time nurse in the school and vision and hearing were checked for some individuals during the study year. Students have art, music and physical education twice a week. Students in the intermediate grades have one period of health from the gym teacher.

Teachers may send a child to different teachers for instruction but only with the Principal's approval. They may make referrals through the Principal to any Special Services or to RAC/MAC teachers. RAC/MAC students receive this service daily and they must be scheduled for RAC at a period other than their reading period since Title I is supplementary and must not supplant regular school service. Since there is only a half day of MAC service sometimes this is not avoidable since mathematics is taught in the afternoon.

Student Characteristics

During SY 1979-1980 there were 368 children in School A and 89.35 percent of them were black. There were 275 in grades 1 through 5, 48 in kindergarten and the remainder in LD/BI and EMR. The Educational Program Capacity for the school is 432. The students who attend LD/BI and EMR classes were transported to School A from all over the district by bus. These students arrived at 8:20 a.m. and left at 2:15 p.m. See Table 12.

Table 12

STUDENT POPULATION: SCHOOL A

School Enrollment for Sept. 1979

Grade	Boys	Girls	Total
5	35	26	61
4	30	39	69
3	27	30	57
2	38	27	65
1	25	22	47
Kndg.	20	28	48
Spec.	31	7	38
Total	206	179	385

School Enrollment for June 1980

Grade	Boys	Girls	Total
5	30	23	53
4	29	35	64
3	25	29	54
2	34	27	61
1	22	21	43
Kndg.	22	26	48
Spec.	35	10	45+
Total	197	171	368

Table 13

TRANSFERS IN AND OUT: SCHOOL A
SY 1979-1980

	Grade	K	1	2	3	4	5	EXC	Total
IN: # of Students		2	1	8	1	3	1	7	23
OUT: # of Students		2	5	12	4	8	9	0	40
Total		4	6	20	5	11	10	7	63

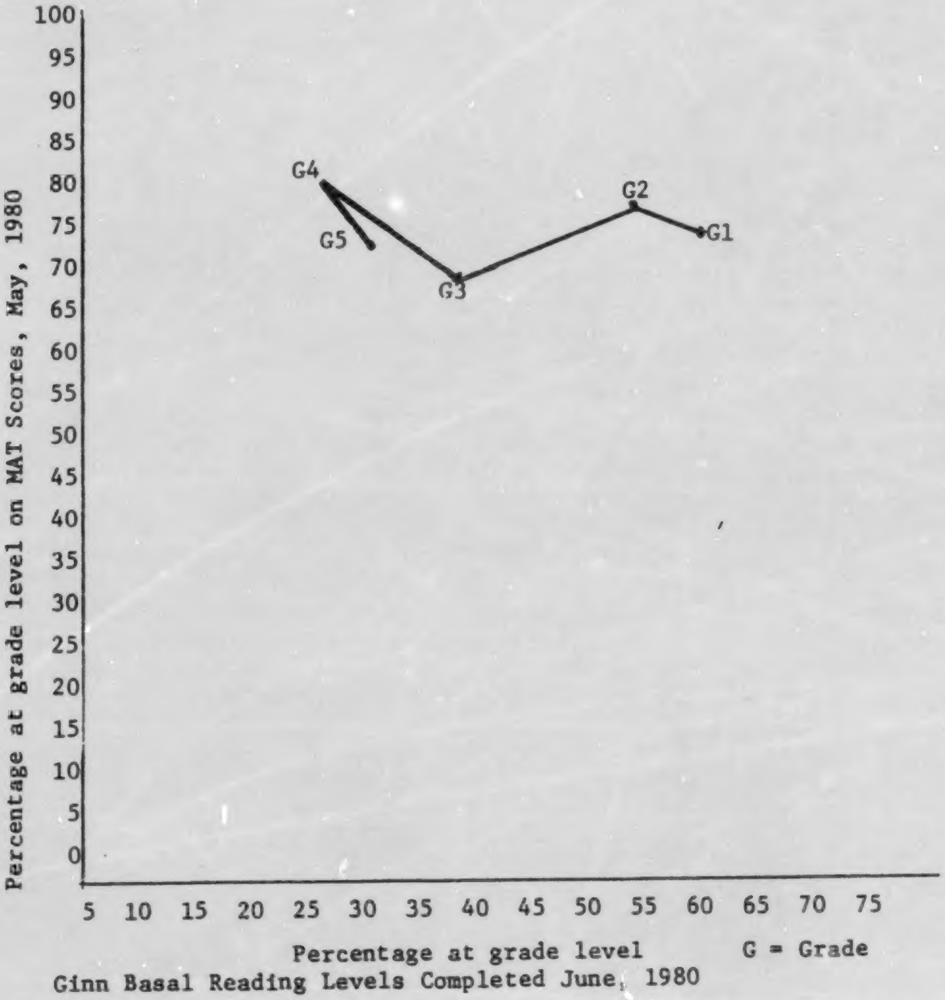
During SY 1979-1980, 23 students transferred into School A and 40 students transferred out to total 63 students or 16 percent of the October, 1979 membership of 385. Nearly a third of these transfers occurred in Grade 2 and another third in Grades 4 and 5.

Of the 41 first graders tested on the May, 1980 MAT 29 were at or above the national norm of 1.9 in reading or 71 percent. The range was 3.7 to 1.4. Twenty-six had completed the 1^2 reader or 63 percent in June, 1980. Thirty-one scored at or above the national norm of 1.8 or 75 percent in mathematics. The range was 5.9 to 1.3. Sixty one second graders took the MAT in May, 1980. Of these, 45, 74 percent, scored at or above the national norm of 2.6 in reading, and 32 completed the 22 reader in June, 1980 or 52 percent. The range was 6.9 to 2.2 in reading. Forty three, or 70 percent, scored at or above the national norm of 2.7 in mathematics with a range of 6.9 to 2.0. Fifty-four third graders completed the MAT in June, 1980, and 38, or 70 percent, scored at or above the national norm of 3.5 in reading. Nineteen, or 35 percent, completed the 3^2 reader. The reading range was 6.6 to 1.8 in the third grade. Twenty-seven scored at or above the national norm of 3.8 in mathematics or 50 percent. The range was 6.6 to 3.1. Sixty-three fourth graders were present to be examined on the MAT in May, 1980. Of these, fifty reached or passed the city norm of 4.5 in reading or 79 percent. Sixteen completed the fourth grade basal reader or 25 percent. The range in reading was 9.9 to 3.1. Eighty-six percent of the fourth graders scored at or above the city norm in mathematics of 4.8. The range in mathematics was from 8.8 to 4.3. Thirty-nine of the 53 fifth graders who took the MAT in May, 1980, or 73 percent, met or passed the city norm of 5.5 in reading, and 18 or 35 percent completed the fifth grade reader. The reading range was 9.9 to 3.7. Seventy seven percent of the 5th graders scored at or above the national norm of 5.7 in mathematics with a range of 9.8 to 4.3.

Table 14

Percentage of Students at Grade Level in Mat Reading Scores and the Basal Reader at School A

June 1980



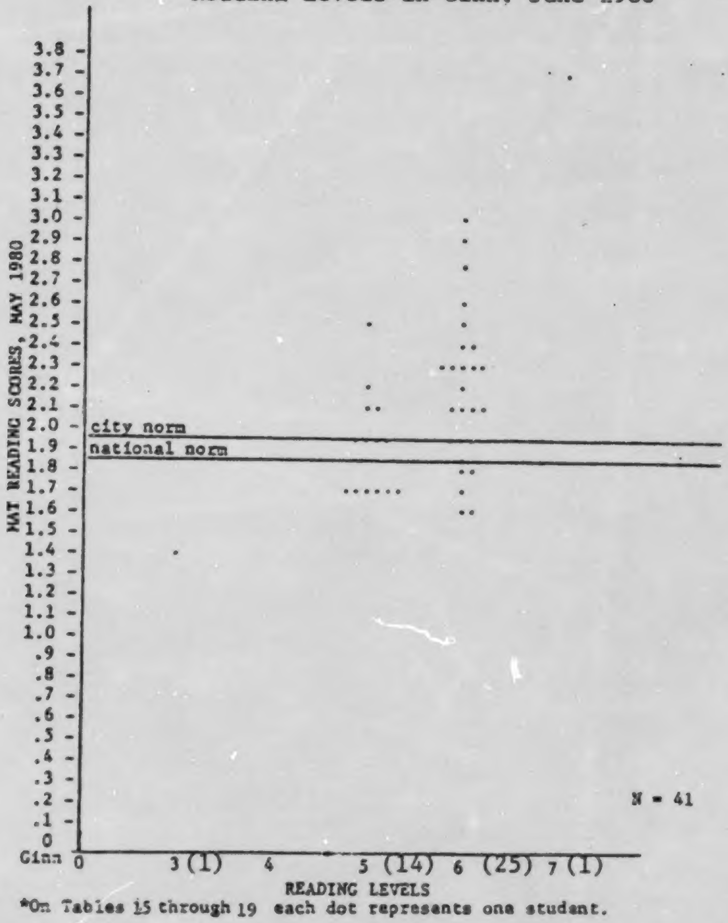
School A was the highest achieving school of the three study schools on the MAT in May, 1980 scoring at or above the national norms in reading and mathematics in every grade. For the past five years, since SY 1975-1976, School A has been third among the top five high achieving elementary schools which have been 75 percent or more black. During that period School A exhibited high growth 100 percent of the time and high achievement 55 percent of the time as compared to School C which showed high growth 97 percent of the time and high achievement 89 percent of the time while School B showed high growth 85 percent of the time and high achievement only 35 percent of the time. See Table 6. In SY 1975-1976 School A was the highest in the city in growth in reading at the fourth grade level.

The highest percentage of students at or above grade level on the MAT in reading is in the fourth grade, 79 percent. The lowest percentage of students at grade level on the MAT in reading is in the third grade , 70 percent, where there are 35 percent in the correct basal reader. The lowest percentage of students at grade level in the basal reader is in fourth grade. The highest percentage of students at or above grade level in mathematics on the MAT is in Grade 4 and the lowest percentage is in Grade 3. See Tables 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. There does not seem to be a high correlation between achievement in the basal reader and achievement on the MAT in reading. This substantiates the claim of the public school system that the MAT is not highly correlated with what is being taught. This is the reason given for changing the standardized test in SY 1980-1981. From the distribution of students by basal reader (See Table 20) there is only one student in first grade of schedule.

The range of student absence in School A during SY 1979-1980 was from 77.75 days to none. For tardiness the range was from 59 times to none the school year. The mean regular absence for School A was 5.646 days per school year for the regularly absent student. For the extremes the mean absence was 23.15. Twenty percent of the extreme absences occurred in Grade 1. Extreme tardiness is a problem in one first, one third, one fourth and all of the second grade classes. Otherwise, tardiness is not a problem at School A. See Tables 21, 22, 23, and 24.

Table 15*

School A: First Grade Comparisons of MAT Reading Levels in Ginn, June 1980



*On Tables 15 through 19 each dot represents one student.

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Table 16

School A: Second Grade Comparisons of MAT Reading Scores and Reading Levels in Ginn, June 1980

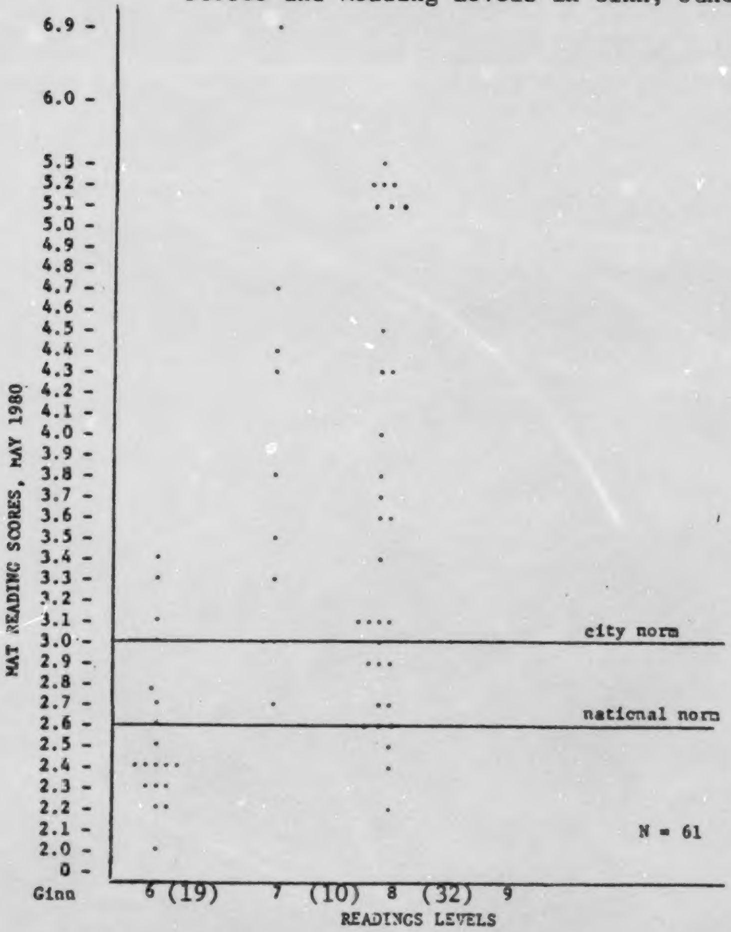

TABLE 17

School A: Third Grade Comparisons of MAT Reading Scores and Reading Levels in Ginn, June, 1980

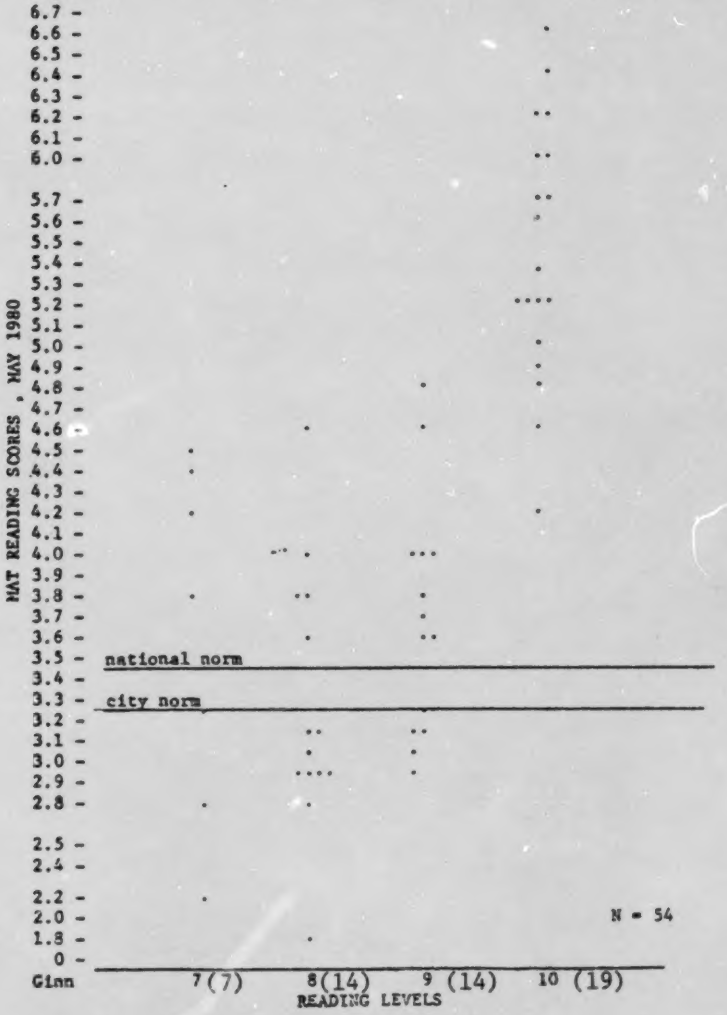

TABLE 18

School A: Fourth Grade Comparisons of MAT Reading Scores and Reading Levels in Ginn, June 1980

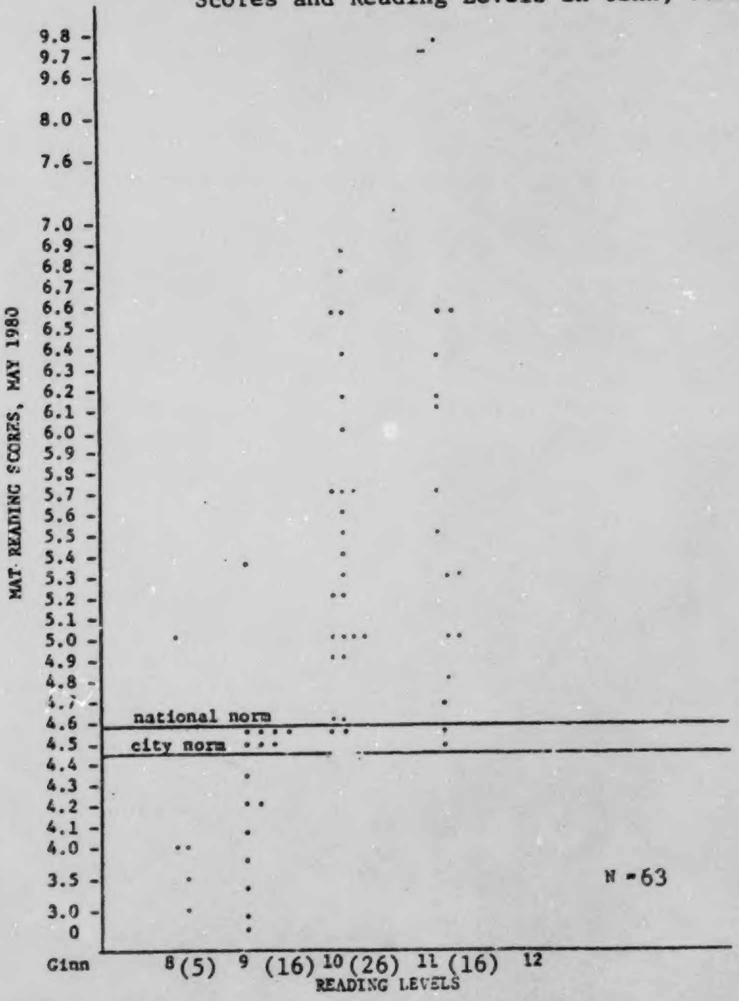

TABLE 19

School A: Fifth Grade Comparisons of MAT Reading Scores and Reading Levels in Ginn, June 1980

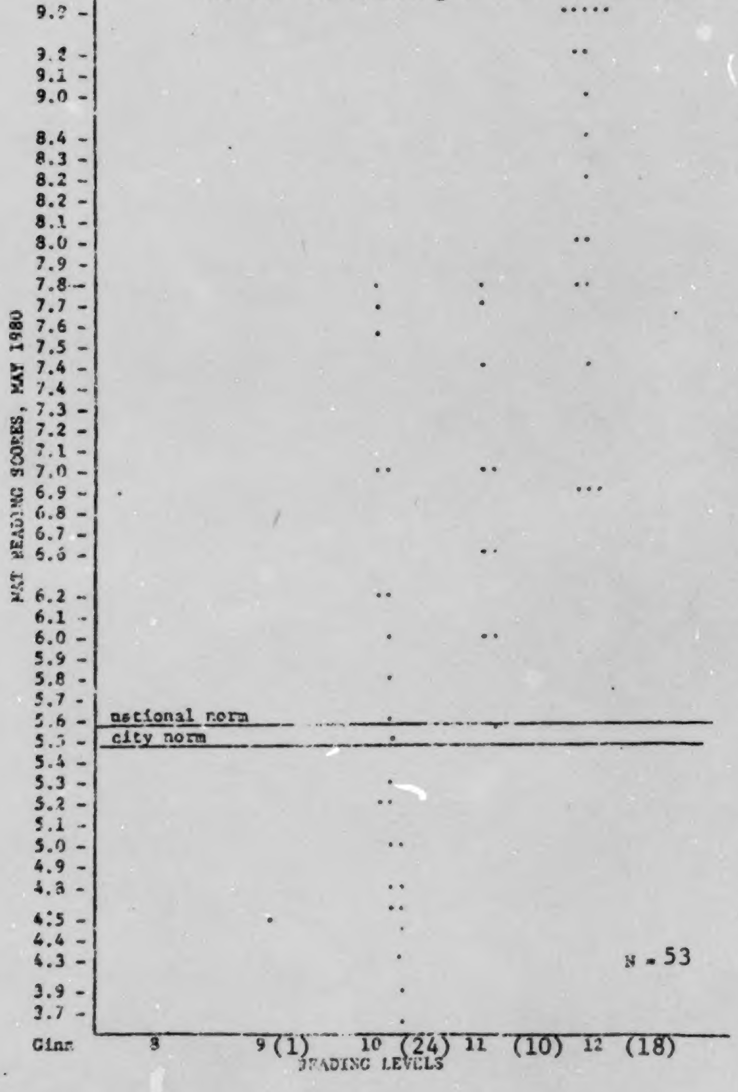

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TABLE 20

School A: Distribution of Students by Basal Reader and Grade Completed June 1980

Grade	Ginn 360 Levels												TOTAL # of Students*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1			1	—	14	25	1						41
2						19	10	32					61
3							7	14	14	19			54
4								5	16	26	16		63
5									1	24	10	18	53
TOTAL													272

*Three students are missing: two in first grade and one in fourth grade.

Table 21

School A: Regular Student Absences SY 1979-1980

Room	Grade	Sample Size	Mean of Sample
106	1	18	7.7777
114	1	11	5.04545
107	2	16	5.25
108	2	17	4.61765
208	2	14	3.4642
206	3	15	6.0666
207	3	16	6.4444
209	3	16	3.9375
203	4	15	4.9666
204	4	18	4.1111
210	4	20	5.65
202	5	17	5.0000
213	5	12	6.2187
215	5	15	2.4333

Table 22

School A: Extreme Student Absences SY 1979-1980

Room	Grade	Sample Size	Mean of Sample
106	1	4	33.25
114	1	10	20.875
107	2	3	13.777
108	2	5	16.1429
208	2	6	16.0
206	3	2	23.1
207	3	2	21.5
209	3	3	21.25
203	4	7	22.7
204	4	2	14.75
210	4	2	33.37
202	5	2	38.25
213	5	3	22.6667
215	5	4	24.2

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Table 23

School A: Regular Student Tardinesses SY 1979-1980

Room	Grade	Sample Size	Mean of Sample
106	1	18	4.55
114	1	11	3.27
107	2	15	3.73
108	2	20	2.05
208	2	15	2.33
206	3	13	3.16
207	3	16	6.7857
209	3	16	1.68
203	4	18	3.88
204	4	16	2.19
210	4	16	3.81
202	5	19	0.952
213	5	12	1.23
215	5	14	2.25

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Table 24

School A: Extreme Student Tardinesses SY 1979-1980

Room	Grade	Sample Size	Mean of Sample
106	1	4	33.25
114	1	10	20.87
107	2	4	13.77
108	2	2	16.14
208	2	5	16.0
206	3	4	23.28
207	3	2	21.5
209	3	3	21.25
203	4	4	34.5
204	4	4	17.33
210	4	6	20
202	5	0	0
213	5	3	22.66
215	5	5	24.2

Teacher Characteristics

There are 26 teachers at School A, 21 white and five black, 23 female and three male, one of whom is black. The aggregate of teachers has approximately seven years of teaching experience in School A and ten years actual teaching experience overall. There were three substitutes at School A during SY 1979-1980 for teachers out on maternity leave. Sixty-six percent of the teachers have an actual teaching experience of more than ten years. Of the teachers who responded, the largest cohort (33 1/3 percent) graduated from college between 1965 and 1969; the second largest between 1970 and 1974 (28.5 percent). Fifty-five percent of the special subject teachers are in these two cohorts as are 66 percent of the primary teachers. More than 50 percent of the teachers received their bachelor's degrees from public institutions of higher education in the study state and 71 percent received their first degrees from public institutions in and out of the study state. Nearly half of the teachers received their first degrees from study at city institutions of higher education.

The principal is a black male who has been the building administrator since 1968. He has a doctorate in education. Both secretaries are white females. The chief lunchroom manager is black. The school nurse is white. The instructional supervisor is white also. There is no assistant principal.

Only 21 of the 26 School A teachers were interviewed and responded to the Professional Staff Questionnaire. Of these 21 teachers, 12 were Kindergarten through Grade 5 teachers and nine were Special Subject teachers.

Table 25

School A: Total Teaching Experience Among Teachers

Category	Number	Mean Years	Range
Regular: K - 5	12	10.3	17 - 3
Special Subject	9	10.1	20 - 5
Primary	8	8.7	13 - 3
Intermediate	4	14.5	17 - 9
All Teachers	21	10.2	20 - 3

Table 26

School A: Average Teaching Experience At School A Among Teachers

Category	Number	Mean Years	Range
Regular: K - 5	12	6.75	12 - 1
Special Subject	9	6.1	12 - 1
Primary	8	6.25	11 - 1
Intermediate	4	7.75	12 - 1
All Teachers	21	6.45	12 - 1

In School A the Kindergarten teacher's sole experience has been in Kindergarten. Only one of the two first grade teachers was interviewed and her experience was in first grade. One of the three second grade teachers had previous experience in second grade; three of the third grade teachers had third grade teaching experience. Only one fourth grade teacher was interviewed and she had no fourth grade teaching experience. All three of the fifth grade teachers had fifth grade teaching experience. The Special Subject teachers were the most versatile having experience spread out across the grades. Only two had had no previous special subject experience.

Of the 12 classroom teachers responding, five have met a master's equivalency requirement of 30 hours beyond the bachelor's degree and five have earned a master's degree. Of the nine Special Subject teachers, eight have earned master's degrees and one has met the equivalency requirement.

Table 27

School A Teachers: Total Teaching Experience

Category	Total Number* of Teachers	K - 5	Special Subject	Primary	Intermediate
Less than 3 years	0	0	0	0	0
3 to 4 years	3	3	0	3	0
5 to 9 years	4	1	3	0	1
10+ years	14	8	6	5	3
Total	21	12	9	8	4

*Two fourth grade teachers and one first grade teacher are not included.

Table 28

School A Teachers: Place And Source Of College Training

	City		State Outside City		Outside State	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
Pri:K-3	4	3	0	0	1	1
Int:4-5	1	0	1	0	2	0
Spec.Subj.	0	2	5	0	1	0
Total	5	5	6	0	4	1

Table 29

School A: Previous Experience Of Teachers By Grade And Special Subject

Teaching Position SY 1979-1980

	Previous Experience						
Grade	Kng	1	2	3	4	5	Special Subject
Kng	1						
1		1					
2			1	2			1
3	1	2	2	3	1		
4			1	1		1	1
5			1		1	3	3
Spec. Subj.	2	2	3	1	2	1	7
	4	5	8	7	4	4	12

Table 30

School A Teachers: Years Completed Initial Teacher Training (B.A./B.S. in Education)

Years	K - 3	4 - 5	Special Subject	Percent of Total
1940-49	0	1	0	4.76
1950-54	1	0	1	9.52
1955-59	0	1	1	9.52
1960-64	0	0	1	4.76
1965-69	3	1	3	33.32
1970-74	3	1	2	28.50
1975-80	1	0	1	9.52
Total	8	4	9	99.90

The Principal

After three years of poor leadership at School A, dissatisfied parents and community residents decided that something had to be done to arrest the deteriorating management of the school. They organized a meeting with the district legislator and within 65 days they got the kind of principal they wanted: the present Principal at School A. The Principal describes his initial experiences at School A as follows:

> When I first arrived here, we didn't have community support because the parents had a kind of negative point of view about the school. So we had to change that. Once we got discipline under control we were able to develop community support. Then we were able to use that strength to build our staff. The parents were also instrumental in that. Once we got the staff, then we could set high expectations for our kids and then we were able to branch off into humanistic problem solving, self-image development and that sort of thing because everything else was equal.

The Principal is a tall black male in his late forties who has been the Principal of School A for 12 years. He has worked in the CCSS for 16 years as a teacher, coordinator of adult basic education, consultant, vice principal and principal. Prior to coming into the public school system, he worked at another school for one and a half years as a math teacher and counselor for delinquent children. His usual sartorial style is a vested suit with matching shirt, no tie and matching shoes that are modern in design. The person of the Principal transcends the office, and the latter is simply a reflection of him and what he stands for. The office provides the basic structure for the management of School A as dictated by the Board, but how these things are processed rests with the Principal. It is rare that one hears the terms "office" or "Principal" at School A. The staff and student population at School A almost always say "Dr. ______," especially the students. One staff member had this to say, "Dr. _____ is School A."

The Principal maintains a formal relationship with his staff and a semi-formal to informal relationship with the students, depending on the circumstances. The students revere the Principal. At no time have negative statements been heard from students about the Principal.

The Principal knows the community. He knows the parents. Above all, he knows the students. A large percentage of the parents abdicate total responsibility for their children's education and conduct to the Principal. In short, he can be regarded as the primary socializing unit for many of the students. One staff member said:

> ...(The Principal)...is in touch with parents to such a degree that parents are complacent. They know this is a home away from home and they leave it to...(the Principal).

The Principal also stressed the need for teachers to be strong models for students of School A. The child philosophy at School A is "Do not crush a child's personality." The Principal feels that the students have enough negative forces to deal with outside the school and he does not want to aggravate the situation further. Above everything else, he wants students to feel positive about themselves. He wants them to reason out their problems and come to grips with a possible solution. Getting to know the students is important, for the Principal believes that only by knowing them would he be able to help them. Knowing the students means getting to know the community. At School A they are one and the same.

The Principal invests a lot of time in the students. It is impossible to reach him by telephone until 3:30 p.m. At 3:00 p.m. he is still counseling students or working in his office. Dismissal is at 2:35 p.m. One staff member said this:

> He is here even after school hours and even on weekends, if you have a problem, to assist with the children... not only just the children, but their families,too. He shows concern even though he does not live in our community, but you would think he does because he is here all the time whenever you need him.

He belongs to every organization in the School A community and more, and has been very instrumental in reducing crime in the area and creating a healthy environment for the students. He finds that what happens in the community eventually reaches the school. Another staff member had this to say:

> Everybody knows him in the neighborhood. For example, most people have flowers and things around their homes and a couple of times there were flowers pulled and thrown in the street. This man called the school and talked to the Principal. He did not know which student had done it. The Principal went around to the classrooms and spoke to the students and it has not happened since. Since...(the Principal)...has been here there has been no more fighting in the street...He can sit down and talk with them...He speaks their language.

The Principal is extremely mobile. Daily he can be seen throughout the building and on the playground. He is in constant contact with staff and students. He visits the classrooms and the lunchroom at least once a day; he is often seen walking in the halls. He is outside every day at dismissal to dispatch the students safely and have informal "rap sessions" with them. He often accompanies them when they are awarded recess. The Principal's day is virtually spent interacting with the students. He strongly identifies with teaching and believes his job is to be a teacher through the Principal's office. The Principal sees himself as an all purpose provider for various constituencies: a classroom disciplinarian and an instructional coordinator. He acts as an instructional leader and double-checks teachers' performances. He orders special tasks and freely interrupts any class at any time daily to conduct schoolwide business. He also manages classroom irregularities---i.e., mending wounds, removing bad examples or administering punishments. He is expected to defend teaching practices and grading postures. For students, he conveys the schools' expectations, the teachers' feelings, the parents' desires and his own possible powers of reward and punishment. He strives to get all the background information on children who misbehave. He knows all students and can daily call them by first name anywhere. He constantly contacts parents and receives parents frequently. He generally concurs with teachers' aims for students. He insists he wants students to have "a good positive identity...," "...to feel good about themselves..."---to have a positive self esteem. He resents anyone conveying negative "vibes" to the children. He thinks the children already have it tough by their poor circumstances: "They don't need any more additional hassles." He believes he acts as the conscience of parents when he disciplines. While he sees himself as a child advocate with the teachers, he tries not to antagonize them. But he challenges their ineptness or poor skills.

These challenges may be given in a friendly or officious manner. Ordinarily, recommendations may be made but absolute final decision making will come from the Principal. On routine matters---sending home permission notes, sending home classroom papers and tests, giving parents warning notices of poor performances---the Principal follows teachers' recommendations. On school policies, he may solicit advice. Or he may act without input. Depending on the issue, he chooses consultation or unilateral actions.

System Policies and School A Practices

There are some inconsistencies in the written policies of the Board of Education, between what the principal is permitted to do, and what he actually does.

Personnel Constraints

Principals actually have very little "formal" input in the selection of their staffs. The Principal at School A, however, has been instrumental in getting some employees whom he feels can contribute to the overall growth of the students at School A. This has been done through informal contacts with certain personnel members who have some degree of control over hiring. The Principal says that there is no guarantee that he will always be successful, but if those contacted are in a position to render such assistance, they will.

Union policies limit the Principal's control over the transfer and firing of teachers also. In the former case teacher seniority and longevity in the building and in the system govern any transfer. While it is almost impossible to fire a teacher, through informal means the Principal at School A manages to persuade teachers whom he feels to be unsatisfactory to leave.

The Principal has some degree of control over the promotion of school building personnel. Recommendations are not always honored, however. He has been successful in promoting some of the staff who have served for many years at School A. Most of these positions were for educational assistants.

Curriculum Constraints

The Superintendent's goal is to improve achievement particularly in the areas of reading and mathematics, but attempts to improve mathematics were severely lacking in 1979-1980. The books were changed but the program remained the same. According to the Principal, the text books that they are required to use do not reflect the same type of skills required on the MAT. The Board adopted the new series a year ago, which is no more than a book with the old format of the one it displaced. The task of the Principal and teachers, as they see it, remains unchanged; that is, to extrapolate and supplement the materials to meet the needs of School A students.

In one classroom the social studies text dates back to the mid 1960's. According to the Principal the Board claims that financial constraints prevent purchasing social studies books every year. Supplementary books are available for reading but not for social studies and science. There are also bureaucratic constraints in getting a new program into the school. If the Director of Curriculum is sympathetic to the Principal's request, the Board still has to make a final decision. If they adopt the new program, it then takes time for the necessary materials to reach the school. Then there has to be inservice training on the use of the books before they can be used in the classrooms. The Principal says that time and financial constraints limit his efforts to formulate a new curriculum, and added, if he did have these resources he would still be confronted with the problem of not following the curriculum.

There is another reading series that the Principal says is much better for School A students than the Ginn 360 series being used in the elementary schools. It was believed to be in circulation when the Board accepted the Ginn 360. Only Level 10 of this Ginn 720 series is permitted to be used in the elementary schools. The Principal has requested the entire series for School A. This has caused some resistance, since the other elementary schools are using the Ginn 360 series. The Principal is not giving up so easily on something he says would be a definite asset to School A.

> It is probably simply because we have delineated the skills we think the kids should have and that's what we teach. That may not necessarily correspond to what the book says...Even though the book is kind of deficient because it is old and not applicable, the skills that we have picked out are taught. We are kind of better off because we are moving far beyond the book to teach the kids...I know there are a lot of other affluent areas in the city where the Principal is able to get the community to buy curriculum. In a poor area, we can't always do that. Probably the best way to be successful in Centre City is just to become an absolute, out and out radical - just do everything the way you want to do it and just take your lumps. I don't know whether you really accomplish a lot or whether you get your behind on the frying pan but I think sometimes you have to do that. I have fought a long time in this system. That's why we are able to modify the curriculum in the areas of greatest importance according to the profiles of the skills that the kids should know for a grade, whether it corresponds to the book or not.

Promotion and Retention Procedures

Eight years ago the Principal established Minimum Academic Standard Requirements that exceed the level set by the BPE. These were based on an assessment of the longitudinal profile of every student in the entire school to determine skill growth patterns. For example, in order for a student to be promoted from the first grade he or she must at least be at Level 5 in reading which is one level higher than that required by the Board. Some schools exceed this limit requiring Level 6 or 7. Unlike these other schools the Principal does not believe it is fair to retain a student at this early stage based on a specific reading level, when he has several years to work with that student. At School A promotion is based on the specific goals and skills achieved. It is not based exclusively on a grade phenomenon but on the overall growth of the student over an extended period of time. The Principal's primary task is to prepare the students of School A for promotion to junior high school. The goal established for this purpose is Level 11, which is higher than what the Board requires. If the student has not reached this specific level of competency, that is the only real basis for retention at School A. The Principal believes that by the fifth grade level, if everyone has done the job along the line, the student will be ready for junior high school. He says, "By the fifth level the child should be ready to go into junior high school but when he is just getting started I think it is kind of insensitive to fail him because he didn't reach Level 6. I cannot single him out at the first grade and say that this child should be retained when I've got another four years to work with that kid...He may have reached a plateau. There could be a lot of reasons but I have a lot of time to work with him to get him ready for junior high school."

The Principal is confident that if a student is performing at the minimum standard requirement set at School A he/she will survive in the event of a transfer from the school. Incidentally, the Superintendent is just considering developing a minimum standard requirement system similar to the one at School A for all elementary schools.

The BPE requires profile sheets on failing students. But, at School A, a profile sheet is kept on every student. Whenever a student falls below the minimum level of performance the Principal must be notified immediately so that he can assess the problem and work with the teacher in developing a program to accelerate the failing student. The Principal strongly feels that there is no student at School A who cannot learn. The school operates on this basic principle. There were no fifth grade failures at School A in SY 1979-1980.

Discipline

The Discipline Code and Procedures for the Centre City School System prohibit paddling but 61 percent of the 131 respondents to the parent questionnaires at School A expect the Principal to administer whippings to their children. At School A discipline is not limited to the spheres specified by the BPE but extends to the community as well. The Principal feels that it is unrealistic to separate School A from the community, as conflicts rising in the community eventually spill over into the school. If these problems are not addressed, the Principal feels that he would not be able to resolve the interpersonal conflicts between students in the school. Many disciplinary problems are triggered outside of the school.

A common practice of students is reporting any alleged student misconduct in the community to the Principal who takes immediate action against the accused. The residents of the School A community do not hesitate to alert the Principal of inappropriate student behavior such as picking their flowers on the way to and from school. The Principal finds such incidents particularly disturbing and every student is warned about this violation. One of the measures taken by the Principal to reduce conflict in the community is the "extended family" concept. This is similar to the role of Block Parents, where every adult in the community shares the responsibility for each child living there. Implementation of the concept is not as expedient as the Principal had hoped for, but the Principal has been instrumental in reducing crime in the School A community which ultimately affects the students.

The BPE requires teachers to make every effort to resolve discipline problems within the classrooms. Such problems should only be referred to the Principal if the alleged misconduct is serious enough to warrant Principal intervention or if the infraction is a blatant violation of the rules governing serious misconduct as outlined in the CCSS discipline code. Repeated problems of a less severe nature where, despite teachers' personal efforts, the alleged misconduct persists are also to be referred to the Principal. School A has its own rules which are posted in every classroom. These forbid hitting, stealing, threatening, teasing and name-calling. For these infractions students must be immediately referred to the Principal who has formulated a discipline process known as the "Socratic Method." This process requires teachers to give the students involved in less serious infractions two warnings. The purpose of this is to give the students time to reconsider their behavior and reach a solution about what they are going to do. The third time the student should be immediately referred to the Principal. Every student at School A is aware of the School Discipline Code and Process.

System Goals

These goals are the means by which the product goals for School A are achieved. As chief administrator, the Principal believes that he is primarily responsible for setting the goals for all the actors in the building. The system goals for teachers are: (1) to demonstrate competence in academic areas: (2) to be knowledgeable about the strengths and weaknesses of students; (3) to have high expectations of students; (4) to monitor the progress of students by maintaining a longitudinal profile on each student so that the students' progress or lack of progress can be monitored; (5) to maintain consistent communication with parents; (6) to cooperate as a group; and (7) to enforce the Socratic approach to problem solving.

The Principal recognized that teachers' experiences and perceptions of what education is or should be might be incompatible with his views. Given the various backgrounds and racial composition of the faculty at School A, it is quite conceivable that this is so, particularly since only two of the teachers are residents of the School A Community. Faced with this reality, there is an orientation for the faculty at the beginning of each school year in which the Principal attempts to "re-educate the teachers by changing their ideas and notions about education." The underlying assumption at School A is that all students can learn and the Principal is committed to providing the type of environment that would enhance the growth of the students. The Principal makes every attempt to enculturate the teachers coming into the building into the ways of School A through a process of learning and unlearning.

Orientation begins at the beginning of each school year and is constantly reinforced throughout the year. First, and foremost, the Principal makes it quite clear that School A exists for the benefit of the students. He works with the staff in helping them to recognize the fact that School A and the School A community are inseparable. He tries to make them aware of the needs of School A students and to be sensitive to those needs. He also emphasizes the need for them to be "strong models" for the students. In short, he expects a shared commitment for the benefit of the students at School A.

All the classrooms at School A are self-contained which gives the teachers more control over their classrooms. The Principal decided on this arrangement as opposed to departmentalization recommended by the Board, primarily because of adjustment problems encountered when students are constantly switched from teacher to teacher or classroom to classroom. In addition to this adjustment problem, the Principal found that vital time was lost in the rotating process. By the time students would settle down, five or ten minutes were already gone; so instead of getting the regular 45 minute instruction time they were actually only getting 30 minutes. The third reason for the change to self-contained classrooms grew out of the sharp decline in achievement at the third and fourth grade levels that is characteristic of most elementary schools. Self-contained classrooms provide teachers with the flexibility necessary to adjust the schedule to meet the needs of students that may arise at any particular time. For example, if students are having problems in mathematics, they may opt to extend the mathematics period, and compensate for the abbreviated subject elsewhere. This is all done at the teacher's discretion.

Another system that has been instituted at School A is a rotation system, where students within the same grade level go to different classrooms. This is based on the level of reading achievement: low, average and accelerated. For example, the teachers who had the low fifth graders one year would receive the average the next year and the accelerated the following year. The same process applies to the teachers having the other two groups. The purpose of this is to expose the teacher to different types of students. The adjustment should not be difficult since no group is completely homogenous. One will sometimes find accelerated, average and low achievers within a single group. One hidden advantage of this system, however, is that it reinforces the shared commitment of the teachers at School A. It puts added pressures on individual teachers to produce so the receiving teacher cannot accuse them of inheriting their problems, but exhonorate them for a job well done.

Curriculum Goals

Working on the premise that the student should be knowledgeable in all academic areas, and be exposed to subjects that make education relevant to them, the Principal has delineated specific goals for School A which are prioritized as follows: (1) to improve reading; (2) to increase math skills; (3) to put more emphasis on English; (4) to emphasize writing skills; (5) to make history and art more relevant to blacks; and (6) to put more emphasis on science.

The first two goals are the product goals required by the Superintendent of Schools. The other four goals reflect the Principal's commitment to provide the students of School A with a well balanced education in spite of the Board's attempts to de-emphasize these subjects.

The fifth goal - to make history more relevant to blacks - is present because the Principal believes "it gives a kid a stronger self-image which, in turn, carries over into the classroom and into his performance. It gives him a feeling of some degree of dignity. It also aids him in his survival process in the community...and also gives him those kinds of social skills that are necessary for most people to survive and which schools do not address specifically."

The Principal, and the teachers, do not feel that the Ginn 360 reading series issued by the Board is "ideal" for School A, especially since it does not account for individual differences. They have to supplement this with the Cambridge series and the Scott-Foresman series. According to the Principal, the Cambridge series accommodates individual differences and students having specific problems in specific reading areas. The Scott-Foresman series is described as being "more compact, more in-depth, more phonetically oriented and challenges the kids." The general consensus at School A is that the Ginn 360 series is too simplistic, it has unnecessary duplication, and inhibits the varied range of reading skills. The Principal says, "in spite of these deficiencies, we are able to operate because we have the philosophy that reading is an all-inclusive process that takes place in all academic areas." Supplementary materials are also used for mathematics.

The Principal organized four programs last year to eliminate any obstacles that posed a threat to the accomplishment of the teachers' goals which were outlined earlier: (1) A Parent Advisory Committee Program; (2) An Attendance Program; (3) A Principal Monitoring Program; and (4) The Socratic Program.

The Parent Advisory Committee Program

The Principal believes that in order for School A to function effectively, parents must be aware of what goes on in the school and must be equipped to assess and evaluate the school programs. He says, "It is not difficult. It is just a part of our program."

This committee was organized to monitor and evaluate teaching methods in the classrooms in order to ensure that the goals outlined for the teachers were being met. Parents were informed about the Principal's goals for such a committee and it was requested that they participate. The Principal met with the parents periodically, after school, where he trained them to recognize those characteristics that constitute a "good" classroom, and to evaluate whether any meaningful teaching was taking place. Curriculum books were ordered from the Board of Education for this purpose. Parents were assigned to various grade levels and taught the curricula for those particular levels. They were also given training in observation and evaluating techniques. Upon completion of orientation, the parents were given permission by the Principal to go into the classrooms at any time to observe. The parents would then meet with the Principal to discuss their findings and make recommendations.

The Principal's rationale for conceiving this program is described as follows:

> Teachers do not function in isolation in small esoteric groups, but must be willing to expose themselves to the taxpayers, to the primary consumers. Those particular goals were to ensure accountability as a living viable attachment to the whole educational process. It has to be. The teachers do not operate and function in isolation. They are accountable...I deplore that lack of confidentiality, that isolation stuff. I like to see parents coming in and knowing what's going on, and being knowledgeable about it - about everything: the monitoring system, the grading process, their children's records, the psychological testing...If that knowledge carries through to junior high school and senior high school, then they can monitor the entire school system, as well, which is really needed.

This kind of exposure puts pressure on the teachers to conform to the standards and expectations of the Principal. They are not only accountable to the Principal but to parents who share the same values as the Principal. This situation created some discomfort among the teachers. The Principal says that some of the teachers were nervous about parents coming into their classrooms unannounced to evaluate them. He states:

> ...there was 95 percent consensus among the teachers and parents but there were 5 percent stragglers. It makes that 5 percent get themselves together faster.

An unstated benefit of having such a system is that it clearly puts the responsibility for student performance back on the parents as well, rather than holding the Principal solely accountable. The Principal attempts to make sure that lack of knowledge does not become an excuse for inaction. The Principal says, "Parents know what the reading levels are, they know where their kids should be, they know what is expected...the teacher just can't tell them that the kid is having some kind of disability. They have to prove it." The Principal recalls an incident where a parent telephoned him to express dissatisfaction with a grade one of the teachers had given her child. The parent was familiar with the grading system at School A and was questioning whether the teacher had considered all of the factors when giving the grade. If the teacher cannot justify a grade then the Principal has the prerogative to change it. The intended outcome of parental involvement is recognized in the Principal's statement, "For parents to know but, more importantly, to change it is, to me, well, I can't say a revolutionary step in public education but a delightful change."

The Attendance Program

The attendance policy of School A states that if a child misses three to five days, the social worker is notified and must make a home visit unless the student is sick. If absenteeism continues, a letter of possible prosecution is sent to the parents. At School A the absentee rate caused the Principal some concern, so he organized that attendance program to "re-educate" parents about the value of sending their children to school. Working with the counselor, teachers and parents, in-service programs were set up to make parents aware of the attendance policy and the consequences of excessive absenteeism.

Principal Monitoring

The Principal visits the classrooms daily, often several times a day. He wanted to increase observation time in the classroom and have periodic meetings with the staff to give feedback. The Principal insists that students must at least meet the minimum standard level of performance set at School A. He says, "If children do not meet this, I must be aware of it. I must see the tests and work they do. I must see their intergroup behavior... I need tight consistent monitoring and reporting to keep abreast of whether we are reaching our goal or not." In order to increase Principal monitoring in the classrooms, some administrative tasks were redistributed to auxiliary personnel, such as the counselor, social worker, secretary and janitor.

The excessive bureaucratic requirement of the Board of Education inhibited the Principal's efforts in this direction. He says, "The excessive amount of administrative busywork - I call it 'administrivia,' is very time consuming and does not permit me to get out into the classroom and do the kinds of monitoring that I need to do."

The Socratic Program

This is a self-discipline program developed by the Principal to help students monitor their behavior, make some decisions about it, recognizing that these are consequences of their actions. Serious types of misconduct such as teasing, threatening, name calling, hitting and fighting are to be immediately referred to the Principal. For less serious infractions, the teacher is required to give the student two warnings. The two warnings give the student an opportunity to reconsider his/her behavior. After the second infraction referral to the Principal is automatic.

In order to develop the problem solving technique there were in-service programs in problem solving for the teachers so that they could help the students. There was in-service training for students during lunch, where the Principal worked with students in this technique. He also devised a self-discipline answer sheet with five steps in problem solving. Besides, there were signs posted around the building and in the classrooms for further reinforcement.

Special Subject Teacher Goals

The goals for special education teachers are the same as those for the regular classroom teachers, so they are not included in the category below.

The Principal's goals for other specialist teachers are prioritized below

Goals for the Librarian are:

(1) To use the library with some degree of proficiency;
(2) To stimulate students' interests; and
(3) To provide avenues of enrichment for students demonstrating a desire to pursue Library Science as a career.

For the Art Teacher they are:

(1) To expose students to a variety of art forms, particularly those relevant to Blacks such as African art and African art form; and
(2) To transmit valuable art techniques.

For the Physical Education Teacher they are:

(1) To develop competitive cooperation among the students;
(2) To recognize that students go to gym for fun, so the win/lose syndrome must be minimized.

For the Music Teacher they are:

(1) To establish an ongoing instrumental program;

(2) To teach the students about the structure of music and not simply have them sing all day.

The Mathematics Achievement Center (MAC) and Reading Achievement Center (RAC) must:

(1) Set up remedial programs that reflect the needs of the classroom teacher as well as the students.

Time constraints were a major factor that led to the selection of the above goals as many of these subjects are only given once a week. The Principal wanted to maximize the use of these abbreviated time slots so those things the students needed most were given special consideration.

Goals for The Support Staff

The support staff includes the psychologist, speech and hearing itinerant, social worker, nurse and the Title I staff. Goals for them are:

(1) To provide good screening and testing techniques;
(2) To formulate an effective system of reporting on a regular basis;
(3) To develop a treatment program; and
(4) To implement these programs in order to correct the problems.

The Principal believes that some of the above actors, particularly the psychologist, have a tendency to function in isolation. This was an area of some concern. In order to minimize or eliminate such practices, the Principal requires all of the actors to report their findings to him on a regular basis.

Goals for parents are;

(1) To become knowledgeable about the operation of the school by becoming involved;
(2) To maintain an active Parent Advisory Committee;
(3) To keep consistently informed of their students' progress or lack of it.

The Principal believes that in order for the school to function effectively and efficiently, parents must be informed. The Parent Advisory Monitoring Committee was organized to facilitate this goal. He feels that if parents have a "healthy wholesome" image of the school, they would be more cooperative in supporting the school and transmitting these positive attitudes to the students. One of his primary responsibilities, as he sees it, is to maintain the confidence of parents and the community in general.

The Principal says:

> In order to have some position of respectability in the community, you have got to be able to have a vehicle by which parents are informed. So in doing that, in setting up those programs, you know that you're going to insure some degree of competence on the part of the parents. The parents are going to have a strong healthy image of

> this school. If they have that, then the children are going to have that, too. . . What we're talking about is a whole conglomeration of educational entities, all with a hyped-up expectation, through shared experience and shared authority. It lets the teachers know that they cannot operate without parents. It also lets the parents know that the school cannot operate without them. So everybody is accountable: parents are accountable, I am accountable. We are all accountable. The ultimate goal is to have a healthy continuance of students operating in the community and ultimately in this society.

The Principal believes that teachers often have a tendency to overlook the importance of parents in the educational process, so every year he attempts to reinforce and re-sensitize the teachers to the fact that parents are vital to the functioning of the school, and teachers cannot function in isolation from them:

> What you really have to do is bring them down a peg or two to let them know that they are educators; they are also taxpayers like parents and that parents are vital in running the school. You've got to do that every year. . . It is very interesting to watch teachers operate. They do think, in fact, that they are the omniscient ones in the classroom. You've got to tell them that they are not the sole dispensers of knowledge. You've got to tell them that every year, you've got to bring them back down to the reality that they are accountable to parents.

Community Goals are:

(1) To utilize community organizations for the improvement of the school and the community;
(2) To establish an "extended family" concept in the community.
(3) To work with the school in examining desegregation plans.
(4) To assist senior citizens.

In the Principal's opinion, the functioning of the school is a shared commitment among various constituencies: parents, school and community. Education is therefore not limited to the confines of the school building, but extends into the community as well - "if you improve conditions in the community, you are also improving the school." Organizations were set up to work on crime, to reduce drug usage, to provide recreation facilities for the children and to educate the community in general.

In order to minimize the high incidence of crime in the community, preliminary organizations were set up to conduct a needs assessment of the community. Recruitment was from several areas inside and outside the community, namely, the police department, the neighborhood council, Black Action Society and School A. A general meeting was then organized in which sub-committees were set up and assigned to collect data on designated areas. This research committee was able to gather statistics on crime, arrests and so on. After this information was disseminated, other sub-committees were set up to remediate and rectify these conditions. Programs were run on crime, on how to protect one's property and one's neighbors' property. They were successful in reducing some crime but general lethargy and power plays staggered further progress. Another organization grew out of these initial efforts and is currently actively involved in improving conditions in the community.

The extended family concept was developed by the Principal to facilitate general cooperation among the members of the community. Each person was accountable to everyone else and every adult with or without children was responsible for every child in the community. According to the Principal, these efforts were "to extend a more humanistic approach to communal living as an extension of survival in an otherwise hostile land." He further states, "This is the only Black school for the people in this area and if the school can project a humanistic and positive image and be a leader for extending that, then perhaps the whole community would rally around that and begin to change some attitudes and intergroup problems that they have."

Regarding the desegregation issue, the Principal and several community groups met to evaluate placement of School A students, particularly with respect to the type of education they would be receiving at the new school. Other concerns were the types of students coming to School A and the impact this would have on the structure and achievement of the school. The parents and concerned citizens of the community were actively involved in efforts to keep the school open and maintain the educational standards of

School A. Letters were circulated and meetings held. The concerns of the parents and citizens of the community is reflected in a letter sent to parents and community members by the Parent Representative. The letter states that the purpose of the meeting was "to discuss the desegregation issue; the proposed models, the implications of how all this would affect. . . (School A). . . and its students, and the strategies that we can use to ensure that. . . (School A). . . is not closed, and more importantly that the quality of education that comes from that school is kept intact." (Concerned Parent, January 1980).

One of the Principal's concerns is to help students develop a sense of appreciation and value for the elderly citizens of the community. Under the leadership of the "Concerned Parent-Teacher Organization," School A sponsored a Thanksgiving dinner last year for senior citizens "as an opportunity to show appreciation for a segment of our society who have contributed so much toward our existence," (Kids Action News - School A). In 1979, with the help of parents and teachers, a Historical Committee was formed to conduct a study of the history of the school and community.

A parent intiated a project for the students to plant seeds for George Washington Carver gardens at Phipps Conservatory located across the city from the school. As part of the project, the students researched the life and accomplishments of George Washington Carver. The students participated in a Jump Rope-A-Thon sponsored by the American Heart Association and School A in an effort to help fight heart disease. The students were also participants in a Read-A-Thon to raise money for the Multiple Sclerosis fund, where books were read and money collected from the sponsors. One student raised as much as eighty one dollars and sixty four cents. The P.T.O. is actively involved throughout the year in raising funds for student activities such as field trips, etc.

The school sponsored a fund raising drive for family members who were the innocent victims of a tragedy that took place in the building in which they resided in the community. All of their possessions were lost and they were forced to relocate. These are just a few examples of the school and community working as a whole to help each other, and to extend these altruistic practices to others outside the community as well.

When the Principal encounters problems, someone is usually there to assist. After several unsuccessful attempts to get a stop sign at a dangerous intersection, the Principal turned to a community member and within two and a half days the stop sign was installed

Routines, Scenarios and Processes in the Principal's Office

The office is the locus of control in the school. Virtually every aspect of school life eventually reaches the Principal. Actively he enters and attempts to guide them. The Principal's active fields are far ranging: discipline, homework, a student failing a weekly spelling test, unexplained tardiness, hitting, lunchroom seating and leaving tables, dismissal routes and lines, parental complaints and local patrols around the school. In a day, this Principal could handle a dozen discipline cases, confer with students not turning in homework, listen to why a promising student failed a spelling test, call a couple of parents about their children's tardinesses and call the local police station to find out why they had not removed a stolen car on the school grounds. Anything that affects the children in the building, the school grounds, the school services, the school climate. . .in short, the daily operations of teaching by teachers and coordinated safety and well being. . . will be handled by the Principal routinely or systematically by teacher request or from his own initiative. These multiple overlapping tasks create an active principal constantly engaged in different aspects of the school's life and constantly attempting to mend, mold or shape teachers, students and other staff members.

A Look Inside the Principal's Office

The office is a large room on the first floor which is painted beige and furnished with a desk, three chairs, two orange plastic sofas and a portable screen. There are pictures of blacks on the screen and in the frame of the table. African tapestry hangs on the walls and a piece of African art stands on the Principal's desk. A poster of a grinning gorilla hangs on the door and reads, "Grin and Bear It." A felt lion lies on the table next to the sofa. An upright piano sits in the office. The principal often plays the "Moonlight Sonata." He trained himself to play the piano but received formal training for the saxophone.

The following is an account of what takes place inside the Principal's office. The Principal's relationship with the students demonstrates a clear knowledge of the background of each student and how this information is used to help them. The underlying assumption is that all students can learn and the Principal is committed to making this a reality by attempting to understand and eradicate all residual problems that may interfere with his goals for the students. The Principal tends to concentrate more on slower students than on the accelerated students. He is determined to make sure students are not failing at the school, and that they are at least meeting the minimum standard requirement at the school. Failure to meet these expectations is immediately addressed and measures are taken to accelerate the failing student. As far as discipline procedures are concerned, students have the right to express their opinion about the teacher's judgment, but the Principal most frequently openly supports the teacher's decision. The hallmark of the Principal's practices is consistency. All actors in the setting are disciplined for any violations, student and staff alike, with no exceptions. His relationship with the teachers is student-centered. All transactions are in the students' interest. Discipline is in order for all violations.

The process by which goals are achieved at School A deviates from that prescribed by the Board of Education, but is to a large extent a reflection of what the community needs and expects for their children. The Principal is the recognized leader in this endeavor, and parents do not hesitate to support him, seek his assistance or inform him of any inconsistencies in this unwritten consensus.

The Principal also maintains contact with other principals in the public school system. Within this circle information is exchanged. The rules and regulations of School A, however, differ from that of other schools. Therefore, the Principal's recommendations to the other principals are sometimes contrary to their school policies.

Six Days in the Principals Office

Over a six day period of observations in the Principal's office the Principal's interaction with actors inside and outside the school setting were observed.

Table 31

Principal-Student Interaction

Day	Number of Students	Physical Discomfort	Breakfast	Testing	Rewards	Discipline	Other
1	13	6	1	2	0	2	2
2	10	5	0	1	0	4	0
3	18	4	1	1	1	5	6
4	8	2	1	1	0	3	1
5	29	7	0	0	11	10	1
6	21	2	1	0	9	9	0
Total	99	26	4	5	21	33	10

Physical Discomfort

These cases range from chapped lips, following up on medical treatment such as putting eye drops in a student's eye at prescribed times; minor injuries sustained in school such as scratches, paper cuts, accidentally sticking a pencil in one's own eye; illnesses such as stomach cramps, earaches, coughs, headaches, nosebleeds and sinusitis which becomes aggravated during school. The list is actually longer but these are some of the more frequent cases seen in the office. All sick or injured students are automatically referred to the Principal. The teachers are not permitted to send students to the nurse who is only at the school once a week. Even when she is present, the Principal takes care of almost all of the students. Occasionally a student may be referred to her after being screened by the Principal. Treatment of minor cases by the Principal include the application of Vaseline to chapped lips, eye exercises, cleaning students' ears, putting ice on students' foreheads and so on. Where the illness is serious, parents are contacted and the Principal often recommends that the parent consult a physician. He kept a record of one student's nosebleeds and asked her parent to take her to a physician. Seldom does the Principal have problems getting in touch with a parent, guardian or relative of a student.

The Principal is aware of the social background of the students and is sympathetic to their needs but he never fails to remind them that their job at School A is to learn. One attention seeker was scolded about being sick all the time while being treated by the Principal. After cleaning his ears he promised to send him to the nurse the next day. Occasionally, a student may use illness as an excuse for not doing his/her work, but because of his knowledge of the students he is able to detect the cheaters.

While attending to a student the Principal may engage in a friendly conversation with them. . ."Man, how well you look. It must be a credit to your mother," or to another he would say, "How did you do that, Honey Pie?" The Principal often takes this opportunity to commend a student on his/her conduct. The Principal knows the students on a personal and academic level, and often times transmits this information to the teachers so that they will be better equipped to deal with the students. The Principal wants to know everything about the students, whether they are hungry, having difficulty learning, sick, injured or having problems at home. The Principal believes knowing the student is important because, once he knows them, he can help them.

Breakfast

The Principal finds that student misconduct or lack of motivation might be a result of hunger. Consequently, when any student comes into the office with a problem, the Principal always makes sure they are not experiencing any kind of physical discomfort before addressing the problem for which he/she came. Students are usually given cereal or milk. The Principal tries to detect those students using "not eating" for "not doing." One student told the Principal that he was not hungry. Not fully convinced, the Principal called the student's home and confirmed suspicions. The early morning disruptors are the ones most likely to be fed.

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Testing

Routine procedure - whenever a student fails to meet the minimum standard requirement he/she is tested by the Principal. The Principal always tries to relax the students before testing by engaging in a friendly conversation with them or giving them candy, etc. The goal of the Principal's test is to identify those factors that contribute to the student's failure to meet the minimum standard requirement. The scenario for attaining this goal is: (1) principal-teacher conference, where the teacher must demonstrate actions taken to correct the student's failure; (2) retesting by the Principal; and (3) principal's decision to retain a student at the particular level or move him/her to the next level.

A student who is failing her reading level comes to the Principal's office for re-testing. The mother believes that the student can read but the teacher feels that she has a learning disability. Before the Principal gives her the test, he cleans her glasses and teases her about having to pay for his services. He listens as she reads and then questions her about the material. His results confirmed what both the teacher and the parent said, the student could read but had not mastered the skills. He told the student that he would like her to work harder and told the parent that she should take her to Children's Hospital to be checked.

Two students from the first grade are having problems testing out of one reading level. The Principal investigates the problem to see what kind of assistance the teacher needs to get her job done. The Principal always tries to relax the students before testing. He gives them a piece of candy. After the test, one student who was hungry was given breakfast. After they read, the Principal discussed the lesson. Students talk about their experiences as they relate to the subject matter. During the test, he emphasized the need to think. When they say they don't know, the Principal says, "Man, what is it?" Invariably, self-correction follows. The Principal reminded them that there are no students at School A who cannot learn. The Principal put both students in the next reading level. His test superceded the teacher's test.

There is a lot of student traffic in the Principal's office. He attends to other students while administering tests. When the Teaching Supervisor, Board member or anyone else is in the office, business goes on as usual. While talking, he is assisting students, feeding them, disciplining them and so on. Students come first at School A and everything else is quite secondary. There is nothing private about what the Principal does and he expects the same from his staff. His office is always open. Occasionally, a student may stop in the outer office to check with the secretary before entering, but students generally have free access to the office.

The following is an isolated case of Principal testing where permission was requested and granted to observe the testing procedure: several students from one grade had failed their spelling tests. The Principal went to the classroom a couple of times and reminded the students that he was going to re-test them in a couple of days and he was not expecting any failures. The students were re-tested during the gym period. Before they came to the office, the Principal had a conference with the teacher and he seemed somewhat irritated. As the nine students settled down for the test, the Principal disciplined a waiting student from another class. The others watched. The student was dispatched. Space was limited so some of the students sat on the floor. It is 1:45 p.m. As the Principal ate his sandwich, he sternly reminded them of their failure in the test and told them that he was expecting better results. Moments later his tone changed and they were laughing with him. He asked each student by name if they were going to get 100 percent on the test. They all said, "Yes, Sir," except the only white student in the group who said, "Yes." The Principal then emphasized good handwriting, punctuation and spelling. When the test was over, he asked each student to give themselves a grade, and they rewarded themselves an "A." The Principal went over each test with the students. Some had shown some improvement. Others did not. Before the test was over the teacher sent a note to the Principal requesting an early leave that afternoon. The Principal knew what it was about before he opened it. He said she was avoiding him but he would catch her the next morning. (This was said in the students' presence.)

The purpose of re-testing the students is to isolate the problem. If the students' performance increases after the Principal's test, he feels this indicates that the students are "fooling around" in the classroom and not doing their work. If so, then the students are accountable to him. If, on the other hand, the students perform poorly on his test then the teacher is accountable to him. She has to explain what she is not doing in the classroom and the Principal works with her to improve her techniques.

Rewards

Students moving from one reading level to another, those who perform well or demonstrate definite academic progress are congratulated and rewarded by the Principal. They are given treats, writing materials, an extra gym period, Coke or Pepsi and so on. Rewarding students for good performance is a routine practice at School A.

Discipline

The Principal's knowledge of the students determines how he handles them. Students at School A are obligated to obey the teachers' rules. But they also have the right to express their views about the teacher's judgment. Even though they have this privilege, the Principal always lets them know that the teacher has a valid reason for sending them to the office. There is a general consensus among the teachers that the Principal supports them around discipline cases, including those teachers who have been scolded for bad management of conduct in the classroom. The call-response pattern is characteristic of the Principal-student interaction in discipline situations. Often times, many incidents are triggered outside the school. The following routines, scenarios and processes characterize discipline procedures.

Scenario for the recidivist discipline cases occurring inside the school:

1. Minimize any pain or other physical discomfort including feeding the hungry students.
2. Inform the student of the charges.
3. Student is given the opportunity to confirm or deny the charges.
4. The Principal reaffirms the charges.
5. The Principal scolds the student. This is characterized by the call-response pattern.

6. Student is sent out of the office to reconsider his/her behavior and reach a plan of self-correction.
7. The Principal issues a warning or threat for some improvement in the student's work or conduct, to notify parents of the student about the misconduct or to personally supervise the student.
8. Implementation of certain threats, such as calling the parent.
9. The student is sent back to the classroom to apologize to the teacher.
10. Other threats are implemented

Principal's tone: harsh

Scenario for rare discipline cases within the school:

1. Reasons that may have triggered the misconduct are discussed.
2. The student is given the opportunity to affirm or deny the charges.
3. The student is sent out of the office to reconsider his/her behavior.
4. The student is scolded.
5. The student is sent back to the classroom to apologize to the teacher.

Principal's tone: soft harsh softer

The discipline techniques are to enforce strict adherence to the command-obedience structure of School A by reinforcing student boundaries and their jobs as students. The process by which this goal is attained varies according to the severity of the case.

The teacher refers the student to the Principal. The Principal informs the parent of the misconduct and the parent later notifies the Principal of steps taken to improve the student's conduct, or the parent may abdicate responsibility to the Principal to correct the student's misconduct.

Scenario for problems triggered outside the school grounds:

1. The accused and the accusers are brought to the office.
2. The Principal hears the evidence from both parties.
3. The accused denies or affirms the allegations.
4. The Principal scolds the accused, sometimes using physical harassment.
5. A severe warning or threat to call parents is issued.

6. Student is sent out of the office to evaluate his/her behavior.
7. A strong warning is given.
8. Student re-entry into the classroom.

Principal's tone: harsh

The goals for external discipline problems are (1) to minimize interpersonal conflicts among students so that they can concentrate on acquiring skills taught in school; and, (2) to enhance the image of the school. The process by which these goals are accomplished is as follows: external conflicts are registered with the Principal by the community residents or students, and he is expected to act on these cases.

Internal Discipline Problems

One student protested his teacher's motive for sending him to the office. The Principal reminded him that the teacher had a legitimate reason for doing so. He informed the student of the charges and spoke to him firmly. With each command the student answered, "Yes, Sir." The Principal's tone softened a bit as he inquired about problems at home that were affecting the student. The Principal rewarded him by giving him permission to join the basketball team. He was then sent back to the classroom to apologize to the teacher. Before leaving the Principal reminded him that he was "getting off easy" since it is rare that he is sent to the office for misconduct. The Principal had interceded in the family conflict by making arrangements for the student to stay with another relative because he was afraid to go home.

Another student walks into the office. "Are you having a bad day?" asks the Principal. "Yes, Sir," she replies. The Principal sends her to the discipline table just outside his office to reconsider her behavior. While she was gone the Principal spoke of her positive attributes and shy qualities. This bashful student had challenged the teacher's rules. She was protesting the gym teacher's method of sexual selection in a game. She contended that the boys were always being permitted to start first. The Principal told her that there was a more appropriate way of handling the situation. She was sent back to the room to apologize to the teacher.

A frequent classroom disruptor was given a two-step treatment plan to correct her behavior. Plan A - restriction from gym. Plan B - she would be under the direct supervision of the Principal. The student was challenging the teacher's rule: punishment for leaving her seat to get a pencil. "What am I supposed to do if I need a pencil?" she asked. "Raise your hand," replied the Principal.

A recent student at School A and the only female student in the classroom was sent to the office for repeated class disruptions. "What's the matter. How are things going?" inquired the Principal. "Not too good," the student replied. "Are you angry with me?" asked the Principal. "No," responded the student. "Well, you have a right to be, because I promised to change your schedule and I haven't done it yet. Where have you been?" he asked. "Home; I been sick but I forgot my note," she replied. "How old are you?" he asked. "Ten," the student replied. "How is your reading and arithmetic?" he asked. "Fine," she replied. "Well, I want you to do your work," said the Principal. "(Tom) and (Jeffrey) shot me with a rubber band and I told them not to do that," said the student. "I told Mr. (Adams) and I'm going to ask Mrs. (Jones) (the assistant) to see whether or not the boys are bothering you. But I want you to stop talking out in class. You have to raise your hand and wait until you are recognized and given permission to speak. I want you to do your work and develop some skills!" The Principal summoned the two students accused of intimidating the girl. They acknowledged that what she said was correct. The Principal sent for the teacher, who was disciplined in the students' presence. The Principal issued a stern warning to the teacher, "I do not want this type of behavior going on." (Judy) is legitimate in her complaints. Everybody has a responsibility!" The teacher told the Principal that he had already talked to the boys and changed their seating. The Principal strongly said, "The rule of the school is the two warning system. Tell them once - tell them twice - make a referral. If they are not doing their work, something is wrong. I do not know how this is happening with a teacher and aide in there!" (This is the teacher's first year at School A.)

Two students from the intermediate level are sent to the office for arguing in the classroom. The Principal listened to each one's story. He then looked at the accelerated student and said, "You can't be bright and not get along with people." He told the other student that he had to recognize that his classmate has problems interacting with others and warned him not to intimidate him. He also reminded this student that he had previously been sent home for antagonizing another student and breaking a major disciplinary rule. Both students were sent to a room to reconsider their behavior. The Principal warned that the solution had better be a good one.

External Conflict Filtering into the Classroom

Several students involved in an incident that started in the community are nervously waiting in the Principal's office for the trial. As they waited, the students tried hurriedly to resolve the conflict and reach some consensus over the issue before the Principal returned. "I am never going to do that again," said the offender. "Can we be friends?" he pleaded. The others agreed. The Principal comes in and hears all the evidence, while insisting on the truth. As the case unfolds, the Principal's tone grows harsher and harsher. The Principal shook the accused and demanded eye contact. The Principal strongly cautioned him about his work. Before the student was dismissed, the Principal had telephoned his mother to report the incident.

Another group of students are sent to the office about another incident that occurred in the community. The Principal listened to the details but could not settle the dispute until he got further evidence from a parent who was familiar with the incident. A decision was postponed but the students were nevertheless sent to the punishment table to make some decisions about what they were going to do before re-entry into the classroom.

The Principal makes a point of informing parents about conflicts occurring outside the school. Generally, his style of discipline seems stricter with boys than with girls.

Other

This category represents those students whose parents request an early dismissal, usually for medical appointments; students whose parents request that they be sent home for lunch; a student wandering aimlessly after being suspended from another school and students looking for the Principal during their lunch break.

One student forgot his violin, another forgot to bring his lunch. Both students wanted to go home to get them. The parents were called. The mother decided to bring her son's violin and the other student had the parent's permission to go home for lunch. It is not unusual for the secretary to get a description of the car that is scheduled to pick a student up, and often keeps watch for when it arrives.

Principal - Teacher Interaction

There has been some overlap in principal-teacher interaction in discipline and testing students which was discussed earlier: where the Principal's test took precedence over the teacher's test and where a teacher was disciplined in the presence of students. Students are not present in those cases described below.

A teacher abandons her classroom, rushes into the office to report a student whom she feels is "all off" today and she cannot control him. A few minutes later the Principal leaves with the teacher for the classroom. As they walk down the hall the Principal lectures the teacher. The source of the conflict was in the lunchroom. The student was moving around and when the lunch aide tried to stop him, he ignored her. The lunch aide, in turn, conveyed this message to the teacher who in turn told the student he will have to see the Principal. The student sobbed when he heard this and the teacher panicked. Before removing the student from the classroom, the Principal had him apologize to the teacher. On the way to the office the student continued to cry. The Principal took him to the bathroom to wash his face. The student had stopped crying before they reached the office. The Principal said the student is not a problem. He interpreted the problem as being between the aide and teacher - each trying to keep her sphere of authority intact.

The Principal shares his knowledge of the students with the teachers so that they will be in a better position to deal with the students. When a teacher reported that a student's work was slipping, the Principal told her of some recent changes the student was experiencing at home that may have led to his decreasing performance.

The secretary was given a desegregation sign to post in the teachers' room with a message from the Principal to let the teachers know that it is not to be removed. This suggests that spatial boundaries are defined but the Principal has the prerogative to set the rules. He seldom frequents the teachers' room and usually goes there to get coffee but returns to his office to drink it.

Principal - Parent - Teacher Interaction

A parent comes in to check on her son's progress. The Principal told her that he is doing a lot better. At one point, he was tested for learning disability but tested out "solid." His handwriting is "bad" and he usually turns S's into J's. The Principal told the mother that they would continue to check for reversals. The teacher came in while the parent was still there. She told the parent that the student had made a big improvement since September and was continuing to do so, but it just takes time. The Principal did not appreciate the teacher's interruption in the conversation. The teacher told him that she answered out of common courtesy.

The Principal attempted to define the boundaries. He felt that the teacher had done her job of keeping him informed of the student's progress and further actions would be taken by him. The teacher was obviously satisfied with the student's progress, but the Principal was not convinced that the student would continue in this direction. He preferred to leave the situation open with the intention of monitoring the student closely in the event that there were further changes.

Principal - Other Staff

The Principal attempts to resolve an interpersonal conflict between two staff members that has filtered into the school. The Principal summoned each party to the office and strongly warned that he does not want "any hostility, trouble or irritation in the school." He suggested that both parties discuss the problem. One of the participants told the Principal that she will do what ever he wants her to do. The Principal's discipline techniques are the same for children and adults. A waiting student watches an irritated Principal rebuff a staff member for not bringing the correct item he requested.

The social worker asks the Principal's permission to threaten a parent into keeping an appointment. He concurred. The Principal asked her to monitor the behavior of a tardy student and that of another student who takes advantage of his mother.

Teachers are seldom seen in the Principal's office. When they go there, it is for a specific purpose. Teachers state precisely the purpose of their visit. Discussions are brief and they are quickly dispatched.

Principal - Parent

Parent Abdicates to the Principal:

A distressed white mother brings her rejected son to the Principal of School A to ask for his help. They live in the next district where her son attended school. He has had a difficult time adjusting to his father's death. This tragedy completely changed his behavior and he was expelled from the school in his district. The mother asked the Principal if he would permit her son to attend School A. The Principal agreed to do so. The Principal spoke casually with the student. "Why do you give your Mommie such a hard time?" he asked. He got him some sports paraphernalia as it was "Football Day" at the school, and fed him. The mother and student said that he was not hungry but the Principal insisted, "Drink the milk, man." He did. This is the Principal's first step in establishing his authority with the student. What the mother and son said was overlooked.

A frustrated parent calls to report that the cab transporting students to and from School A was making unauthorized stops at various places such as the candy store. The Principal immediately called the cab company for an explanation. He received an unsatisfactory response, but nevertheless called the parent back to let her know that he was going to investigate the matter further. He spent a great deal of time on the telephone trying to resolve the issue. After receiving several complaints, the Principal sent a letter to the parents asking them to submit their grievances in writing and he would forward them to the Board of Education and let them know the results. The Principal believes that far too much money is paid for such poor services and suggested that monies should be deducted whenever the company fails to honor the contract.

A parent calls to report that her daughter who had transferred from School A to another school has to walk some distance to her new school. Another parent calls from the hospital to let the Principal know her son is falling behind in his work. She said that he keeps telling his grandmother that he does not have homework and she wanted to verify this.

Another concerned parent called about her child's work. The Principal told her that he would discuss the matter with the teacher and reassured her that something would be done to "shape" her son up. A parent stops in to let the Principal know that she had taken care of her son. A parent calls to question the nurse's report on her child's eye examination. The Principal calls to alert a parent about her child's illness and recommends that the child be taken for a physical examination. The parent was unaware of her child's illness. A parent called to report negligence on the teacher's part because she did not permit her sick child to use the bathroom facilities.

Principal - Community

The Principal spent several days trying to get the police department to remove a stolen car that was stripped and abandoned on the school grounds.

The news media was interested in the story pertaining to the tragedy that occurred in the community and left several people dead and one family homeless. School A had sponsored a fund raising drive for the devastated family whose daughter is a student at the school. One television news reporter came to interview the Principal. The Principal received several calls from the media as well.

A businessman and a community leader came to discuss the chances of keeping the school open when the desegregation plan went into effect.

Principal - Principal

The Principal discusses the desegregation issue with other principals. He tries to get another Principal to reverse his decision regarding the exclusion of a student suggesting that he take the student back or find alternative ways of punishment that would not adversely affect the student. The Principal denied the petition and the School A principal accepted the rejected student. Substitutes are rarely sent by the Board of Education to replace an absent teacher. The classes are usually divided among other classrooms. Though the problem is handled very well at School A, the Principal feels they should have more options. He was going to inquire from his "fellow principals" about what was available.

The Principal's Policies, Teacher Routines and Teacher Consensus

There seems to be a general consensus among the teachers on the goals outlined for them by the Principal except for the following: (1) to cooperate as a group; and (2) to implement the Socratic Approach to problem solving. Cohesions and disaggregations among teachers prevail and most of them try to control discipline problems only making referrals when other techniques fail. In this section, the ethnographic data will be presented first followed by data from the PSQ and the Cluster Analysis.

Policies and Routines

Cooperation

The Principal runs the school in an open manner, and there are no secrets about what he does and expects from others. He constantly reinforces the fact that the school exists for all students and expects teacher cooperation in enhancing students' benefits. He insists that teachers join together to optimize school goals, rather than differentiate and destroy their purpose. Instructional cohesion and sharing does not always occur, however. Two teachers who systematically isolate themselves from their peers were the ones who had something to say about the Principal's position on this issue. One teacher said, "Cooperation is usually formal but mandatory." Another said that there is a lot of "cliquishness" at the school which is overlooked since the Principal does not condone it.

Discipline

The Principal and teachers want order in the classrooms. The process by which teachers strive to maintain order, however, differs from the ways prescribed by the Principal. Teachers attempt to control discipline problems within their classrooms, and do not generally utilize the Socratic Method or referral system specified by the Principal. Some teachers are more successful than others. The discipline referral system gives the Principal an opportunity to monitor what goes on in the classroom. It creates a log of what teachers do not want in their classrooms and what students do in the classroom. It creates one supreme source of student management and correction. It provides a buffer between the teacher and the parent. It relieves the teacher of any intervention in her teaching routine, thereby eliminating any excuses for not covering prescribed materials on some systematic and predictable schedule. The disadvantage of this system is that it inhibits teachers learning how to handle student associated problems spilling into the classroom.

In short, the system obviates the teacher's control of the classroom. Some teachers choose not to follow this procedure and attempt to control discipline problems as they arise in the classroom; and some tolerate the disruptions and distractions while others demand strict adherence to the command-obedience structure and make referrals for the slightest deviations. The following techniques are used by teachers to get student compliance in the classrooms: verbal harassment such as repeated requests for compliance, commands, isolation, denial of privileges, recognition or simply ignoring students. Like the Principal, most teachers have high expectations for the students and strive to help them reach their full academic potential. Various teaching techniques are used to optimize this goal.

Reading

In the organization of reading, all teachers support the grouping system for reading. They find that it is necessary. Because of the pressure to accomplish a lot of work in this subject, grouping maximizes the use of time and permits them to focus more on individual needs.

The teachers and the Principal are dissatisfied with the reading series mandated by the Board of Education for public schools. Only the first grade teacher at School A finds the series satisfactory. She likes the repetition and drill that the series provides. There is overwhelming consensus among the other teachers about the inadequacy of the series. It is too easy for the high achievers and does not foster analytic thought. It is adequate for the average achievers but works best for the low achievers. All teachers have to supplement the material. They find that Levels I through 10 are too simplistic. Quality reading begins at Level 11 but the series does not prepare students for the difficulty factor at this level.

Mathematics

This is the first year that the Heath mathematics series is being used at School A. Relative to the old series, teachers find the new series to be very good. There is one dissenter. She finds that it is too simplistic for the advanced students and contains too much unnecessary material. She has to supplement. Teachers are disenchanted with the spelling and language books and have to supplement these also.

Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR)

The reading and mathematics series mandated by the BPE for these classrooms are different from those required in the mainstream classes. The teachers express concern about the adjustment problems students have to face in these subjects when mainstreamed.

Teachers in general are sensitive to the needs of the students. In some cases, teachers overextend themselves for students, only to find themselves so attached that they cannot withdraw and make an objective decision about the student later.

Parents

Teachers expect parents to support them. The underlying assumption is that parents are aware of the teachers' goals and, more importantly, that there is a goal consensus. One teacher says, "I expect them to back me up in the evenings." Another says, "Help the teacher achieve the goals." Another, "I expect them to support me as a teacher and my demands on their children. I expect them to correct me when they think I am wrong. I also expect the support from them when I think that I am right and when I think I know what is educationally best for their children." Most teachers were not as dogmatic and expressed sympathy towards the parents. One teacher said, "I don't expect parents to do anything but send their children to school.... Parents are supportive but they just don't have time. I get more help from older brothers and sisters." Another teacher says:

> I sent letters outlining the expectations: if you have time, go over them...There are parents who simply can't. There are a lot of single parents who work. I don't know how they get the laundry done. I don't even

> have children and I am single, so I don't know how they do it. There are always exceptions. If you talk to them often enough, they find it easier. I think parents would do more if they understood, if teachers explained. I work with the students every day but then I say, 'Go home and have your mother work with you on number facts.' Maybe it means nothing to her. My teacher did not call them number facts when I was little. That's a word I picked up. Maybe my mother would not have known what 'number facts' meant. I didn't know what a primer was before I taught, either. I really didn't know what it meant. It always bothered me because I heard people say it and I really didn't know anything about it. So I imagine, if parents were told a little more, they would be able to do a lot more with their kids.

Teachers in general find parents to be supportive. Communication is by telephone, letter or conference.

Students

Students are expected to follow the class rules so that the teacher can accomplish those goals specified by the Principal. There is a great deal of emphasis on responsibility, achievement, compliance and independence.

Classroom Organization

The Principal outlines the general school rules but gives the teachers some degree of flexibility in conducting their classrooms, vis-a-vis, the self contained system that has been institutionalized at School A. The Principal recognized the fact that his perceptions of what is best for School A may not necessarily be in accord with the teachers' perceptions of how the classrooms should be run, or what is best for the school in general. The question is therefore how does the Principal minimize these conflicts of interest.

The Principal has very little formal input in the hiring of teachers for School A and this has been a major source of disagreement between the Personnel Office and the Principal. The Principal strongly believes that the appropriate staff is not selected for a black school such as School A and he is denied any input in the selection process. The Principal has expressed some informal means of circumventing this process. The FOT, to which most of School A teachers belong, is another obstacle that the Principal feels he has to confront. He feels that the FOT does a disservice to the educational system by using contractual manipulation to retain teachers who should not be in the school system. He says:

> The Union tends to do everything that is ultimately beneficial to the teachers and the benefit of the students takes a secondary or terciary position. Sometimes I begin to question their priorities, what's more important, the education of the kids which is ultimately going to improve the system or is it the total benefit of the teachers? The Union has a way of confusing those two very critical roles and tends to lean in the other direction. My philosophy has always been that the school is basically for the kids and that should be the over-riding preoccupation of any organization.

Charged with a commitment to run things "his way," the Principal makes certain that the members of the School A organization can adapt to the ways and practices of the school as defined by the Principal and share a commitment to implement those goals that characterize School A. The teaching body at the school may be the result of the Principal's informal input into the selection of members who would be most likely to comply with the school's guidelines.

Teachers are assigned vertically to classrooms based on their proven area of expertise. The teachers' competency is given more consideration than their area of certification. The Principal has also instituted a rotation system within grade levels at School A that allows the teacher to be exposed to different students constituting the School A student population. The teacher who has the accelerated achieving group one year will receive the low achieving group the next year. This type of system puts pressure on individual teachers to consistently maintain a standard of high productivity. The measure of achievement is most evident in the teacher's success with the low achieving group. The Principal has selected this type of structure "to change teaching styles and bring the teacher into an area where she is going to deal with kids having problems other than the accelerated kids. It broadens her educational background. She'll be able to deal with different kids at different levels in order to have a better knowledge of all of the kids."

The self contained classroom system at School A permits the teacher to have some degree of flexibility within the classroom. There are, however, some standard procedures that characterize all of the classrooms. All teachers at School A, with the exception of kindergarten and special education teachers, generally have three reading groups. The Principal does not recommend more than three groups per class; therefore, the teacher of a student who does not fit into any of his/her reading groups will place the student in another class where the appropriate reading group is present. The Principal has distributed a recommended placement guide for the Ginn 360 levels within the vertical organization. Instruction is strictly by the book or the teachers' guide for the series. Companion work skill books are used with this instruction. Worksheets and abundant activities are available in almost every room for advanced and slow students. Each reading level has six units. At the end of each unit each student takes a test on the skills taught in the unit. Upon completion of the six units, the students take a level mastery test which is closely monitored by the Principal. Mathematics is also monitored by the Principal. The students must also meet the minimum standard requirement in English, Spelling, Handwriting, Library, Social Studies, Science, Art, Music and Physical Education. All public school testing programs are met. Teachers give all required national tests, periodic ability tests, mandated reading unit tests, special testing preparations for MAT and recommended teacher manual exams in various subjects.

Teacher Consensus

On the PSQ teachers at School A demonstrated group solidarity around School A product goals and the Principal, but there were teacher factions. Yet, the 21 respondents showed some degree of consensus on 75 percent of the statements pertaining to Achievement, 71 percent on Discipline and 66 percent around Administration and Supervision. Over half of their responses on Teaching and Teacher Autonomy and Parent and Community Relations also showed consensus. Only School A ranked the scales as predicted: (1) Achievement; (2) Discipline; and, (3) Administration and Supervision. It did not rank Parent and Community Relations as high. However, School A's responses were more reliable on this scale. Following are the responses with the percentages of the respondents showing consensus in parentheses.

Achievement

School A respondents agree that reading is the most important skill (85.7); consider reading and mathematics of equal importance (76.2); group their students for reading according to basal reader skill mastery (81); believe that grouping maximizes learning for all students in reading (71.4); agree that their principal emphasizes the basal reader unit tests (76.2); generally, did not feel that the MAT was the best indicator of high achievement in reading (71.4); use the textbook to teach mathematics (66.7); and the chapter tests at the end of the units to measure skill mastery (76.2). A high mid-range of agreement occurred among School A teachers regarding the importance of the reinforcement of skills. They generally believed it to be the key to high achievement (81); they also agreed with the statement that when students receive a Probably Ready on a skill in the basal reader test, the skills are retaught (76.2). Other required courses were clearly second to reading and mathematics. Writing was important too (85.7).

School A teachers provide supplementary reading material for accelerated readers (76.2); feel that the Scholars' Program is not the only outlet for gifted and talented students (90.5); that good study skills are a means to high achievement (81); and that they taught them such study skills in their school (85.7). Surprisingly, considering the emphasis given to it by the School A Principal and the amount of art, pictures and bulletin boards devoted to it in School A, School A teachers showed low consensus regarding an emphasis on Black History and Culture throughout the School year (66.7) and below 60 percent around the integration of Black History, Life and Culture as a part of the regular curriculum.

When the teachers were asked what was the primary contributing factor to high achievement in School A, many of them attributed this success first and foremost to the Principal. He was recognized most for his ability to control discipline problems.

Table 32

Primary Contributing Factors to High Achievement in School A

Actors as Primary Contributing Factor	Responses	
	Teachers	Educational Assistant
Principal	9	6
Principal and Teachers	6	
Principal, Parents and Teachers	2	
Principal, Teachers and Community	1	
Teachers and Students	2	
Total	20	6

The Principal felt that high achievement at School A was a shared responsibility. He said:

> I don't think that any one person can bring about high achievement. It takes the whole collection of human beings to do this. It's the community, the teachers, it's the principal, the supervisors; so it's everybody working together in some degree of harmony and cooperation that brings about high achievement.

When the teachers were asked how the Principal contributes to high achievement in School A, teachers were more inclined to give process answers. The following chart shows the themes which emerged.

Table 33

School A: The Principal's Contributions to High Achievement

Themes	Number of Respondents
Discipline	1
Support	2
Expectations	3
Interaction	3
Awareness	5
Model	6

Teachers commented as follows regarding these themes:

> The Principal is a good disciplinarian and students fear his discipline.
>
> The Principal is extremely supportive. He enables the teacher to teach and is complimentary. This gives us incentive. The Principal knows the children can learn and succeed, and he makes sure that they are learning.
>
> The Principal demands learning. Children produce for him. Without a doubt, children come here to learn and they learn well. He makes sure that teaching goes on. He is very strong on high achievement. Teachers and students know what to expect.
>
> The Principal cares about what happens to the children. He maintains a good rapport with the teacher and students. He spends a lot of time with the kids...talks to them and listens to them. He understands them and relates to them well.
>
> He knows what goes on. Nothing gets by him. He makes himself visible and does not hide in the office. He knows every student's first name.
>
> He is the strongest person in the school. He provides good leadership. Other staff members fell in line. He has high standards. He requires teachers to work hard. Children respect his authority.

Discipline

There is a high level of consensus in School A in agreement with the statement that a discipline code of rules and regulations is well known to students, teachers and parents (95.2). School A teachers agree that they refer discipline problems to the principal whenever they think it is necessary (90.5); believe that discipline problems are often handled by the principal (85.7); and showed little consensus around the statement that physical harassment is not considered effective by most teachers (less than 60 percent).

School A teachers believe that most of the students there are well-behaved (100), but show only a low level of consensus on the means for gaining compliance (66.7) primarily deferring or delaying privileges. They believe they inform parents about homework assignments (71.4); that students are referred to the principal if they do not complete their seatwork or homework (81); that the students complete their seat assignments and lessons in school most of the time (85.7); and that homework covers work already taught (61.9).

Inappropriate behavior was not thought to be tolerated in the lunchrooms, halls and bathrooms (95.2). The lunchrooms are supervised by the Principal which controls student behavior (85.1). School A teachers also felt that the children in their school were polite and courteous for the most part (85.7); that the climate of the school was conducive to learning (95.2); and that there was little screaming in the halls by the teachers (85.7). They thought that teacher and principal attendance was good (85.7) and that students came to school on time most of the time (66.7).

Oddly, School A teachers showed consensus below 60 percent around the statement that students monitor and correct their own behavior in school most of the time although they felt that they could leave their rooms and the children would remain quiet and orderly (66.7). School jobs were used as rewards for well-behaved children (66.7); classroom rules were posted so that children could monitor their own behavior (90.5) and students were taught to make the school rules a part of themselves (81).

Administration and Supervision

School A teachers believe that the principal studies the writing samples (66.7) and the reading progress records of each student, but the level of consensus was lower than predicted (66.7).

Only School A teachers felt that the principal studied the mathematics progress records (71.4), provided extra time for students to complete unfinished work and to master basic skills (71.4) and set the goals for the school (85.7). They believed that the principal had the final say in decision-making (95.2) and coordinated school routines generally through bulletins and memoranda (76.2). Only School A teachers showed consensus around the idea of student advocacy. They felt that students had the right to bring grievances against adults to the principal (61.9) and that students could appeal teacher decisions directly to the principal and expect a fair hearing without penalty (61.9). They believed that their principal communicates with teachers individually most of the time (66.7).

School A teachers felt that students were placed in classrooms according to age and reading skill mastery level (66.7); and, although they felt that they determined the teachers' classroom assignments (66.7), they generally agreed that the principal assigned teacher responsibilities (76.2), developed methods for generating positive interactions between teachers and students (66.7); and agreed that their principal emphasized the need for teachers to be aware of the social lives of their students (71.4).

Teaching and Teacher Autonomy

School A teachers (95.2) felt that except for minor matters, the principal was in charge of all discipline; that he was in charge of parent/school relations (76.2); that they participated in decision-making by submitting recommendations to the principal who made the final decision (71.4); that they made adjustments for special students' needs even when central office specified the amount of time which should be spent on a skill or subject (66.7); and that they were the best judges of student performances in skill acquisition and mastered materials (90.5). But, the principal made teacher-subject assignments (66.7) and teachers determine what students belong to what reading group (71.4) although the principal determined what students failed (61.9).

Around teacher evaluation, School A respondents felt that teachers were evaluated on a regular basis (71.4); that the principal visited classrooms daily (76.2); that the principal set minimum standards used to determine teacher ratings (66.2); that the principal made suggestions on teaching performance (81); that they kept lesson plans and submitted same to the principal for review weekly (61.9); and generally, followed this plan (85.7).

School A teachers believe that they contact parents on classroom disciplinary infractions in school (71.4); handle parent complaints and refer same to the principal only when they became major (61.9); believe that they keep in contact with parents on a regular basis about student progress(81); consider themselves strict disciplinarians (76.2); have high expectations for their students (90.5); assume the responsibility for the teaching of reading (85.7); give and grade homework (85.7); help each other with instructional problems (90.5); provide collaboration and feedback among each other across grades and subjects (81).

While School A teachers did not perceive the Union Representative to be more influential in the decision-making process, 71.4 percent of the respondents did believe that some teachers had more influence in decision-making than others; however, there was little consensus (below 60 percent) around the belief that there were cliques of teachers at School A.

Observations confirm that the amount of input teachers have in the decision-making process of the school is determined by their competency in the classroom as perceived by the Principal. Those who demonstrate consistent goal achievement are consulted most often. These teachers fall into those with flexibly structured classrooms as will be discussed in the next section. See Figure 7. Teachers within this flexible category have a more firm but pliable style of management. They are consulted more by the Principal. They make suggestions that are open for discussion, and, if they have the support of other teachers, the issue seems to be given greater consideration. These teachers have served longer at the school and their style of management closely resembles that of the Principal. Teachers in loosely constructed classrooms express their involvement in such activities as field trips, bake sales and so on, with little input in the formal decision-making process. The amount of input varies but all teachers say that the Principal makes the final decisions.

In the classrooms those teachers in flexibly and highly structured classrooms have more freedom there than other teachers. One flexible classroom teacher says, "Within the classroom I make 100 percent of the decisions." A highly structured classroom teacher says, "Lots of us do what we want to do in the classroom which is a real asset."

In-service, Help and Assistance

There is in-service training for teachers who are less efficient. The Principal works with all teachers, primarily with those on the loose end of the structure continuum, to elevate competency in the classroom. Some teachers are also supportive of their peers who have difficulty performing as expected. Most teachers have had some years of experience at the school. The rotation system increases teacher exposure to many of the students of the school at one time or another. This knowledge is shared with those teachers who need help if they want it. The fifth grade teacher from the loosely structured classroom, who had worked for 16 years at another school before coming to School A, also received assistance from the teaching supervisor. The first grade teacher in the highly structured classroom, whose teaching experience had been at School A, talked about the assistance which she had received from the Principal:

> He helped me with different ways of getting to the same subject area. He also backs you up, shows you and encourages you for both good and bad behavior. He doesn't put you down. He helps you change your behavior in a positive way.

When asked if she felt that she had accomplished her best in terms of high achievement, she said:

> This is my first full year with the first grade class, so after the trials and errors of being a full time teacher in the first grade, I feel that I have achieved in that the students came in knowing very little in reading and now they are reading at and above grade level according to their MAT scores. I think that I have achieved as best as I am capable of, right now, but in the future if I stay in the first grade, I would expect more out of myself in regards to achievement.

The following comment from this teacher reflects the basic principles and general consensus of the majority of the teachers at School A that all students can learn and also reflects a commitment to making it work:

> I don't care how they are placed in here (low, average or accelerated). When they are done, they will do the same as they are supposed to.

High expectations prevail in School A by teachers, the Principal, parents and students.

The multiple monitoring techniques that are simply part of the routine practices at School A increase the Principal's knowledge of what goes on in the classrooms. He says:

> The monitoring system was used by me so that I would be abreast of what is going down in every classroom. Teachers have to report to me on the growth of the children. If the children do not meet the minimum standard requirement, that information has to be brought to me; I must be aware of that. I must see their mastery tests in reading. I have to see them in terms of intergroup behavior with their peer group. So, I would say, a very tight, consistent, regular monitoring and reporting system keeps everyone abreast of whether or not we are reaching these goals.

One veteran teacher gave her perspective on the Principal's level of awareness of what goes on in the classrooms. She said:

> We're in charge of our rooms. I guess because we've been here so long. He has observed that we're not going to drop off. He knows what's going on, though, in every area. Nothing gets by him. He is real interested in everything about this school.

Parent and Community Relations

There was consensus among School A teachers on the following in the PCR scale. They felt that they try many ways to get parents to come to school (66.7) and the same percentage disagreed that parents generally attend PTA meetings. While 71.4 percent agreed that parents attend special events and 66.7 percent felt parents were welcome at any time, 76.2 percent said teachers did not visit parents at home. Yet, 76.2 percent felt that parents did call the principal at home, and 71.4 percent believed that parents were involved in school affairs. In spite of the lack of teacher visitations, 66.7 percent felt that parents generally supported the teachers' decisions.

There was little consensus (below 60 percent) around the statement that teachers work hard to increase parental attendance in PTA or that teachers give parents information about the basal reader mastery level tests or MAT. School A teachers (76.2) felt that parents' ideas were worth considering, that teachers and parents shared information (61.9), that teachers respected parents' ideas and suggestions (81), that teachers speak to parents about their childrens' work before failure (85.7), that teachers believe that parent awareness and input is an asset to the school (81).

There was not much consensus in School A, surprisingly, in the sub-scale concerning joint-community projects to improve schooling. Teachers felt that the school kept the community informed about what was going on (81) but there was little consensus (below 60 percent) on the other items. School A teachers showed little consensus again (below 60 percent) around statements that the principal had good relations with the school board member or with central office. They did feel, however, that they tried to create a feeling of family (81), that everybody helped everybody else (76.2), that the children felt loved on the whole (90.5)

Cluster Analysis

Goal Importance Within the Tightest Grouping at School A

School A had three tight, highly homogenous factions. These factions stressed different goals. The largest faction had two sets which held a third of all School A teachers. These teachers stressed achievement, discipline and teaching/teacher autonomy as their three top goals. Only intensity substantially varied on each item between the two groups. These two highly homogeneous groupings, the strongest coalition, are not very far apart when they behave as a joint unit. Their top two priorities (achievement and discipline) stayed constant. But their third priority lumped teaching/teacher autonomy and administration/supervision as paired third priorities. Alone or together, these clusters dismissed parent/community relations as a meaningful goal orientation.

The second faction, stressed administration/supervision, strongly held positive feelings towards teaching/teacher autonomy and disagreed the most about achievement. They only felt strongly about emphasizing less discipline. In a setting with strong emphasis for discipline, this group was more permissive toward children.

The last faction felt equally about four goals: teaching/teacher autonomy, discipline, administration/supervision and parent/community relations. These members strongly disagreed more than most about achievement.

A third of this faculty could be called rugged individualists who rarely joined well-defined groupings. This relatively large group of loners numbered eight. Their size equalled the largest cluster that had a preference. Hence, two competing nodes expressed themselves. One node preferred solipsistic choices. Their singular choices kept them apart from others. In spite of this, among groupings, the achievement- discipline cluster still organized best collective opinions. It captured a third of the faculty--eight teachers. What is important for them came in three packages: a distinct discipline goal; a clear set of achievement expectations and some joint interactions among teaching autonomy, administration/supervision and parent/community relations.

In the real world of compromise, this faculty would stress achievement over all possible goals, although they had a strong faction leaning heavily toward discipline (eight of thirteen members). Discipline lost robustness as the coalition's size widened. What did not survive clearly is the real priority of all the other goals, if the largest group had to choose.

School A had strong factional preferences. But, these factions could submerge their highest priority orientations to agree on achievement and discipline, respectively, as their best choices for the school's goals. Another outlier cluster capturing a third of the faculty, preferred to be rugged individualists and strongly did not share the sentiments of the biggest configuration of thirteen faculty members or 62 percent. Two groups held strongly divergent views overall. But the best collective sentiments valued achievement and discipline as the real school goals. This finding was compatible with the ranking of goals in the first analysis.

General Classroom Routines

There are certain routine practices to be found in all classrooms. Normally, attendance is taken at the beginning of the school day. The school policy states that if a student arrives five minutes after the late bell he/she should be referred to the office. If the student is within the five minute grace period he/she should be accepted in the classroom without the referral. Teachers in grades one through five are required to assign homework Monday through Thursday with Fridays optional. Bulletins are sent to parents informing them of these procedures and advising them to place such notices in easily accessible places in their homes. Students who fail to complete three homework assignments are to be referred to the Principal. A carbon copy of all lesson plans for the following week are to be submitted to the Principal by 2:50 p.m. every Friday. This procedure not only gives the Principal some indication of what is being covered in the classrooms but also serves to minimize the gap between the substitute's instruction and the regular instructional level in the event that the teacher is absent. Special subject teachers and special education teachers should have a permanent contingency lesson plan on file in case of absence. Among other things, the title of the book, pages to be covered, skills to be taught and the lavatory schedule are to be outlined. The original copy is to be kept in the center drawer of the teachers' desks to the right-hand side.

After the attendance is taken, the teacher begins the day with the opening exercises which vary from room to room. There are a number of students at School A belonging to unique religious sects which prevent them from saying the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag. Among these groups are Jehovah's Witnesses and the Moorish Americans. The latter worship on Fridays and the children are always absent on that day. In the primary rooms, the calendar activity is usually next. Here the students say the days of the week, months of the year and the year. School A teachers put bellwork on the chalkboard. It is usually to be completed before the bell rings for the first period class. Generally, it is not completed. Teachers explain the bellwork and seatwork when the children arrive. Seatwork activities generally include mathematics problems to be solved, spelling activities, handwriting exercises and English composition and grammar. Often reading lessons are also assigned. When all of these activities are assigned, the reading groups are called.

At School A, teachers generally teach through lecture-demonstration, checking and providing immediate feedback. Teachers often circulate among the students to determine their mastery of the practiced skill. They correct papers during their preparation periods and return the papers to the children the same day. Explanations and discussions are generated by the skill tests and intensify with the higher achieving groups. The fifth grade high achieving group has only one reading group. In the teaching function, the textbook is the main reference and teachers at School A rely dependently on the teachers' guide. Work is executed by means of workbooks, worksheets, pretest and post-test. Spelling is taught by the textbook with the Monday pretest and Friday post-test operation. "The Big Idea" is maximized and linked with the phonics instruction given in the Ginn 360 series.

In math instruction, a great degree of inflexibility often prevails: one path is shown; most students are expected to do a problem as shown. Alternative explorations tend to be publicly suppressed or postponed until their proper place comes.

Homework is usually given in spelling, handwriting, mathematics, social studies and science. Reading books and workbooks are kept at school and not circulated. Every teacher sends students' work home to parents for their information. Communication from the teachers to the parents is by letter, telephone and conferences.

In these self-contained classrooms, the style of management varies and seems to be a function of the individual teacher rather than types of student - low, average or accelerated achievers. This self-contained system gives the teacher the flexibility to utilize techniques that will maximize goal attainment. The Principal says, "I don't stifle their creativity in the classroom by making them follow the specific guidelines or curriculum guidelines to the letter." Styles of classroom management range from high to loose structure with some degree of flexibility in the middle.

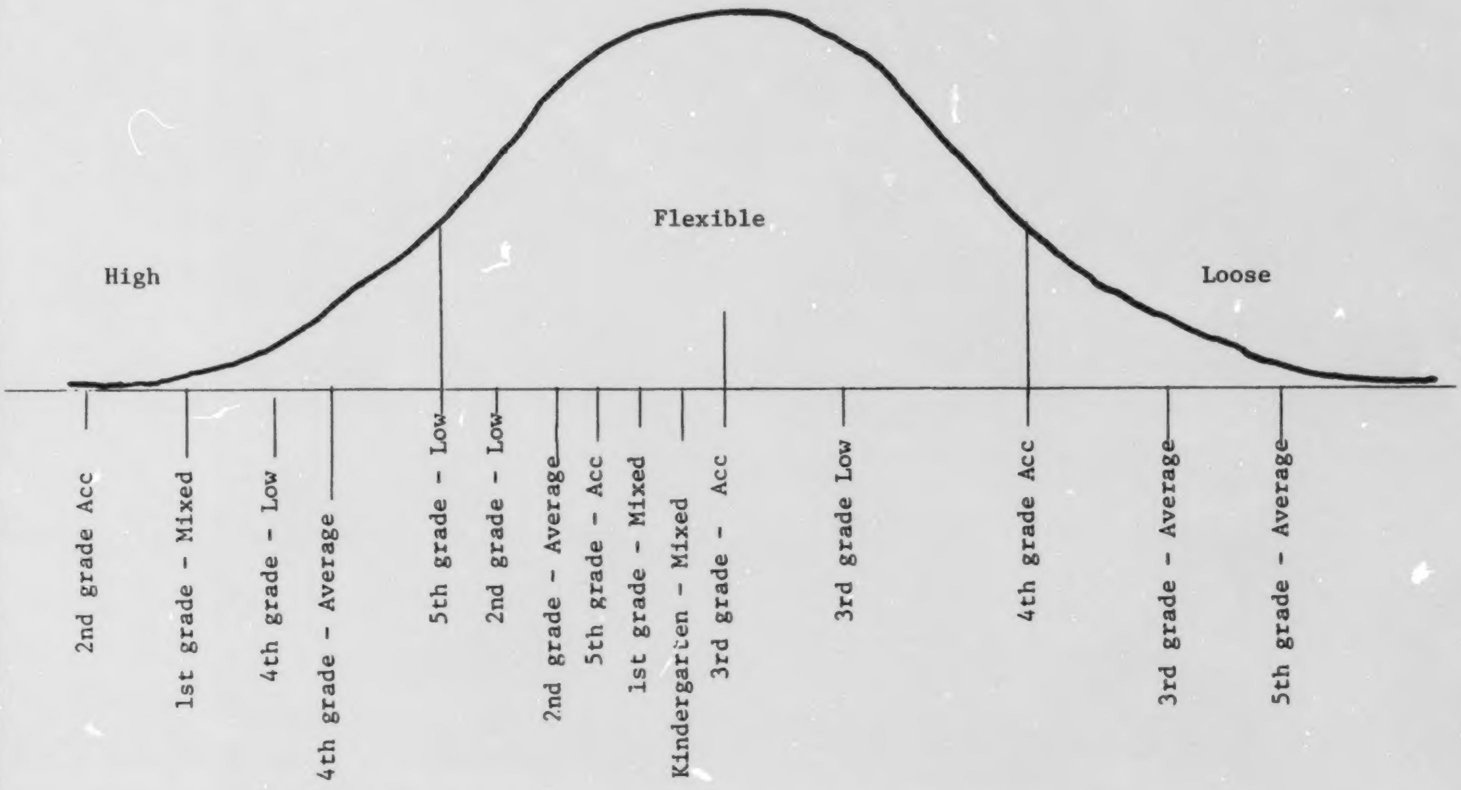
Teachers who select to follow the school rules closely in order to reach their goals tend to maintain highly structured classrooms where the rules are fixed and few deviations occur. A unilateral teacher-student relationship is characteristic of these classrooms. The teacher's authority is constantly recognized and rarely challenged or questioned. Students play a passive role in these classrooms. Orders are given and followed. In the flexibly structured classrooms the teacher has a different style of management to attain the goals. The school rules provide the basic structure for the operation of the classroom, but adjustments are made where necessary to maximize goal attainment. These classrooms are firm but pliable. The teacher's authority is recognized and the teacher-student boundaries are clear. But the teacher shares a participatory relationship with the student. For example, many discussions follow lessons which use student-centered experiences to make the lesson more relevant and interesting to the students. There is a greater exchange of knowledge among the students and emphasis on entire class and group activities which foster solidarity among the students in reaching the common goal set by the teacher. In the loosely structured classroom settings, the absence of a clearly defined authority is apparent. Students are constantly asking for consistent boundaries and testing the teacher. The teacher spends a great deal of time trying to assert his/her authority and students constantly try to push the boundaries back. Keeping the students occupied with some task is a technique frequently used to get compliance.

Most classrooms at School A are characterized by high or flexible structure, a style that closely mirrors the Principal's style of management. He is firm but malleable enough to accommodate individual differences within the school, providing teachers meet the goals he has delineated for the school. Some teachers are more successful than others.

The routine practices in each classroom will be discussed in the next section to illustrate the management styles and the effects on goal attainment.

Figure 7: School A

'Styles of Management in the Self-contained Classrooms: Kindergarten through Fifth Grade



Low = Low achieving classroom

Average = Average achieving classroom

Acc = Accelerated achieving classroom

Mixed = Low, average and accelerated achieving classroom

The Classrooms: Highly Structured

A unilateral teacher-student relationship characterizes these classrooms. The teacher demands strict adherence to the command-obedience structure - "Look!" "Listen!" "What did I tell you?" are orders frequently heard in these classrooms. The pouring in of knowledge through rote and drill techniques is the typical teaching style of most of the teachers. Class discussions are kept at a minimum and student-centered experiences that are characteristic of the discussion format that follows a lesson in flexible classrooms are virtually absent. The teacher demands rigid unbending answers to questions. Diversions from the pre-planned schedule are rare and there are very few interruptions to handle discipline cases. An occasional command is all that is required to get student compliance. Deviant cases that are penalized in these classrooms do not cause alarm in the flexible classrooms. Student isolation is another technique used to get compliance and these students are often the recipients of threats and verbal harassment for the slightest deviations. There is a marked difference in the treatment of these peripheral isolates. Compliments sometimes go out for good work performance, particularly those students who have demonstrated progress in their work. Rewards are rarely given.

First Grade Classroom - Mixed

> I expect the students to listen, first of all. In the beginning of the year the first graders can't read directions. I expect them to at least listen. I also expect them to play their part in that if a parent is working in the evening that they should at least take the responsibility of handing in their homework. Also, during the day they should take the responsibility of finishing their work. If they have a problem, raise their hands. The only way I can put it is learning how to play school. . . They are students. I expect them to act as first grade students. They know they have to finish this work. They know they do this everyday since September. . . There is no reason for it (not doing their work). They know their role in these kinds of discipline things that they have to get through anyway - all through school. I also expect them to take on the responsibility of, like, if I say to read a story at night to someone at home

> that they do it and not leave their papers on their desk and say, well, I didn't have my papers to do it. . . I expect them to ask questions if they are having a problem with a specific assignment and not let it drag all day.

This classroom is a very restricted environment where all activities are closely monitored and supervised. Supervision is constant and tough. Rules are not only given, but watched closely to make sure no deviations occur. The adult-child distinction is magnified: "Do as I say" is typical of the teacher's expectations.

The teacher's day is generally predictable. The day begins with entire class participation in morning rituals such as the news, word cluster drill, color coded seat work assignments and so on. The teacher uses a yard stick to pace and to delineate the words in question. Individual students are asked to recognize the words, then the entire class recites them. These daily redundancies, recall and repetitions are techniques to get students to internalize some basic skills. While the class is doing the seat work, reading groups are called to the reading table to work with the teacher. When reading is completed, they return to their seats to complete the seatwork and any other reading assignments given.

A reading group comes to the reading table with the necessary books and are firmly instructed to do a particular exercise. Only after the instructions are given are students permitted to proceed. The group is silent. Any wandering of the eyes to a neighbor's paper is immediately reprimanded. As each student finishes, they are given instructions to move to the next exercise which is listening to consonant blends and writing in the missing blends. The teacher waits for everyone to finish, scolding anyone not obeying her orders and commands. There is constant pressure to stay on task: "Look at your book", "Listen", and "Do as I say" are orders frequently given. The slightest deviation is immediately reprimanded.

Another reading group is summoned to the reading table. The teacher calls the words and the students repeat after her and then write them down. The students are told to read silently. The teacher tests their comprehension of the material. Each student is called upon to read orally for the group. Students are reprimanded for incorrect word pronunciations. This is followed by an exercise where students have to recognize prefixes, suffixes and blends. Another exercise is given in which the teacher reads and then calls a respondent. If the answer given by the student is correct everyone registers the correct answer in the skillbooks.

Another reading group is called and the teacher goes through the exercise with the same degree of sternness. Students do their seatwork independently and do not disturb the teacher when she is working with a reading group. Listening is so important in this classroom that spelling tests are not repeated and students are not allowed time for proofreading. As the tests are corrected, those students from whom she expects better performances are scolded.

The atmosphere is somewhat more relaxed in the afternoon, when the subjects such as language, handwriting and mathematics are usually taught. These subjects are treated with the same sort of rigidity that characterizes the morning session, except students may have the privilege of raising their heads from their papers without the teacher looking straight at them. Students participate enthusiastically in the math lesson. All students are recognized for questioning, those with their hands raised and those without.

The teacher's desire to make the students learn, no matter what it takes, is evident throughout the classroom. The posters in this classroom are instructional aids, and are to be found posted on most wall space in the classroom. Rather than permit the class to attend a movie in the auditorium with other classes the teacher opts to have the students watch educational television programs in the afternoon such as "Mister Rogers." The television was actually brought to the classroom for this purpose. The teacher has high expectations for her students and puts pressure on them to produce. When a word presents a problem in reading the student is forced to recall the word often with no assistance from the teacher. Other students sit with puckered lips eager to assist the struggling student but he must decipher the word himself. Reading assignments take priority over seatwork and students must complete these assignments first when dismissed from the reading table.

The educational assistant works with those students having difficulty keeping pace with the rest of the class. Her instructional style is similar to the teacher's, with a lot of emphasis on repetition and drill. The teacher prepares weekly lesson plans for herself and the educational assistant.

Two students are peripherally isolated in this classroom, while two other students receive differential treatment from the teacher. The teacher is less tolerant of these four students who are reprimanded for the slightest deviations off tasks. Threats go out to be sent to the Principal for not sitting properly in their seats, for giggling and so on. The teacher also threatened to call one student's grandmother because he failed to follow her instructions. Three of the students do not always complete their assignments within the designated time and are frequently denied gym to sit at the discipline table in the hall and complete their work. One student is stigmatized as bright but lazy and is accused of falling asleep when he does not want to work. He is under constant surveillance by the teacher and is threatened to be sent to the Principal whenever he attempts to put his head down on his desk. It is believed that the mother's negative experiences as a student have influenced the attitude of another student. One student has been tested for the learning disability classroom. His mother did not attend the IEP conference. Two of the students have an excessive absentee record which has contributed to their poor work performances. They will not be promoted to the second grade. Parents were informed of the students' lack of progress throughout the course of the year. One of the students was scolded for incorrect spelling on his test. When the correct spelling of a word was demanded by the teacher, self-correction was received. His paper was returned with the following command, "You had better study these. Do you hear me!"

Rewarding students is not a common practice in this classroom. Students who have "satisfactorily" completed their reading assignments are sometimes given candy. The most frequent symbol of recognition is to have one's work displayed in the classroom. The teacher expresses dissatisfaction with those students who fail to meet the teacher's expectations. Cleaning the chalkboard is a reward for compliance. Students actually compete to perform this "privileged" task.

If the teacher steps outside the classroom door for a minute, the students immediately take advantage of this moment to talk. Except for such instances, peer interaction is practically nonexistent. Students line up to have their pencils sharpened by the teacher in the morning and usually before a handwriting exercise. They are given an alloted amount of paper to do their work and do not have the freedom of going to the teacher's desk for paper.

The teacher feels very strongly that the students can learn and she is determined to make them do so. External conditions such as excessive absenteeism limit her control over making this a reality for two students. The teacher is so committed to making the students learn, regardless of what it takes, that even when ill and obviously experiencing a great deal of physical discomfort, she opts to stay, even if immobilized and forced to teach the class from her desk. She always follows her lesson plans and does not deviate from this. Consequently, work proceeds on schedule. The morning sessions are most intense. She requested the Principal's permission to take the students outside for recess in the late spring when weather conditions were favorable. Both the teacher and the educational assistant actively participated in games with the students. This is the only time that the strict adult-child relationship that characterizes the classroom setting was virtually absent. Moreover, the teacher's desk is kept very neat, and only the bare essentials are found on top of her desk.

The Principal made two visits to the classroom during the week. Each time he entered the classroom, all instruction immediately stopped. One visit was to caution students about inappropriate behavior in the community. Before he began his lecture the teacher told him that she and her assistant wanted to let him know that one student had shown marked improvement in her work. The Principal commended the student and asked the class to stand and applaud her. She was then sent to the office to get a present off his desk. The Principal's tone of voice suddenly changed as he talked about his reason for coming to the classroom. "Now let's get down to serious business," he said. He strongly warned the class about picking people's flowers. He was accompanied by another student whose purpose was to identify those students whom she allegedly saw picking flowers in the neighborhood. All of the accused students denied the charges. The Principal reprimanded them nevertheless. He accused one of lying and demanded eye contact from another. He was obviously very angry. He sternly warned that he does not want any more phone calls from anyone in the neighborhood about the problem again. This warning went out to the entire class as well.

The Principal came to the classroom another day and issued a stern warning to a student about lolligagging. The typical call-response pattern prevailed. With each command the student would timidly nod his head and say, "Yes, Sir." The Principal challenged the student. "Try me if you don't think I'm serious!" he said. The room was silent. The educational assistant looked down. Everyone else watched. Before leaving the Principal's tone softened as he interacted in a friendly manner with the rest of the class, and inquired about their work. Often when the Principal goes to the classroom and disciplines a student the other actors in the classroom are not always aware of the charges against the student. Many of the incidents occur outside the classroom and school. The Principal has his own information gathering system which gives him access to information others do not have. One such technique is having students report any inappropriate behavior in which others engage, both inside and outside of the school grounds. This practice of "tattling" is not condoned by teachers in any of the classrooms at this school.

Flexibly Structured Classrooms

These classrooms differ from the high and loose classrooms by having a firm but pliable structure. The teacher and students share a reciprocal relationship as opposed to the unilateral relationship of the high classroom, and the peer relationship that characterizes the loose classroom. Discussions arise during and after a lesson in which students actively participate, often relating their experiences to the lesson. Different opinions are considered and discussed. Students must raise their hands to answer questions but, generally, everyone is recognized and the teacher keeps a mental record of the progress or lack of progress of each respondent. Many questions are asked and those students not following are singled out to respond. Teachers are not merely interested in finishing a book, lesson plan or pouring in knowledge, but are equally involved in the process of learning. Demonstrations and illustrations are common techniques used to reinforce learning. This is particularly evident in low achieving classrooms.

The teachers and students adapt easily to change. The teacher from the loosely structured average fifth grade classroom was absent one day. There was no substitute, so the class was divided equally between the accelerated and low fifth grades.

Both teachers had difficulty identifying where the students were in reading because there was general disagreement among the students themselves on the issue. No one seemed to know. The teacher in one classroom gave the students an oral test to determine their placement and to see how many could do the exercise without using the dictionary. Few could, so the dictionary was pulled out. Within a short period of time, the teacher had covered all tasks and everyone was working quietly. While she was working with the visiting students, her class was working independently.

The students in the other classroom tutored the visiting class after they had completed their work. The teacher stayed beside the visiting class most of the day as assistance was frequently needed. In both classrooms the transition was smooth and the excessive disruption and distraction that characterized the visiting students' classroom was completely absent. Both teachers were surprised to see how far behind these students were. Besides having additional students, the nurse was scheduled to check students' spines (with parental permission slips) for curvature. Students were taken from the classrooms in groups. Because so many students were taken out, one teacher changed her lesson plan and taught mathematics to the class instead of the regular group reading. In the other class, the teacher went ahead with her plans as scheduled. Despite these pull-outs, however, both classes ran smoothly.

When students from one EMR classroom were placed in a high classroom, they were simply given paper and told to draw. They were ignored by the teacher after that and her students kept staring at them. When similar students were placed in a loosely structured classroom, they too were not given any instruction but the Educational Assistant occasionally babysat them. The flexible classrooms tend to adjust quickly to change more so than the highly or loosely structured classrooms.

In the highly structured classrooms there is a lot of emphasis on drill and pouring in of knowledge. The teacher is committed to making the students perform no matter what it takes. Poor work is usually attributed to laziness. They insist on students doing it their way as opposed to considering alternative strategies. When asked what contributed to high achievement in her classroom, one teacher said:

> I came with the idea that everybody in this room was going to read. There was nobody in here that wasn't going to be able to read at the end of the year, and I think I played that on them in that it was never, 'I can't read this word.' Also, repetition in the first grade is very important. Allowing the students to keep at that material although sometimes it gets frustrating. I think the repetition and the fact that both the students and I knew there is no such thing as 'I can't read in this room.

Another teacher from a highly structured classroom feels that the reading level system is "too babyish" and should be eliminated. She does not believe that reading should be differentiated into low, average and accelerated groups when students are at grade level in all other subjects. The underlying assumption here is that any student can learn whatever is necessary, if you want them to.

The flexibly structured classroom teachers very rarely refer a student to the Principal for misconduct and threats to do so are virtually absent. Teachers handle any discipline problem that may arise. In the highly structured classrooms students are sent to the Principal for laughing, getting out of one's seat unnecessarily and so on. Strict adherence to the teacher's rules is mandated. The slightest deviations are not tolerated. In a flexibly structured classroom one student in the class was not cooperating. She kept drifting off task and when asked a question she would give an incorrect answer. The teacher circulated and monitored the progress of the students during the spelling test that followed. The teacher told her to stop writing and go over her work because she was making too many "unnecessary mistakes." Later that day the student solved oral mathematic problems incorrectly after the teacher had done several examples. She expressed her frustration with the student and then showed her step-by-step how to solve them. This type of behavior would not be tolerated in a highly structured classroom. In the loosely structured classroom few disruptors are referred to the Principal. The teacher spends a great deal of time asking for compliance and often teaches in spite of the distractions. Many threats are issued, however.

The school discipline code is posted in some flexibly structured classrooms. Some have their own rules instead, which are rehearsed by the class daily, before formal instruction begins. They are not posted in the loosely structured classrooms. In the loosely structured classrooms some teachers allow personal feelings toward a student to influence their decisions about that student. Teachers are supposed to report to the Principal those students who have not done three homework assignments. One teacher does not adhere to this because she "has a good group of kids." She indicated that one student is not ready for the accelerated class and should be in a lower class but she is empathetic towards the student because she witnessed a tragedy in her family. As a result, she had developed a close relationship with the student and does not want her to leave the class.

In one high classroom a student had an unsuccessful brain tumor operation and the doctors predicted that she would die. The student returned to school nevertheless and did remarkably well. She left at Level 8 and moved easily into Level 10 when she returned. In the flexible classrooms, teachers are generally more patient with the slower students than in the high classrooms, and the schedule is more often adjusted to meet the needs of the students as they arise. In the high classrooms students receive the least number of compliments and rewards. Most rewards are given in the loosely structured classrooms. Occasionally, a teacher from a high classroom may give a student an assignment during the lunch period.

In a loosely structured classroom the teacher seeks the support of the students when confronted by the Principal. When he walked into the classroom all of the students were chewing gum. When the Principal asked why, she said that it was their reward for doing good work. She turned to the students and said, "Right, boys and girls?" They responded, "Yes, Ma'am." Students do not always comply with the teacher's requests. This classroom is characterized by disruption. It was strange hearing the students' respond with such reverence. In loosely structured classrooms peer groups are prevalent.

Most of the flexible classrooms will be discussed. The fifth grade low and accelerated achieving classrooms have been partially discussed above. The low achieving classroom, is highly structured.

Flexible Classroom Routines

Third Grade High Achieving Classroom

This classroom strikes a balance between the loosely structured and the highly structured classroom. The classroom is firm enough to provide the basic framework for consistency and malleable enough to accommodate change. The students immediately start working when they come into the classroom. The Pledge of Allegiance is not part of the morning rituals. Instead, students are selected daily to read a verse to the class. One such verse is, "I will live, work and play with others as I would want others to live, work and play with me." The school discipline code is not posted in this classroom.

The students enjoy working independently and such time is awarded to students who have satisfactorily completed their classwork. All work is checked and must be approved for students to earn independent time. If it is not satisfactory, students return to their seats to make the necessary corrections. Students form a line to have their work checked. Checking is semi-private, as waiting students stand at some distance from the teacher and the student with whom she is working. Generally, one half of the class earns independent time before lunch.

The teacher decided to experiment further with the independent study format by having a period of silent instruction. The lesson began with taped instructions. The students had seven work options from which to choose. Everyone wrote the job they selected on the board. All but one student handled the change. When he spoke the teacher ignored him. He wrote her a note and she responded likewise.

Independent time ranges from more structured activities to less structured activities. In one of the more structured activities the teacher uses peer competition as a strategy for performance. The students were to select tasks from three large school houses at the back of the room, which are filled with reading activities. Certain rules were to be followed: (1) get a folder; (2) do at least two activities but no more than four; (3) correct the paper and record; and (4) see the teacher for a conference after you are finished.

The winner of the contest would receive a prize. The teacher described the reward as "an undisclosed prize. It's nice. You'll like it." The mystery of the prize provided the incentive for competition. A progress chart is kept for recording student performance.

The less structured independent time activities include working with puzzles. Boys tend to work with the more difficult puzzles while girls do more qualitative puzzles such as constructing a map of the United States, putting the roadrunner together and so on.

If students are caught talking during independent time, independent work privilege is lost and the student returns to his/her seat to do an enrichment sheet of mathematics problems.

More emphasis is put on mathematics than any other subject. Problems are frequently solved on the board and discussed before and after an assignment. Using the teacher's guide the teacher graphically illustrates the problems on the board. Questions are asked and answered. After the teacher gives the assignment she circulates among the students examining their work and tutoring those who need help. Students with incorrect answers are separated from the class for a review with the teacher. Others are awarded independent time.

Occasionally, the teacher will introduce methods of solving mathematics problems with graphic illustrations the students can relate to. The students find it humorous and actively participate. Incorrect respondents have to repeat the problems. Mathematics sometimes extends into the reading period and, at times, even into the bathroom break but students signal for the bathroom break. Science is also emphasized in this class and students conduct experiments. Students expressed disappointment when an experiment dealing with the concept of expansion and contraction failed. The glass was not thoroughly chilled so when the hot water was poured into it, the glass failed to crack.

Reading and language are not stressed as much as math and science. In one reading session the teacher seemed unprepared. When an assignment was given students reminded her that it was done before. A spelling test is given every Friday but a pretest is not given every week.

The reciprocal relationship between the teacher and students is evident in certain decision making processes. Voting was the technique used to reach a decision when a student requested a change of seat. The teacher hesitated at first, but then deferred to the class for their opinion. The majority favored the student's request so they won.

During a test a couple of students requested that the lights be turned on. The teacher felt that there was enough light and the glare would bother them. Her rationalization drew a chorus of "Awhs" from the class. The teacher conceded to, at least, give it a try. The sound of approval from the class got the lights to stay on.

The teacher gets feedback from her students. After the class converted a radio play to a television play, they were asked how well they liked it and whether they wanted to convert it back to a radio play. Occasionally, students are asked to switch papers with their classmates for correction. The teacher is less flexible around certain subjects. When students were asked to solve math, alternative ways of arriving at the answer were acknowledged but not reinforced.

The paper distribution system found in some classrooms is absent here. The teacher distributes paper and no one comes up for additional supplies. After lunch students relax with their eyes closed and their heads resting on their desks while the teacher reads them a story. After gym the teacher has the class stand in line for two minutes to relax. When it is time to go to the bathroom, only those students who have a need to use the bathroom are escorted to these facilities by the teacher. The rest of the class remains in the classroom. Those who leave are divided according to bathroom users and fountain sippers. Rarely are there any distractions in the classroom. If a disruptor emerges he/she is taken outside the classroom and cautioned privately.

In addition to awarding students independent time on completion of satisfactory work, students are rewarded for special projects. No candy is served in this classroom. The teacher is also flexible in assigning homework. One day she said, "How you act will determine how I feel about giving you homework." She is rigid when students do not comply with the rules. A new student was scolded for not doing his homework. The teacher strongly reminded him of the homework policy.

The Principal who was making rounds to all the third grade classes to distribute a self-designed mathematics test to the students interrupted classroom instruction to do the same. Neatly dressed in a brown corduroy suit with matching vest, he walked into the classroom and told the teacher that he had something for the class. He asked for no permission to interrupt. Standing before the class he told the students that he wanted them to take the mathematics test sometime today. He wanted all scrap paper used to be attached to the test, but did not give a specific time in which the test was to be completed. Publicly he announced to the teacher that he wanted to see where the students were in mathematics. "I want to find out how well they are doing and what they can do at this point." While giving directions, the Principal joked with the students. "Can you count correctly?" he asked one student. Swiftly the student replied, "Of course! Don't you know that?" He then asked him to distribute the papers - one sheet per student. The Principal complimented a student on how well his Cub Scout uniform looked. He sent another student down to the office with a message for the secretary to change an appointment for him. After all of the students received their papers the Principal said, "Now, do what the Principal says because you know the Principal is infallible. He has a divine appointment." The students laughed. The teacher smiled and said, "I don't know about that." "Well, they are infallible because nobody else wants their job," the Principal quips. He left the class and went to the other third grades to distribute the same exercise. The students resumed their seatwork. Later that day the teacher adjusted her schedule to administer the Principal's test.

There are seven students in the class who go to the Scholars' Center once a week and the teacher makes certain adjustments in the schedule when they are absent. She does not teach anything new but uses the time for review for the rest of the class. The mathematics sheets used on this day replicate some aspects of the work the scholars receive at the Center. The teacher attempts to compensate for the lack of "academic" exposure the remaining students receive. An absent student was re-taught the lesson using the basic concepts.

Kindergarten

There is a morning kindergarten session and an afternoon session. The morning kindergarten is from 8:35 a.m. until 11:15 a.m. and the afternoon session is from 11:50 a.m. until 2:35 p.m. There are 26 students in the morning session (13 boys, 13 girls) and 20 students in the afternoon session (7 boys, 13 girls).

The kindergarten room is cheerful and brightly decorated. Snowmen are painted on the windows. Plants rest on the window sills and dividers. There are valentine greetings to the teacher on the windows and a Winnie-The-Pooh bear hangs above the Art Center. Various works done by the students are displayed throughout the room. The room is quite small with several activity centers: a PREP Center, Task Center, Bead Center and Art Center.

The classroom is flexible and the teacher's perception of what education should be for young children deviates from prescribed methods required by the Board of Education and those practiced in the high classrooms within the school. She resents the fact that some teachers conform to rigid rules:

> I believe that the age span difference precludes the operationalization of strict rules to control conduct in the first grade. This difference creates some distance. There is a strong push on reading in the curriculum. The children need outlets, that is, an art table at the back of the room to pound out a clay object or something when frustrated. Fifth graders need that, too.

Deviations from prescribed rules are evident throughout the operation of the classroom. "I have a free environment in Kindergarten," the teacher says. The reading book is not followed as prescribed and only those sections that she feels are important are selected for instruction. Moreover, modifications are made in the order in which the skills are taught. "We spent a lot of time on gross and fine motor skills so that when I got to the beginning of sounds the children were ready."

Her schedule is also flexible. Because of the irregular attendance patterns of students, she does not prepare lesson plans. Her commitment to de-emphasizing a rigid environment for the students is reinforced in the options given the students. She does not assign work jobs because she feels "the students resist such rigidity and will do sloppy work because they are resentful. Letting kids do their own work jobs works best." New work jobs are always being introduced to create the diversity she feels the students need. She states, "We're taking the 'child' away in children. I believe in a lot of educational play. If a child is not happy in school, I don't believe he'll learn."

The teacher and the educational assistant have both worked in kindergarten at School A for ten years. They have an informal relationship and interact on a first name basis. Both elect to have lunch together in the kindergarten classroom rather than the teacher's room. Their teaching styles are compatible and the educational assistant is given a great deal of freedom in working with those students experiencing difficulty with their work.

While the teacher works with groups or individuals, the assistant works with students having difficulty in particular areas. The rest of the class works in the various centers. The assistant calls students from the centers as needed. The teacher and the assistant keep separate records of the students' progress. Such records include mastery skills, rhyming, classification sequence, matching and coordination skills. During the course of the day if the teacher finds that one of the students with whom she is working needs help in a particular area, that student is referred to the assistant. This procedure serves to eliminate problems early. The teacher circulates and assists students working in the various centers. A great deal of emphasis is put on independence and responsibility. The teacher puts it this way, "I expect them to be independent. If a child understands what he is supposed to do and how to do it, he'll do it. Children must learn to take responsibility for themselves and their actions."

Students are trained to work as a class, in groups and individually. The entire class participates in a number of activities before they are disbanded. The day usually begins with an informal chat or "Show and Tell" where students share their after school experiences. More formal activities follow such as identifying parts of the body, listening to stories and poems, selecting the rhyming words and so on. The students applaud at the end of every story and do not hesitate to ask questions during the discussion that follows. After a period of entire class instruction, the teacher works with groups on specific subjects while the rest of the class works in groups or individually in the various centers, as they choose.

The students are given a snack everyday. Before eating, a prayer is said with no religious connotations and students must wait until everyone is seated.

Conventional female adult roles are played by the girls in association with other roles such as the doctor who is also female. They have such accessories as baby dolls, high heeled shoes, purses and so on, and usually take the babies to the doctor for a check-up. Girls compete for the role of mother. The girls sometimes engage in activities with the boys who play traditional male roles.

The kindergarten students are not isolated from other students in the school. They share the bathroom and water fountains on the first floor and attend special subject classes with other students.

Rules for functioning in kindergarten are posted in the classroom. There is a dolphin which says "Think Together"; and octopus which says "Raise Your Hands"; a turtle which says "Listen Carefully"; a seal which says "Stick to The Point" and a picture chart of four little white children which reads "It Hurts to Be Left Out."

The teacher stresses the need to be cooperative, sensitive and understanding with each other when resolving conflicts. She speaks to the students softly.

Classroom disruption is low. When it arises, however, the teacher may threaten to discontinue the story, close one of the centers or confine a student to the classroom for a week. Occasionally, a student may be asked to stand and put his hands on his head.

Since attendance is a problem in this classroom, punctuality is publicly commended and rewarded. Students are also publicly rewarded with candy for good performance. This usually draws a round of applause. Peers are often used as models to get others to conform. The teacher would say, "Look how good (Jane) is working."

The students tend to have a compulsion to lead and are always giving others instructions. The teacher usually intervenes and sets the boundaries. Tattling is not tolerated in this classroom. She hastens to let them know that it is not her style: "Is it a tattletale? I don't want to hear it. Let the Principal catch them," she would say.

The teacher scheduled a conference with a parent whose child was falling behind in his work. The mother works and the child stays with his grandparents. The mother was keenly aware of the problem, however, much to the teacher's surprise, but did not know what to do. The teacher said, "I just wanted to alert you to the problem, but you seem to know already."

Loosely Structured Classrooms

Peer interaction dominates the classroom setting. Generally, much of the teacher's time is spent trying to control discipline problems. The school discipline referral system is seldom followed and instruction time is reduced. Verbal harassment and constant threats that are never carried out undermine the teachers' authority. The teachers' lack of consistency and contradictory behavior patterns are often contrary to what they require of the students. Keeping the students busy is one of the primary objectives in these classrooms. In one classroom the students became the teacher's allies against external forces.

Fifth Grade Average Achieving Classroom

This is the teacher's first year at School A after 16 years of service at another school. The teacher waits in the hall as students ascend the stairs and enter the classroom. When she enters the classroom the noise level is excessive. She claps her hands to restore order but the noise level persists. One student refuses to participate in the Pledge to the Flag and remains seated. The teacher glares at him angrily.

The teacher's lesson plan for the day is written on the board together with numerous other notations, among them are the students' names whom she believes deserve recognition for the previous day's work. This is all jumbled together and very difficult to read.

The students are given an assignment while the teacher retires to her desk to work. Students harass her repeatedly for clarity on the assignment. She tells them not to bother her and that she will be available in 15 minutes. This goes unheeded. The students insist until they get a satisfactory explanation, never hesitating to let her know they do not understand. Within five minutes the situtation reaches unbearable proportions. She emerges from her desk, does a couple of examples on the board pertaining to the common problem students are experiencing. Then retires to her desk once more.

Compliments are a constant technique used to gain compliance. It does not work. Each day students are given public recognition for "good" work done on the previous day. Often students are shocked to hear their names. They don't recall what credit is being awarded for and when the teacher is asked to explain, she does not remember either. This is often turned into a guessing game in which the teacher also becomes a participant.

Abrupt change of subject or lesson is another technique for getting compliance. It does not work. The subject may change, but attitudes remain the same. It is "Show and Tell" for encyclopedia exercises that were done the day before. This ritual routinely follows seatwork assignments. Students, with encyclopedia in hand, read what they found verbatim while stumbling over words. The encyclopedia is then held up to show the pictures. During this exercise the noise level is so high that students cannot be heard. The teacher's verbal request for compliance and threats go unheard. The noise continues. As a student reads his findings the teacher intercedes and abruptly changes the subject, telling the students that since they can't be quiet they will have to do something else. Students are told to get out their language books. The lesson begins without two students who are in the back of the class finding their encyclopedias. The students are given a language assignment and the teacher retires to her desk once more.

Whenever a student wants to sharpen a pencil, permission is granted. The pencil sharpener is in the coatroom so this excuse from the class gives the students an opportunity to socialize. Students having difficulty with the assignment, crowd the teacher for explanation as she sits at her desk.

A designated student collects papers, looks through them and asks a couple of students to make corrections. Peer requests bring compliance.

For mathematics, individual students are called to the board to solve problems. Other students protest alleged preferential selection. As those students solve the problems the rest of the class performs the same task at the desks. Plagiarism characterizes this exercise. Students copy their neighbors' answers, others copy what's on the board. Still others scream the answers to those having problems at the board.

What time is spent on social studies is primarily by peer instruction where students who have researched subjects present them to the class with visual aids. Discussions follow the presentations. Students seem to invest a lot of time into their projects, often building elaborate models. In some cases their efforts are stifled. Because of bad scheduling the teacher is pressured for time so the students are rushed, often having to eliminate a large part of their reports. Student interest wanes and the noise level increases. One student, however, handles the pressure well. When asked to summarize in the middle of his presentation he abandons his written script that he had a great deal of trouble reading anyway, and delivered his presentation extemporaneously. The student had built an elaborate model of a parachute. His presentation captured the attention of the students and stimulated questions which he answered well. The student had introduced a refreshing change: a diversion from classroom routines of learning in intolerable situations. This was a marked contrast to teacher instruction.

Students move freely in and out of the classroom. The teacher does not know who is present at any one time. This, however, does not deter her from trying to proceed with what teaching goes on. Tardy arrivals are admitted to the class without requests for late slips. As she glances around the room column by column to take the roll, students assist her in recalling absent students. The teacher does not know all the students in the class, "The new boy, what's your name?" she asks.

Frequently, any type of activity involving active student participation is transformed into fun games. Oral spelling becomes a game, "What does 'P.S.' mean?" inquires a student. "Palm Sunday," another student quips. The class joins in the laughter. The teacher is caught in the trap. She becomes an accessory in this conspiracy, "No, it's not that," she replies. "Post script," someone bellowed. Spelling is terminated after 15 minutes. The typical pattern of answer-disagreement-teacher explanation characterizes class discussion.

More time is spent on mathematics than any other subject. The teacher's competence in this subject is demonstrated in the five sets of self-assigned workbooks kept in the classroom. Mathematics is squeezed in with other subjects. It is not uncommon to find a mathematics assignment on the back of a spelling ditto sheet. The usual style of instruction by disruption characterizes the math lesson. However, this is the only subject that persists in spite of the disruptions and no attempt is made to change the lesson.

In addition to spelling a minimum amount of time is spent on reading. In this subject the skillbook is frequently used at the expense of reading a story followed by student progress diagnosis. Keeping the students on task is typical of the teacher's abrupt and arbitrary strategy to gain compliance. Student interruptions during a language discussion triggered the following abrupt change, "Write on the best thing that happened today and write what you learned yesterday and today." Students are frequently assigned work and instructed not to disturb the teacher but to refer to the visual aids displayed on the classroom wall. She begs their cooperation and explains that she needs the time to correct their papers. As soon as she sits at her desk students surround her with many questions about the assignment. Many times there are as many as six students at her desk with questions. She frequently attempts to give quick answers but dissatisfied students insist on clarity, often pointing out inconsistencies in her instructions and explanations. The teacher generally concedes. She is often compelled to renege on her initial decision to sit and work at her desk. She would rise from her desk saying, "Well, if I can help one, I can help all," and she goes to the chalkboard to explain.

Despite her efforts to keep students involved with assigned tasks, the students often finish before the allotted time. This free time is unstructured and unsupervised and the time is passed aimlessly waiting for the lunch bell. Students protest alleged preferential treatment by answering questions addressed to other students. A verbal confrontation ensues. The teacher proceeds to give reasons for her selection. "I asked (Ronald). He is the one having trouble." "I am having trouble, too!" a student yells. "That's all right, I asked (Ronald)," the teacher rebuffed. The student who is the subject of this confrontation shakes his head in disgust. Every time he attempts to answer someone interrupts. The typical style of switching lessons follows, and the student never gets a chance to answer. This is a common occurrence in this classroom. The teacher's mistakes, like simply not dotting the "i" in a word, are a constant source of harassment. The students insist on correction. The teacher complies with disgust.

The school rules pertaining to discipline are not posted and the Socratic Method is not followed. Names are written on the board when the teacher's frustration level reaches unbearable proportions. In this state of crisis, names are arbitrarily written on the board, the innocent and the guilty alike. This triggers further resentment from the students and a verbal confrontation ensues once more. Students intervene on behalf of their peers in protesting the teacher's judgment. The problem escalates even further when a student is sent to the Principal's office, for, invariably, the real disruptors are spared. Random selection of discipline cases sometimes extends to students who are performing designated tasks, when disruption is at its peak and the teacher's tolerance level is on the decline. Students assigned to collect class papers are scolded for standing while performing their task. When the teacher is reminded of their jobs, she is quick to apologize. When disruptions reach intolerable proportions and the teacher's efforts to control escalation deteriorates, other students intervene and demand conformity from their peers. Names written on the board for detention carry no weight, as the teacher never follows through on her threats to detain the students. Many tell that they are not staying anyway. The names remain on the board, however, until the next day. Part of the routine morning exercises is to remind these students of their misconduct during the previous day. As the teacher goes through this morning ritual, some students are also commended for "good" conduct. Chewing gum is permitted in this classroom. It is often an item of reward for students doing "good" work. The unstated rule for eating is, "one should not eat unless you have one for every student in the class and two for the teacher." The rule is not followed.

The students and the teacher form an alliance against outsiders. When the Principal walked into the classroom unannounced, he was obviously annoyed to find the students chewing gum. He reminded the teacher that this was the only classroom where this was permitted. When asked for an explanation, the teacher told him that she had rewarded the students for doing their work well. She immediately sought the support of her class. "Right, boys and girls?" she asked. They replied, "Yes, Ma'am." This form of deference and respect is normally non-existent in this classroom.

When control of discipline is abdicated to the Principal from the loose classroom, recidivism persists due to the lack of consistency between the teacher's discipline style and that of the Principal. The student returns from the highly structured environment of the Principal's office to a loose classroom environment that generates deviance. If a teacher cannot control the classroom, no one else can. In such situations, referral is nothing more than a technique used to get temporary compliance and serves to further undermine the teacher's authority among the students, and in the Principal's estimation as well. The teacher finds a new survival strategy, that is, not to disclose the classroom problems but to struggle to teach in spite of them. The Principal is aware of these tendencies and trends and understands their dysfunctionality. He plans to persuade this teacher to transfer from School A next year. Only two teachers fall in the loose category, and they are both new at School A. Only the fifth grade teacher seems to be a lost cause to the Principal. With the exception of one second grade teacher and one fourth grade teacher, those who have the longest tenure at the school tend to have flexible styles of management.

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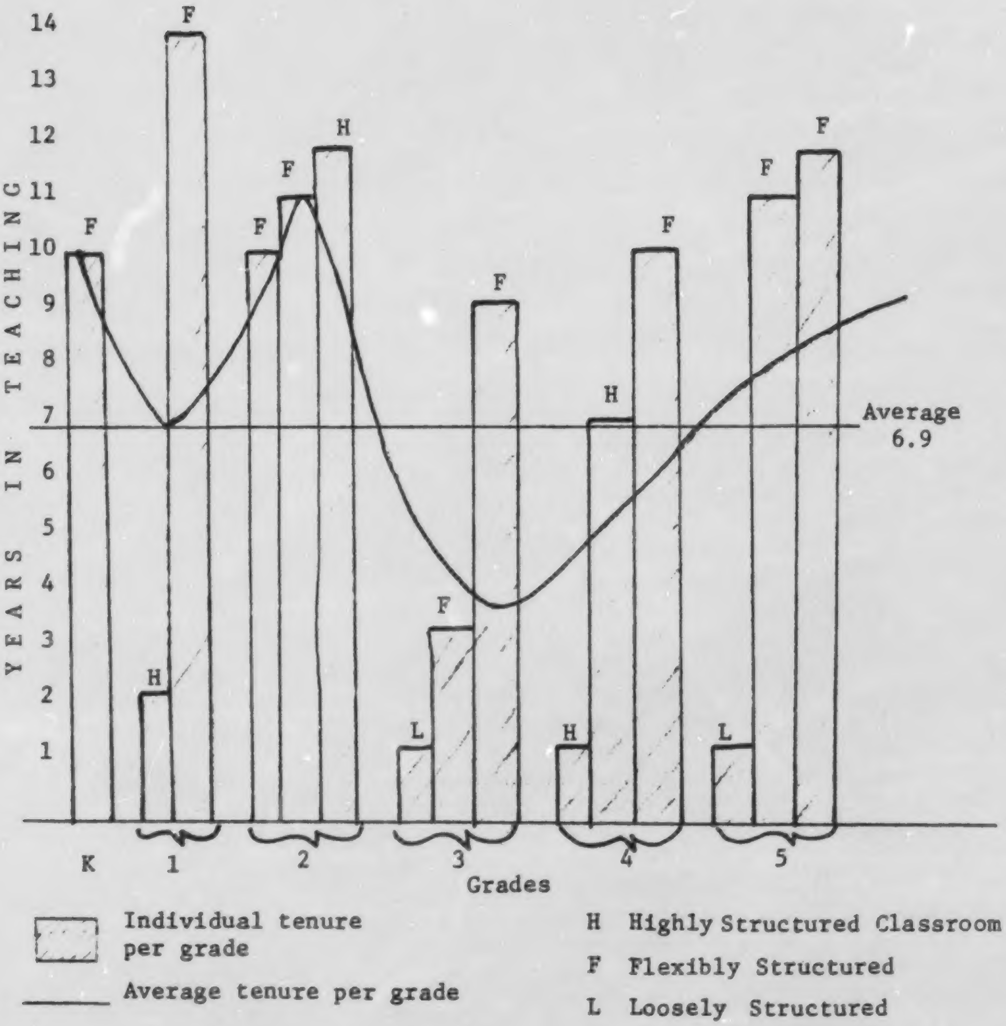
Figure 8
Longevity of Teachers
Kindergarten - Fifth Grade



Special Education Classroom Routines

The Principal of School A has the following unstated school goals for Special Education: (1) to deemphasize Special Education and reduce or eliminate students' presence there; and (2) to increase the flow of students already in the program to mainstreaming. While the system goals for the regular teachers also apply to Special Education teachers additional goals related to Special Education were added: (1) to mainstream Special Education students; (2) to have greater cooperation from classroom teachers in mainstreaming; (3) to optimize achievement by teaching on an individual basis as much as possible; and (4) to strictly enforce school and classroom discipline rules.

The majority of students in the Special Education program at School A came from various locations throughout the school district. Only about four students from School A have been placed in Special Education during the Principal's tenure. According to state guidelines if a student's IQ is below 80, he/she is eligible for Special Education. The Principal strongly feels that the IQ is not a good indicator of intelligence. He says, "I have seen kids with 60 IQ's making straight A's." The Principal believes that a test that is based on a "dominant white culture" is hardly applicable to blacks whose experiences are very different. The low referral rate of students to Special Education from School A supports the Principal's contentions and the desire to deemphasize Special Education as a viable option for students of the School A community. The Principal says, "There is something grossly wrong with the evaluative process of the potentiality of kids. We cannot relegate kids to a specific program on inaccurate psychological evaluation. It is not a very good predictor of what black kids can achieve or not achieve. Consequently, we deemphasize Special Education." He goes on to say, "The way we do it at School A. . . is that we go on the assumption that we have no Special Education students. We have kids with learning problems and the IQ in this building does not therefore become the criterion for placement."

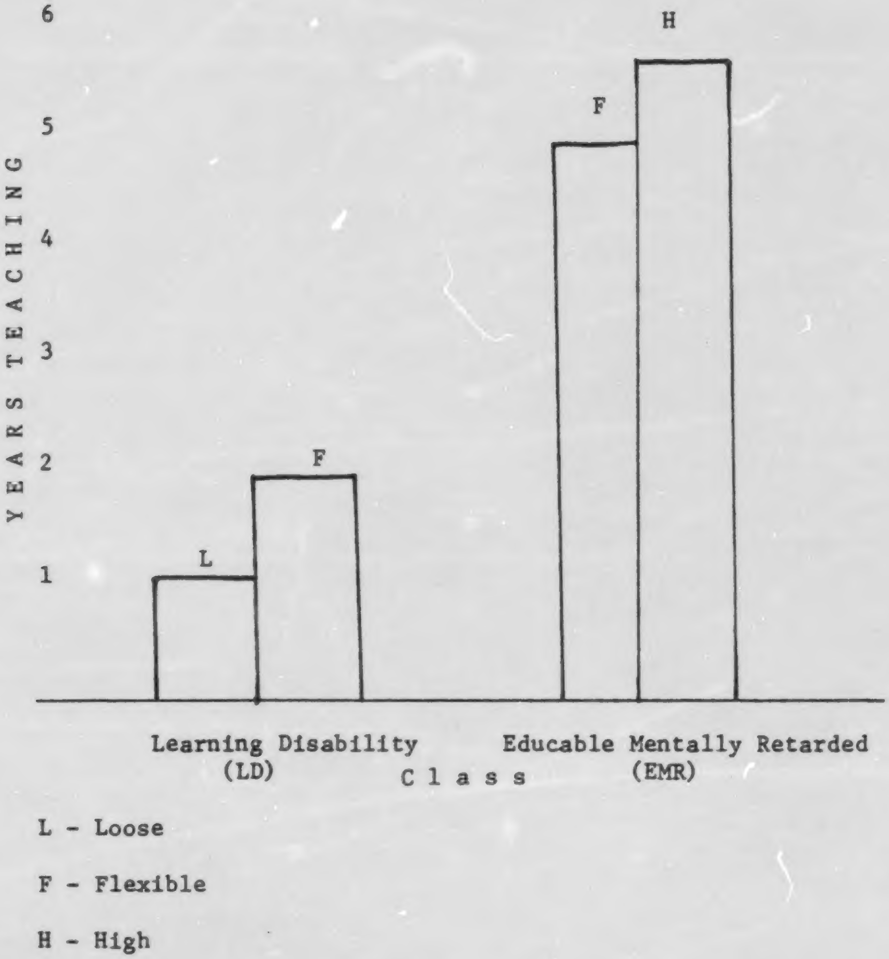
Special Education programs have their own administrative structure, and school buildings merely serve to house these programs. At School A, however, Special Education is not sealed off from the rest of the school, but is treated like any other component in the school. The general school goals and the specific goals delineated by the Principal for mainstream classrooms apply to these classrooms also. The Students are mainstreamed in special subjects and participate equally in all school activities. One Learning Disability teacher, who worked in a school where Special Education was isolated from the rest of the school, spoke of the difference at School A: "I find that we are included in every program and that we are considered part of the school." In one EMR classroom, however, voluntary isolation prevailed because the teacher did not believe that mainstream teachers were equipped to handle Special Education students.

Both Learning Disability classroom teachers are new to School A, and accept intelligence tests as a good indicator of achievement. The primary level EMR teacher says, "It is a good criterion for placement." The intermediate level teacher says, "The placements have been sufficient," and found that his experience with the students tend to validate the psychological tests. What is most important to this teacher is that the sending teacher has some input in the selection process. He feels that these teachers are in the position to accurately assess the students and to make recommendations for placement in Special Education, based on "low reading" and "low academic function." On the contrary, both EMR teachers express deep concerns about the teachers' motives for placement. Both believe that there is a propensity for the regular classroom teachers to allow the teaching situation to deteriorate to the point where their failure is reflected in the Special Education student. In essence, the students do not fail, the teachers do. One EMR teacher says, "Sometimes we are a dumping ground. Often teachers just don't believe in the student. They don't believe in the kids and want them out. Often the bottom line reflects what classroom boredom produced and that is used against the kids to get them in EMR." The other EMR teacher says, "I really don't believe that all of the children that are placed in my class are EMR children. I think some of them just mainly have a behavioral problem. The teachers don't make any adjustments to meet the child's needs while he is in a regular classroom. They'll just put the child in the back of the room and say this child has a problem. . . If a child is not average or above they just don't spend the necessary time with the child. I would say that half my children in here could function in a regular classroom." The Black teacher supports the Principal's contention that I.Q. tests are culturally biased.

Both teachers feel that the Centre City Public School policy regarding Special Education is in gross need of improvement. "We need building consultations to detect rising EMR early before the problems of these kids worsen and become aggravated. Schools are not equipped to do this."

Figure 9

Longevity of Special Education Teachers
(in years)



There is very little interaction among Special Education teachers. They all tend to work separately and independent of each other.

Special Subjects

Specific process goals are outlined for individual special subject teachers by the Principal as a means of attaining the product goals. The unstated goals reflected by the teachers' behavior tend to support the Principal's system goals to a greater extent in the flexible to high ranging classrooms than the loose classrooms. The gym teacher's style of management clearly supports the specific goals set by the Principal: to develop competitive cooperation among students and to minimize the win-lose syndrome. It is difficult to determine whether the goals are accomplished or not but the process by which goal attainment is strived for is overtly perceived (accurately or inaccurately) as an effective means of reaching the goals.

The librarians' practices demonstrate support for the Principal's goals. There is, however, a close relationship between the process of goal attainment and the Principal's goals in those classes which comply more readily with the library classroom rules. These students receive higher quality instruction while deviant classes are given less challenging tasks. The priority for the latter seems to be discipline rather than instruction. Similar behavior patterns are characteristic of the art teacher, also.

The vocal music teacher supports the Principal's goals for music, but the process by which these goals are met tend to fall short of goal attainment. Students do not see the significance of music and are not motivated to learn the same. The teacher often resorts to singing, which is precisely what the Principal discourages. The music teacher strongly believes that the abbreviated time slot which is allocated for music by the Board of Education does not permit students to acquire a satisfactory level of competency in misic. He believes that this lack of adequate time reduces his role to a "babysitter" rather than being a teacher. The teacher said that the Board of Education is not interested in music. The music supervisor neglects the program. Moreover, the teacher believes the music book required by the Board of Education for instruction is inadequate and he has substituted a self-compiled song book.

Practices in the Reading Achievement Center demonstrate a clear lack of support for the Principal's goals. To reiterate the specific goal for this room, the Principal states that remedial reading must reflect the needs of the classroom teacher and the students. The RAC tends to function in isolation from the regular classrooms. There seems to be no relationship between what is taught in the classroom and the type of instruction students receive in RAC. Some classroom teachers do not bother to send enrolled students to the Center. In the MAC, there is some reinforcement but, again, interaction with the regular classrooms is minimal.

Rules of conduct differ across classrooms. Where teachers have less contact with students, perferential treatment prevails. Those classes that conform to these room rules receive better quality instruction. Important too are the routines utilized for corridors, school grounds lunchrooms and teachers' rooms. Several unstated goals have been recognized for these areas. For the corridors, it is to maintain an orderly flow of traffic. For the school grounds there are two: (1) to provide a less restricted environment for students; and (2) to facilitate principal-student interaction on a more personal and individual level. The unstated goals for the lunchrooms are: (1) to provide a less restricted environment for lunch while maintaining order; (2) to optimize the Principal's interaction with larger groups of students; and (3) to engage in Principal-student "rap" sessions. For the teacher's room there are also two: (1) to provide space away from the classroom for eating and preparing materials for class; and (2) to generate peer interaction.

The Corridor Routine

All classes have five minute bathroom breaks at 10:00 a.m. and at 1:15 p.m., and the students are escorted by the teacher. At this time several classes can be seen lined up outside the bathrooms and water fountains as each class awaits for a turn to use the facilities. Classes remain separate. Inter-class interaction is absent while class intra-action is at a minimum. Occasionally, teachers may interact briefly.. Students are then escorted back to their classrooms. Within five minutes the halls are empty. Students are also escorted to and from special subject classes by the classroom teachers. Except for the loosely structured classrooms where students are permitted to use the bathroom before or after designated times, there is no other traffic in the halls. Students referred to the Principal's office are escorted by other students. On rare occasions a messenger might be dispatched.

The only individual who will be most often seen is the Principal making his routine and impromptu rounds to the classrooms. He is seen everywhere in the building. He sometimes sends students to the discipline table strategically placed outside the Principal's office and immediately across from the teacher's room. Students who have not completed their classroom assignments within the allotted time are put here to work while the rest of the class is at gym, art, library or music. Since the number of gym periods exceeds the others such students are frequently denied gym. Students referred to the Principal's office for inappropriate behavior are often sent to the

Figure 10

Longevity of Special Subject Teachers

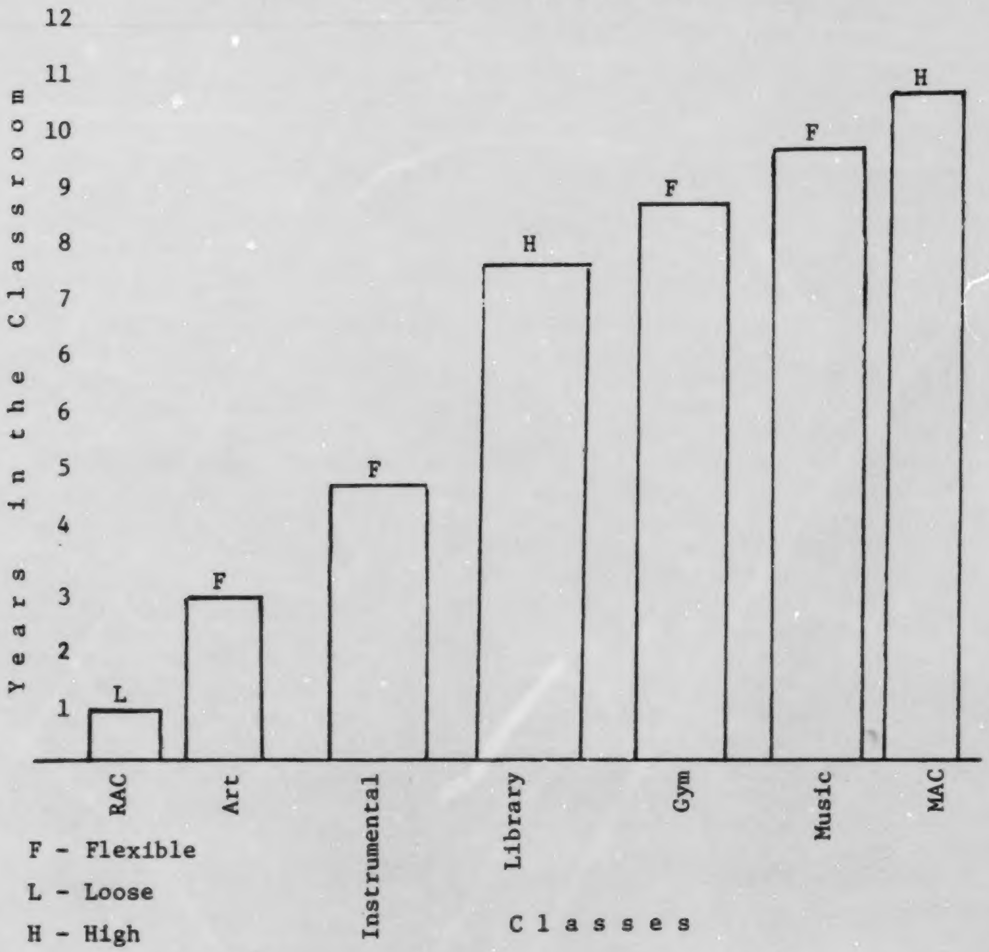


table to reconsider their behavior and reach a solution. These students often sever themselves from those doing classroom work. The Principal lectures the students doing classroom work, a form of disapproval of their presence there. They are usually repeaters.

Routines On the School Grounds

The Principal feels that his most threatening responsiblity is the student's safety and he is committed to ensuring the safety of all of the students. The Principal takes the students outside for recess during their lunch break as a reward for good performance. The students thoroughly enjoy this treat. He never fails to caution them about running and other risks of hurting themselves. Small groups play while others discuss their problems freely with the Principal about situations occurring both in and out of school.

The Principal is outside every day at dismissal. He knows every student by name. He stands by the door, greets departing students and listens to what many of them have to say. At this time his tolerance level is higher for anything: chatter, idle comment, teacher praises, good papers, basketball scores, track meetings. Students talk freely with the Principal as he ensures their safe departure.

Teachers are given permission by the Principal to take their classes outside for recess when weather conditions are favorable. This is usually done in the late spring during the last class period. Teachers from the restricted classrooms are the ones most in favor of a recess and, usually, initiate asking the Principal. Perhaps this is due to the fact that they have completed their work and since it's almost the end of the school year they welcome a chance to relax from the intensity of their classrooms. They actively participate with students in the games and the strict adult-child relationship that characterizes the classroom environment is virtually absent. The playground is small and each class stays within a defined space. There is no class interaction and the teachers actively participate in games with their students. If a ball goes into the street, the teacher makes sure that it is safe before a student crosses the street to retrieve it.

Friday, May 15th, was "School A Day". One part of the activities scheduled was a balloon release from the school. The entire school students, principal, faculty and staff - dressed in the school colors of blue and white assembled on the playground. They released hundreds of colorful balloons into the air. A note was attached to each one bearing the name of the school, the address, the name of the student and a request for the finder to contact the school. Even though classes were scheduled as usual, it was a day of fun and excitement for all.

The Lunchroom Routines

The lunch aides supervise the students and have the authority to refer students to the Principal for misconduct. They threaten to write names on the board but rarely follow through on this. Sometimes teachers are informed of students' misconduct.

There is a great deal of student interaction. One class is put on restriction by the Principal. They are restricted from talking because they have not done their homework. They did not adhere to this punishment, however, but when the Principal checked in on them they said that they were not talking. The Principal visits the lunchroom frequently and rings his portable bell to signal his presence. When there are no complaints he sometimes permits the students to go outside to play. Midway through the lunch period he would ring his bell and students would leave. He frequently lectures students about miscounduct. One student was supposed to bring the principal a lollipop because he had taken one away from someone else. When the student told him he had forgotten, he was sent to the office.

Lectures often take place in the auditorium, where all the students having lunch are summoned to appear. At one such gathering the Principal cautioned students about their behavior. He told them that he had been giving them a break since it was almost the end of the school year but he was now going to "tighten up." He told them he was going to pick up the Metropolitan Achievement Tests,and if they were not satisfactory to him, they would not be promoted. If their behavior was not "good" they would not be promoted either. The Principal was very serious as he spoke. He ordered five male students to come forward. As they approached him he pushed each one aside. He then told the other students that the five students had a "jungle personality." They laughed. The Principal pulled one of the five students forward and told the assembled students that as of that day he was suspended. The five students seemed terrified as they stood with their heads down. The Principal pointed to the other four students and said they might be suspended, too. He then called another male student forward. The Principal told the assembled students that this student came down to his office with his face "all puffed up" and crying. This drew a chorus of laughter from all but the six accused students. The Principal laughed, too. He asked the assembled students to guess why the accused student was upset. They did so unsuccessfully. The accused student stood there with a half smile on his face looking very embarrassed. The Principal told the students that the boy was upset because the teacher wrote his name on the board. This brought a roar of laughter from the students. By this time the Principal's tone had softened a bit. He told them that many of them would be getting ready to go to junior high school and they have to start acting more mature because they are not going to have him to come crying to. He then announced the names of a couple of male students, telling them he was surprised that he had not seen them for a while and inquired what had happened. By this time teachers were here to get their students. The Principal directed the question to one of the teachers. She told him that the student in her class was trying very hard to stay away from the office. It is not unusual for the Principal to use up part of the class time with these proceedings. Sometimes teachers take a seat.

On another day the Principal warned two girls about threatening each other and cautioned two boys about misconduct outside the school:

> I've been hearing all kinds of things about you in this community. . . What's wrong with you? Now this is going to stop. The fourth leading cause of death among Black people between 19 and 25 is killing one another. Do you know what that means? This is how it starts; threats, throwing bricks, hurting one another. . . . and I ain't dealing with this no more.

The teachers sat on benches or stood waiting for thier classes. The Principal took one of the boys and sternly warned, "Now look, you have to stop terrorizing the community. Come with me!"

Routines in the Teachers' Room

The teachers' room is located directly across the hall from the Principal's office and is used for eating, preparing materials for class during prep periods and for faculty meetings. It is furnished with several tables pushed together to form three long tables, a coke and pepsi machine, a coffee maker, refrigerator, stove, sink and kitchen cabinets. There are also two mimeograph machines and paper cutter. There are three coat racks. Three walls of the room are painted yellow, the other is painted blue and the room is equipped with florescent lighting. Tall cabinets with learning games on top line two walls and a bulletin board is attached to another wall. There is a file cabinet next to the hall entrance, a fire extinguisher and another bulletin board with public and community notices, cartoons, etc. There are also three coatracks in the room. Above the coffee maker rules of joining the coffee club are posted. A designated teacher is to be contacted if anyone has problems with the rules.

The teachers have three designated lunch periods. The fourth and fifth grade teachers have lunch from 11:15 a.m. until 11:45 a.m. The second grade teachers, one fourth grade teacher and one special education teacher have lunch from 11:45 a.m. until 12:15 a.m. and the first grade teachers, second grade teacher and the special education teachers have lunch from 12:15 p.m. until 12:45 p.m. The teachers bring their own lunches.

The kindergarten teacher and a special education teacher voluntarily remain in their respective classrooms for lunch and have little informal contact with other teachers during the course of the day. The gym teacher does not have lunch in the lunchroom either. The educational assistants may occasionally have lunch with the teachers but do not interact freely with them. The school clerk easily integrates with the teachers. The Principal eats lunch alone (when he eats) after all three lunch periods are over.

The teachers interact formally and usually discuss school related matters. There is very little contact with other teachers except at this time, and it is really not an occasion for socializing. As one teacher puts it, "I am not looking for a big social atmosphere. . . We are all very compatible and friendly but there aren't really close friends on the staff here."

Students are usually the topic of discussion. Other teachers give feedback since most teachers have been at the school for some time and may have had the students at some time or another. In general, the teachers seem supportive of each other.

Teachers, however, do not seem to share what they themselves do in the classroom. When the teacher in the most loosely structured core classroom was absent and her students were divided between the other two flexible classrooms, the receiving teachers talked about how surprised they were to find that the students were so far behind. They also talked about how well behaved they were in their classrooms. One special subject teacher made the following comment, "You are lucky. After msibehaving all week, there should be one day when they are good." Despite the differences in the student's conduct in these two classrooms, the responsibility for their misconduct remained ambivalent. "I don't understand how so many kids with so many problems could be in one classroom," said one teacher. The teachers discuss the big gap between Level 10 and Level 11 in the Gin 360 reading series. There is general consensus among teachers about this discrepancy.

The union representative is the most outspoken and most interactive of the teachers. She usually leads the discussions and takes the lead in expressing her opinion. During the desegregation issue she kept the teachers informed of their rights and reassured those who had special concerns about being "bumped" by the educational system that it could not happen. When the study team first visited School A she made us feel very comfortable. She showed us around, made us a cup of coffee, sat with us at lunch, introduced us to the faculty and so on. She was very informative. She also sent us additional information that she felt was important but could not recall at the time of the interview.

All principals were asked specifically about their relationship with the union representative in their building. The Principal at School A had this to say, "I think she is a hard working teacher. I think she is really dedicated."

Teachers go to the teachers' room during their prep periods to mimeograph materials for their classes. Occasionally, teachers remain there for the entire prep period, working on class material, while supervising their students at the discipline table. These students have failed to complete their assignments within the classroom allotted time, so while the rest of the class is at gym, art, music or library, they have to sit there and finish their work.

Routines, Scenarios and Processes at School A

Control of the classroom is a significant factor in the achievement of the school goals. Where teachers fail to take charge of the classroom, their effectiveness as teachers is drastically reduced; the authority of the teacher dwindles and powerlessness results. Where boundaries are defined and mutually recognized by teacher and student, this environment fosters growth and learning. The key to control is consistency and consensus. Maintaining order is a strong unstated goal at School A.

Students must recognize the authority of the teacher. When the students recognize this status, the shared consensus between teacher and students is an unbalanced reciprocal relationship where the teacher becomes the leader. In the flexibly and highly structured classrooms, consensus and consistency prevail. This structural pattern is lacking in the loosely structured rooms. Teachers at School A adopt various strategies to attain the school goals. Some are more effective than others. In the following section the cumulative effect of these routines will be discussed.

Techniques employed by teachers of highly and flexibly structured classrooms are more functional and efficient than those used by the teachers of loosely structured classrooms. Although the techniques used are the same, the loosely structured classroom teachers do not follow through and seldom use the process designated for enforcement of the unstated goals of maintaining order. On the other hand, in helping students reach their full academic potential, the reinforcement process is severely monitored by the Principal who demands to see every child who takes a unit or level test in reading and mathematics. However, for the teachers of loosely structured classrooms, the consequences of the diversions from scheduled teaching to handle discipline results in a disproproportionate number of these classes present at the discipline table after school or referred to parents by the Principal for make-up and remedial work. See Tables 34 and 35.

Achievement and Structure in School A

Only one of the accelerated classes is highly structured. In all of these classes 90 percent or more of the students were at or above the norm in reading achievement on the MAT in May, 1980. Only the third grade accelerated class has below 90 (80) percent in mathematics. Except for second grade all the accelerated classes had 85 or more percent of the members to complete the basal reader for the grade in June, 1980. In the accelerated second grade only 50 percent did so.

All of the low achieving classes are flexibly structured except one which is high in structure. The highest achieving of these classes in percentages of students achieving at or above the national or local norm in reading on the MAT in May, 1980 was the low fifth grade class which was flexibly structured and had 86 percent to so achieve. The highly structured fourth grade class was next with 71 percent.

The loosely structured average third and fifth grade classes were the lowest achieving of the average classes with the fifth grade class where the structure was the loosest being the lowest. These classes were also the lowest achieving in mathematics of all the classes. See Figures 11 and 12.

Only the accelerated classes did well in completing the grade basal reader except the second grade average class. All of the classes where 60 percent or more of the class completed the grade basal reader were flexibly structured. High structure seems to impede the completion of the daily work schedule, but enhances the chances of skill mastery. See Figure 13 and 14.

At School A the preferred management style is flexible structure. It also seems to be more associated with success in achieving high scores on the MAT and completing the scheduled basal reader for the grade. New teachers seem to begin with the loose structure. With the Principal's intervention and assistance, they then change to high structure and finally learn to be flexibly structured. Peer modeling accelerates this process.

Table 34

Discipline - Unstated Goal Consensus: To Maintain Order

Classroom Structure	Techniques	Consequences		
		Functionality	Partial Functionality	Dysfunctionality
High	Routine:			
	commands	x		
	threats (to call parents)	x		
	isolation (change in seating)	x		
	Process:			
	1. Teacher --- Principal	x		
	2. Teacher --- Parent	x		
Flexible	Routine:			
	verbal harassment	x		
	isolation (detention)	x		
	Scenario:			
	threat & isolation	x		
	Process:			
	1. Teacher --- Parent			
	2. Teacher --- Principal	x		
Loose	Routine:			
	excessive verbal harassment			x
	threats (random)			x
	rewards			x
	isolation (change in seating)			x
	task assignment			x

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Table 34

Discipline - Unstated Goal Consensus: To Maintain Order (cont'd.)

Classrooms Structure	Techniques	Consequences		
		Functionality	Partial Functionality	Dysfunctionality
Loose (cont'd.)	**Scenario:**			
	excessive verbal harassment--- threats --- rewards --- isolation			x
	Process:			
	Teacher --- Principal		x	

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Table 35

Teaching - Goal: To Help Students Reach Their Full Academic Potential

Classrooms Structure	Techniques	Consequences		
		Functionality	Partial Functionality	Dysfunctionality
High	Reinforcement Routines: rote, drill, continutations, recall, homework, seatwork, rigid unbending answers	x		
	Monitoring Routines: supervision of student exercises, circulating, checking actual student absorption of the lesson, testing, maintaining an academic profile sheet on each student	x		
	Efficiency: consistency, no diversions from lesson plans, preparedness	x		
	Scenario: reinforcement — monitoring	x		
	Process: reinforcement — monitoring — reinforcement	x		

Table 35

Teaching - Goal: To Help Students Reach Their Full Academic Potential

(cont'd.)

Classrooms Structure	Techniques	Consequences		
		Functionality	Partial Functionality	Dysfunctionality
Flexible	Reinforcement Routines: redundances, continuations, extensions, homework, seatwork, positive encouragements, use of student-centered experiences, adjustments in lesson plans or scheduled subjects when needed, use of different teaching techniques.	x		
	Monitoring Routines: maintaining individual student profile sheet, circulating to check actual absorption of the lesson, testing	x		
	Efficiency: preparedness, reach all students	x		
	Scenario: monitoring ––– reinforcement	x		
	Process: monitoring ––– reinforcement ––– monitoring	X		

Table 35

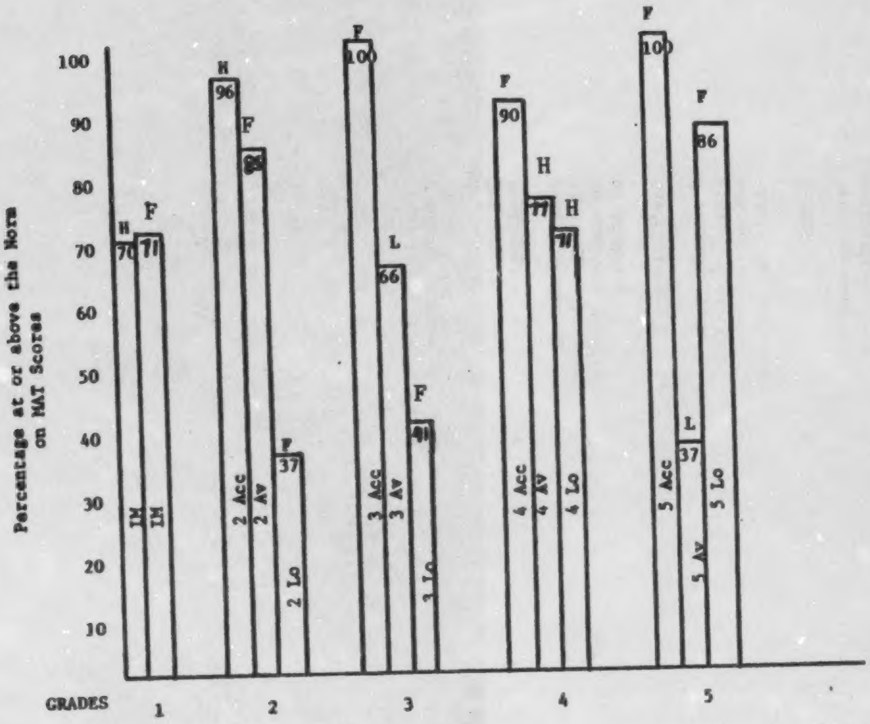
Teaching - Goal: To Help Students Reach Their Full Academic Potential

(cont'd.)

Classrooms Structure	Techniques	Success		
		Functionality	Partial Functionality	Dysfunctionality
Loose	**Reinforcement Routines:** recall of past lesson, seatwork, homework, many rewards	x		
	Monitoring Routines: some circulating, testing, maintaining an academic profile on students	x		
	Inefficiency: diversions from scheduled teaching subjects to handle discipline problems			x
	Scenario: reinforcement--monitoring	x		
	Process: reinforcement--monitoring--reinforcement	x		

Figure 11

School A: Reading Achievement and Structure, June 1980



H - Highly Structured
F - Flexibly Structured
L - Loosely Structured

M - Mixed
Acc - Accelerated
Av - Average
Lo - Low

Numbers in columns represent percentages

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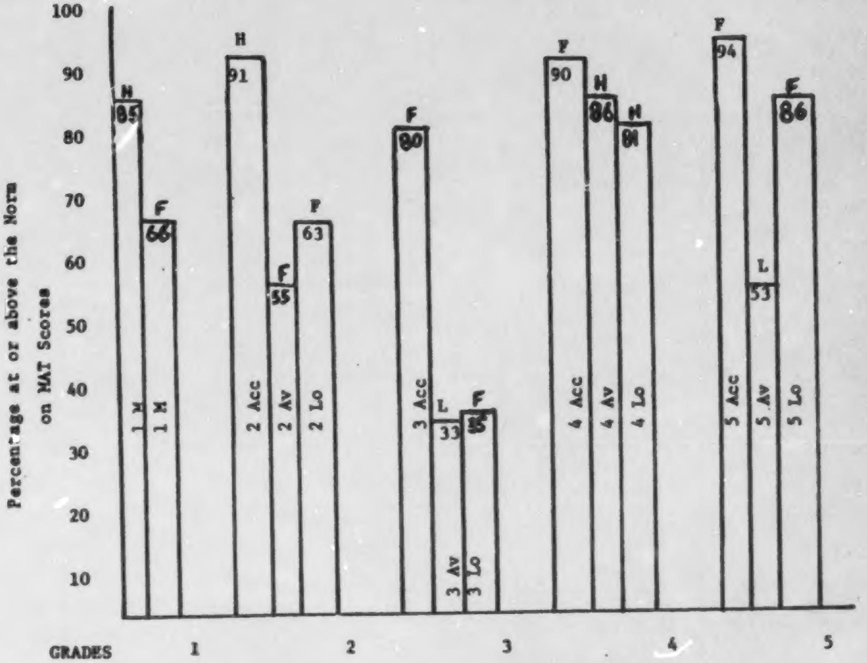
Figure 12

School A: Mathematics Achievement and Structure, June, 1980



H - Highly Structured
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L - Loosely Structured

M - Mixed
Acc - Accelerated
Av - Average
Lo - Low

Numbers in columns represent percentages

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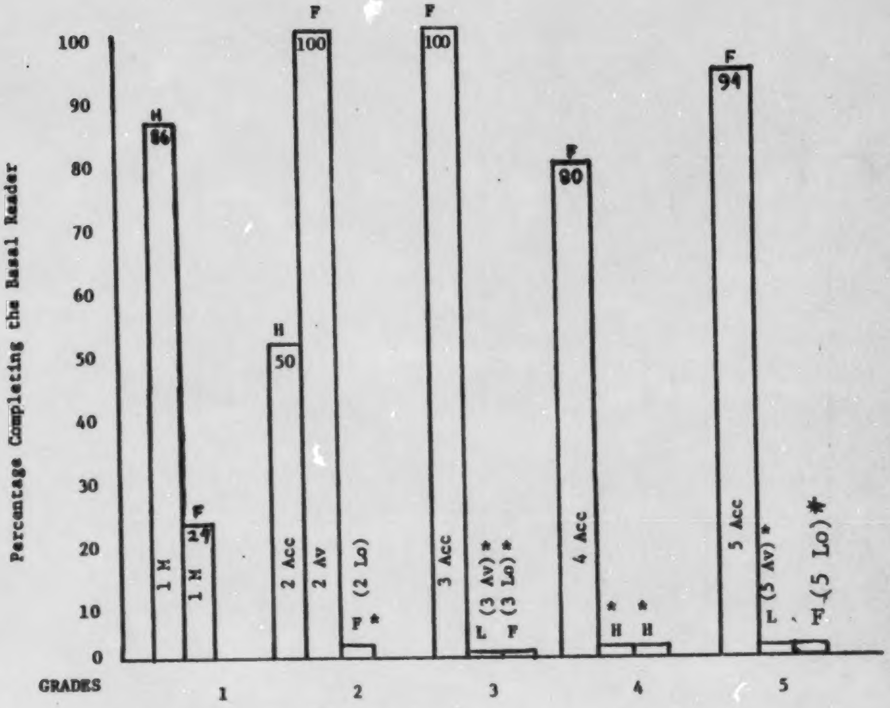
Figure 13

School A: Completion of the Basal Reader and Class Structure, June, 1980



* 0 percent

H - Highly Structured
F - Flexibly Structured
L - Loosely Structured

M - Mixed
ACC - Accelerated
LO - Low
Av - Average

Numbers in columns
represent percentages

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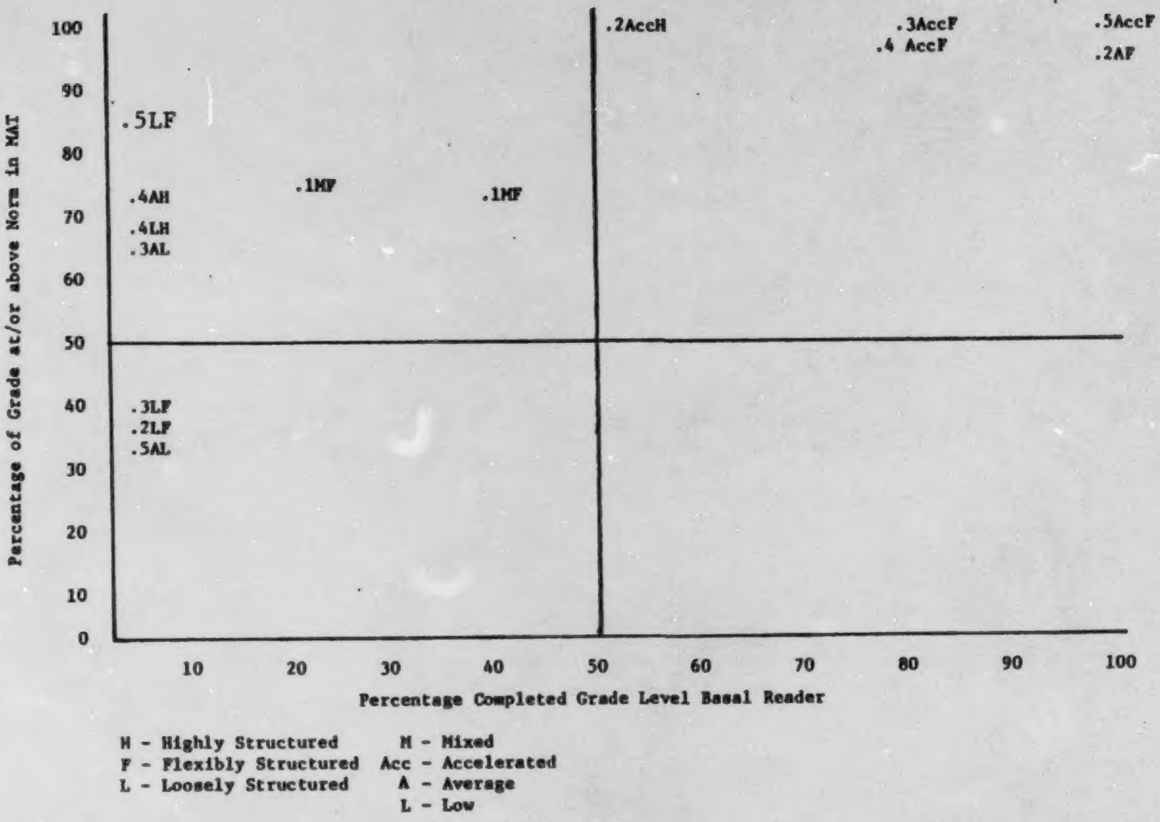
Figure 14

School A: Reading Achievement and Class Structure, June, 1980



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Desegregation

The Centre City School System desegregated some of the elementary schools in September, 1980. Although the plan was not acceptable to the State Human Relations Commission, the BPE majority voted to implement the plan anyway. The vote was 5-4 in favor of the plan. Most of the black community opposed it.

School A is the only study school which was completely changed as a result. It became 54 percent black and merged its school district with that of another school, sending a substantial part of its predominantly black student body to the other school.

The first BPE plan was a pairing proposal. So much controversy was raised by it that the BPE abandoned it. In the School A community two outstanding civic minded community representatives were selected to work on the Citizens Committee chosen by the BPE to review the options available for desegregation in an advisory capacity to the Board. Meetings were held in School A to discuss the pairing of School A with another school in the vicinity. There was a great deal of community support for the retention of School A although the building is old and it was scheduled for closing in three of the four options presented to the Citizens Committee by the BPE.

The black members of the Citizens Committee formed a caucus attended by two of the three black school board members and began meeting to discuss the plan from the black community's point of view. Out of this caucus grew the Equity Caucus. The School A Principal was the only school principal in this group which presented a plan to the BPE which was more equitable, distributed the burden of bussing and more effectively desegregated the elementary schools. The Principal of School A took an active part in the deliberations of the Equity Caucus. He spoke at several of the community meetings and made his expertise generally available to the members of the Equity Group.

Conclusion

School A operates on two very basic principles: (1) all students can learn; and (2) the school exists for the benefit of the students. The Principal and teachers shared a consensus on the product goals delineated for this school, and teachers strive to attain the specific goals that shape the product. The Principal views it this way:

> Teachers, I think, honor my requests and they have done a fairly decent job; they're flexible for the most part. Not only are they flexible, but a lot of them are very dedicated. They see the ultimate benefit is for the kids. That's no problem because it falls in line with our philosophy.

The Principal knows what he has to do to get his job done. He says, "I had to monitor teachers and try to bring them along as well as the rest of the kids." The Principal believes the monitoring system was the primary contributing factor to high achievement. He states:

> I think primarily it was the constant monitoring and re-evaluative process that took place; the constant reassessment. We monitored our kids and we checked and cross-checked; and we evaluated and we prescribed and, to me, it was the monitoring system that really kept the achievement high. We knew where our kids were; we knew what the deficiencies were and we set about prescribing things to remove those deficiencies, so we had our thumb on the pulse of educational achievement all year long.

Consistency and consensus are vital to the operation of the school. These factors characterized the internal operation of the school and the Principal's relationships with the parents and the community. These internal and external support systems reinforced the Principals' position in getting his job done even if that meant deviating from Board of Education rules. The Board tolerated these deviations because the Principal got his job done. The Principal talked about this internal support system:

> Because of the cooperation of the staff, I have a lot of freedom. I have a sound basis for movement, that is, that the overall growth of the kids should be the only criterion we should tackle. We do that by being flexible, so I have a lot of freedom to bring in new innovative programs, change the curriculum, decide what is to be concentrated on and what is not . . . what are the areas of greatest needs, prioritize those needs and try to implement them.

The Principal's authority is vested in the office, but his power came from the community. The Principal said the following about this "external" support system:

> . . . if you have community control, if your parents are supportive of whatever you are doing, then this adds strength to your position and ultimately gives you the freedom to do what you want.

The Principal said that one of his most frustrating experiences was that the Board of Education did not understand the priorities of School A. He is charged with the commitment to attain the goals his way because the process prescribed by the Board of Education inhibits goal achievement at School A. The alternative processes adopted by School A were just another way of attaining high achievement within the specific context of the School A community. In order to be effective, the Principal must respond to the needs of the students. He perceives his responsibility as follows:

> I think it is very easy to acquiesce under very bureaucratic pressure to maintain some degree of conformity. However, I think it's more critical for the education of Black kids that one has to move beyond the constricted barriers of the role as defined by the Board of Education and to take stands on those things that are unjust, though they have been propogated by the Board. You just have to do that. So that's what I mean about roles forming out of the needs of the community. The principal's role is generally defined by the Board but his specific role is defined by the needs of his kids in his community, and, if it happens to be a Black community, then you see how your roles are defined. They are not always in concert with the Board of Education.

So the School A Principal conceives of himself as a renegade so to speak forced into noncompliance for goal attainment.

The School A Principal is loosely coupled with central office and tightly coupled with his teachers and his community. While his teachers are divided in their management styles and attitudes, there is consensus among them around achievement and discipline as high priority goals. However, Teachers who maintain loosely structured classrooms are discouraged. Yet, most teachers share the Principal's high expectations of the students, his child advocacy philosophy and are loyal to him in return for his support in student discipline and parent complaint negotiations even though they do not fully cooperate with him in the implementation of the Socratic Method of Discipline. The Principal's support in the community is supreme. They trust him implicitly and have full faith in his integrity and honesty.

The School A Principal's hierarchical independence and community support permit him to deviate from BPE policies when he feels that it is necessary to achieve School A goals. Some of these deviations are: (1) the invitation to parents to monitor teacher behavior; (2) the encouragement of students to make complaints about teachers and each other; (3) the provision of leadership to community groups dissenting against school policies perceived as unfair or unjust; (4) the execution of a veto over teacher decisions in matters of student progress, performance and assignment; (5) the extension of the students' time in school past dismissal for for re-teaching, reinforcement and remediation; (6) the denial of student participation in special subject classes as a penalty for incomplete homework, schoolwork or unsuccessful testing; (7) the ordering of teachers to refer discipline cases to the Principal whether they want to or not; (8) the discouragement of student referrals to Special Education in the mental retardation category especially; (9) the feeding of breakfast to students who may be ineligible; (10)the short-circuiting of central office to solve political problems with other city agencies; and (11) the encouragement of teachers to transfer in cases where teacher performance is undesirable and unwanted in School A. None of these practices are condoned by central office of the BPE. Yet, the School A Principal accomplished his work and elevated achievement with these different routines, scenarios and processes. In spite of the divisions in his faculty, his hierarchical independence permits him to consolidate his community support and to maintain teacher consensus; and these, in turn, reinforce his hierarchical independence.

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Chapter V

SCHOOL B: Hierarchical Dependence And Loose Coupling In An Unstable Organization With Unresolved Conflicts

Introduction: A Self Portrait of School B

At the end of their school year, school B teachers described their school climate this way.

Respondent	Comments
B	I think the parents are pretty supportive. The kids have more stable home environments than the kids that I have worked with before.
H	...The majority (of the children) want to learn. They're amicable; they're friendly. They're concerned about their education. The majority of the teachers are concerned.
G	...Teachers have warm feelings toward their students. Students feel the same. I would say this year the atmosphere in the school hasn't been up to what it has been in the past.
	...I think there is a lot of feeling toward trying to work with the kids in the school. The kids respect the teachers for the most part. Naturally you're going to have times when kids blow up or something like that or get angry. For the most part, I think kids and teachers get along well together and they respect each other. Nobody tries to be the overpowering, domineering force to anybody. The teachers just try to make learning fun rather than just a regimentation of sitting still and constantly just doing what the curriculum says to do. A lot of times there are different things which you do that aren't in the curriculum...just to make the day a little different than the others....
C	School B is a nice school to teach in...(I) enjoy working with the principal...my colleagues...my children...(and) the parents....
	There's a closeness between faculty and staff. There's a friendly type atmosphere....So the overall climate of the school, I would say, is really tops.

D I think it's basically a positive climate. I think children are learning. I think there are things that could be better about it. I think there's a certain amount of disruptive behavior (that I do not approve of) which could be corrected. The general climate of the school, I would say, is a positive happy climate.

SP-7 I think it's a positive school climate. Children respond. It could be a little bit more disciplined but all and all, I think it's a positive environment.

I I think we have an average school climate. I think it's what we could find in almost any school. There are periods when the halls are noisy in-between classes. There are small incidents that happen throughout the school year. There are no major problems, no major class disruptions. Vandalism is non-existent... Every once in a while there may be something scribbled with a pencil on the wall but that's down to a minimum, far less than I've seen in other schools... Their attitude toward their school is what I might expect in any school... Some of the children may get into a little bit of a scuffle, pushing and name calling, but I think it's down to a minimum. ...I think that things are pretty well under control here.

SP-2* School B is a school where there is a lot of activity going on. There are lots of projects in the classroom and outside the classroom... There are a lot of special projects in this school and the teachers work hard to make sure these projects are a success. They work very hard with their students...to have success in... major subject areas and on special areas....

SP-6 I like the school. I don't like the way kids behave in school. I think teachers should have better control of their classes.

Students, teachers and the school surfaced in these descriptions of school climate yet these comments did not fully describe School B.

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*SP refers to Special Subject teacher.

School B Is Two Separate Schools

According to observations School B is two separate schools, inside the same building with poor communication; strenuous faculty animosities resulting in poorly cooperating teachers and declining supportive relationships; too many time-consuming outside demands from outside programs and new tasks; poorly coordinated events; lowered teacher morale; growing disinterested effort in instruction; and an excessive number of interventions.

Teacher D: Seven Years At School B

There's a certain amount of upstairs that the downstairs doesn't understand. I mean, downstairs is relatively calm and quiet. You go upstairs and it's noisy. It almost seems like two different schools to me. This has changed significantly. Having come back after a year, I can sense the difference. The faculty has changed. There are a lot of transient people here right now.

Question: Does that change provide support and cooperation?

Yes. Yes. ...It's smaller. Also the faculty has been fragmented, I think, because there are so many things going on here in the building. I mean there isn't time for us to work on anything together. One year we had a safety campaign and we all got involved in it. ...(N)ow I couldn't believe the number of things (in the school) like your project and the Teacher Corps Project. And Project '81. Yes, it pulls us in separate directions. I am trying to teach and I've got these forms to fill out for the Teacher Corps and the math and the figuring out of the percentages of this and that plus all the other stuff we have to do. And (now there are) continuous observers sitting there saying nothing and writing, and they don't even open up their mouths either in the day. Rarely talk, just watch. Say nothing. ...But it wasn't you. I mean I didn't hear anything except that you sat and wrote.

But there definitely is a little too much going on here right now, I think. We had the Imaginarium yesterday which took a lot of effort and organization. It's nice that everything's going on, but I think we need a focusing activity for the staff just to do together---to get us back together because it's just five minutes before you're supposed to do something (and) somebody doesn't show up.

Like yesterday, our instructional specialist didn't show up. So I had to organize the groups for the Imaginarium. ...(F)ive minutes before, Dr. James the Principal asked one of the educational assistants to help and she pulled out of her class five minutes before (and) ended up getting two groups. ...I wasn't aware that Mrs. M (the Educational aide) had two groups. So she was going around all upset. Didn't tell me. I would have taken the other group. People sort of like to have this martyr syndrome and they expect everything to go perfectly and nothing ever goes perfectly.

Question: So what does that all show you about cooperation and support then? I mean, what do you learn from that?

Well, it shows me that there are some problems---which is what I said. Then today I was down here talking to a bunch of Teacher Corps people from Elmwood City or something and I sent Maria (a special subject teacher) a note. I said that I would be late and could she hold my class. Fine. No problems. I'm just telling you the bad things. There are a lot of good things that go on as well. She kept my kids. In fact, she took them the whole period and kept them and told me to finish up my grades. So it goes both ways. It's not a perfect setting, but it's not the worst either. It could be better. I mean there are certain people on the staff who will not cooperate and there are certain people who always cooperate.

Question: How do teachers at this school support and cooperate with each other?

Well, it changes again from year to year. I wasn't involved this year too much with how things were going. I heard things. Basically, some people support and cooperate and some people don't. I mean, there are people who just...everything's a big aggravation and everything is a pain and everything is a complaint. Some people are very cooperative and do their job. As a whole, I'd say, generally---I mean---everybody doesn't walk around hating everybody else. ...(B)ut I know there are a few staff members who hate each other. There are people who talk about each other.

Teacher C: Three Years At School B

This year in school , I felt, we were all under a lot of pressure. There wasn't that rapport. (Of course, I was sick and they were all kind to me.) There was some letdown between the teachers. There wasn't the rapport that it was in the previous two years that I have ...worked here. I think the teachers were more under pressure. We didn't have as much time this year for one another---like after school talking and getting together. I felt more of a split this year between second floor and third floor. This may have been because everybody was busy with his own thing this year.

Teacher H: Eight Years At School B

I think if all of the teachers, all of the teachers, would cooperate with each other and not have petty personality conflicts, I think that the students would learn, the teacher would have a better attitude and we would be a family.

I know Dr. James had brought a group in from Bank Street with which she's involved. I know people from the Board (of Education) occasionally have been coming up. Project '81 people. ...Plus Teacher Corps people came in and observed. Often times, it makes it difficult for the students. Some teachers don't react favorably to being observed. It has never bothered me. But still it affects the students.

As I stated previous, there have been personality conflicts that have resulted in teachers, I feel, being turned off to teaching. I have seen teachers give more than they have, and I can contribute it myself to the fact that I probably worked harder this year and I do not feel that I have accomplished as much as I have in the past. Part of it is due to the lack of cooperation of a few staff members and unless we are treated as a family and unless we see ourselves as a family, we cannot accomplish everything we set out to do.

As far as the office goes, it used to be a place where you could go in, discuss how you feel and know that all your concerns are going to be heard, listened to and somehow feel that somebody's on your side. Now I do not feel that this year, everybody has been on my side---other teachers and probably the office. It's just not a family.

Question: Do you think it has affected the school?

I think it definitely has affected the school--the school climate, teachers, parents, students and people who have come into this building who have been in the building in the past. I'm not going to mention names, but I have worked with people who are not in the building and haven't been here for some years. They will come in and ask me, What is wrong? What is going on? This is not the same school. I say, Well, we do have different staff people now. Other people who have been here before I have, noticed that same thing that I have. The point is, there really isn't anybody that you can go and talk to. ...But I feel that the pressures this year have been more in total than all of the years I've been here and that makes for a very difficult situation when you know what you want to do and you can't do it, and you don't have the cooperation or maybe the sensitivity that you've had in the past because you don't feel your personal and professional needs are being met.

Question: Is there any example that you'd like to use on what personal and professional needs are being met?... ...

One of the things: I have been very close to many teachers that have been here the same amount of time I have, and until this year, we've talked both professionally and personally, and I know some teachers are upset with me because I do not want to talk to them anymore. The Teachers' room used to be a room where you could go in and talk and whatever was said in the Teachers' room used to stay in the Teachers' room. Now you have certain teachers who will take what was said and interpret it another way. They will go down to the office, go to other teachers and state it in their own words---change the meaning of something ---and that provides...well,...that's very unprofessional.

In the office, the secretary has more or less told me that she does not consider me a friend. ...I gave her a Christmas present as a token of appreciation because I realize that she does things for me that I cannot do in the classroom... The gift was returned to me---telling me that there was no friendship and it would never exist between us. ...(W)e have always been very close as far as inside of school and outside of school. This is the first year I would never even consider referring or calling her (a secretary) by her first name and she would not do the same. At one time, she did call me...(my first name) and said excuse me. Then she referred to me by my last name. Right then and there, that shows there is no family. There's too much animosity going through the building.

Teacher E: 15½ Years At School B

There's a few areas that there are some problems but I haven't run into that myself.

Question: Could you elaborate...?

Well, you just hear talk about this and that. The only time I go into the Teachers' room now is...to eat my lunch. I don't want to go into the Teachers' room and hear about this one and that one. I try to stay away from all that.

Teacher G: Seven Years At School B

I think at School B this year...that the fourth/fifth split as far as my class achievement was concerned---I think that possibly had a negative effect upon their achievement. I think they may have been able to achieve more or to achieve to a greater degree if they had not been in this split classroom. I couldn't give as much time to individuals as I...wanted to because normally---let's say for example---I could have given kids an assignment and had them at their desk. I could have gone around and assisted them as far as their having difficulty in a certain area. Rather than doing that, I had to have another group. ...When I had the fifth grade math group, my fourth graders were at their desks.

... ...The best way to say this is, I think if they had not been in the split but rather in a straight class---a straight fifth or straight fourth---that their scores would have been higher because you can give them that much more time. I had to spend sometime at the beginning of the year 20 minutes on fourth grade math and 20 minutes on fifth grade math rather than to give them 40 minutes of instruction in that time slot.

Question: What about the good math scores you got?

I think they could have been even higher. They're grade level and above grade level. In fact, they're half a year ahead in grade level. But I think they could have been higher.

Question: Higher?

Higher, right! I know for a fact that if I could, I would have worked with some...students more closely as far as in a straight classroom... I know the math scores were very acceptable. I felt they could have been better. ...(D)ealing with reading and math. You also have English, social studies and science as far as that's concerned. I had to sacrifice social studies and science in this classroom. They did not get that material for social studies and science as they should have.

Question: In both grade levels?

In both grade levels. The fifth graders got social studies with Mr. Bentrowitz's class. Okay, so they ended up sacrificing science. The fourth graders got science in combination with Miss. Zowostowski's class in my room and therefore, I had to sacrifice social studies with them. So in other words, my fifth graders were sacrificing science and my fourth graders were sacrificing social studies and that was necessary in order to get two math groups in, to get two English groups in and to get two reading groups in. ...That's six (periods). At least one period a day, the students were out of the classroom (for a special subject). So that's seven periods. The final period: that's when I had to get social studies with my fourth graders. I had to get science in with my fifth graders. I also had to get spelling with my fifth graders.

Question: You were out a couple of weeks during the school year. Did that have an effect on anything?

Yes. When I came back, behavior had changed...negatively. And also their homework as far as turning in their homework and doing their homework. Those things had changed. After I came back, I never got them back to where they were before I left.

Question: Characterize where they were before you left.

Okay. Before I left, I would say I got 95 percent homework completed---assignments done. When I returned, after I was out, I ended up getting approximately---let's say---60 percent homework completed. Some students, they just totally discontinued doing it. Even though I had returned, they had developed a habit (of not doing and returning homework) in three weeks. I was out for three weeks. During that three weeks they had developed the habit of not doing homework and I could not get them back into that routine. ...Once they got out of the routine, they couldn't get back into it. ...You still had your basic few who did it then and did it after. I am talking about the majority...

Question: How about the pacing of the reading? Did the pacing... stay constant? Did it go slower? Did it go faster?

All right. The pacing...went slower. It slowed down because when I came back, I had to go back over some of the material as far as what had been covered when I wasn't here---because, in going through it, I realized that they hadn't grasped it.

Question: Let me ask you about the differences in observation between our team and the Teacher Corps team. Did you notice any difference in terms of impact on your classroom behavior? Or did you notice a difference in your routine? You had three different observers (this year) at least.

When you and Ann from "Ike" (university)---when you observed, you did not engage in---as far as usually---any kind of verbal intercouse with the students. You more or less tried to make yourself like the chair that you're sitting in. The Teacher Corps observers, they were often times discussing things with the students. ...When I was working with the fourth graders---sometimes my fifth graders, they (the Teacher Corps observers) would engage in just small talk back and forth with the fifth graders. It was the same way when I had fifth graders; my fourth graders would go over and talk to them or something. I noticed that when you and Ann were in the room, that it didn't bother them.

Question: Do you have any observations as a teacher about those different styles of observation?

With you and Ann, I didn't know that you were there. When I saw you, I knew you were there. I knew you were there when I heard your pencil writing all the time. But basically, I didn't know that you were there. However, with the Teacher Corps, they had a time...with students (i.e., they had to time students on-task). When you'd see something, then you'd press a button on their calculator or something to time them (students)---or something like that.

Also, I guess with you, I knew that basically you were not coming in to observe anything in particular. You were more or less trying to figure out what the whole scheme of the classroom was. With Teacher Corps, I knew they were coming to observe on-task. When they were observing, I might try that much harder to have a good on-task ratio. When you or Ann were here, you were more or less watching the whole room because a lot of times, I noticed, whenever I was doing something, you weren't watching what I was doing. You might watch over there as to what the fifth graders were doing. You watched them work. As compared to when the Teacher Corps was in here, their entire attention was focused on me---not specifically on me, but on the students, specific students, which I knew that they were focusing on---which I also sometimes tried to direct, especially those students, to maintain their on-task ratio. ...I knew what the Teacher Corps was looking for. I guess subconsciously I tried to make it positive. I tried to make it positive, I guess, for myself.

Teacher Leadership

The Federation of Teachers (FOT) union representative, a third grade teacher who distributed reading materials and books and who acted as the consultant for teachers on properly using the reading series, worked with the principal on reading groups across rooms soon after school opened. Together she and the principal arranged children from the first to the third grade. On their joint memo of 7 September 1979, they listed children and the periods they should be taught reading. Among intermediate teachers, no comparable reading group organizer, consultant and leader emerged. On this (and other matters), invidious comparisions surfaced, "Some of us are more visible than others---like we came in and left---disappeared out of here." The third grade teacher became the primary reading teacher. An experienced reading teacher of fifteen years but without formal credentials and training in reading, she became highly visible by integrating and coordinating reading within the elementary unit and, by principal proclamation, was given a role which differed from her peers. For reading, primary teachers had a recommended instructional leader who shared the principal's prerogatives and power: the organization of reading instruction.

On the other hand, intermediate teachers were on their own for reading instructional organization and leadership. None worked with the principal to organize reading within and across classrooms. Fully independent in their classrooms, they could interpret and conduct reading to their tastes. No intermediate teacher enjoyed the same publicly showered confidence and assigned reading leadership role from the principal that the in-school elementary reading head had.

In daily classroom conduct and control, in ostensible effort, "working very hard with the children," in instructional leadership expression, particularly for the organization, consultation and use of reading materials and in sorting and ordering reading instruction, downstairs operated differently than upstairs. This cut one school into two untouching spheres. With lament, most teachers said it wasn't always so. This year, more than previous ones, floor separation and instructional isolation crystallized. Various explanations were advanced by teachers for this event. Currently new teachers were different from prior teachers. Old staff did not blend with new teachers. Communication between floors waned. Fewer social events promoted solidarity and cohesiveness. Human relations built-up patiently over many years disappeared, eroding trust, confidence, sharing and support in a faculty of friends and colleagues. Many new school demands and tasks used up time which, in the past, went for mutual interactions. With these precipitating events, the school just split in two. Consequently, the happy face of School B, loudly touted in the self-portrait, belonged at best to the primary unit. The intermediate school shared little of that esprit de corps.

Declining Morale and Rising Faculty Distance From Each Other

Personal preferences for working peers influenced the level and type of cooperation and the spirit or morale of co-workers. Special Teacher-7 expressed it this way:

> I am very candid. A lot of our support comes from a personal liking of one another. For example, if you ask one teacher to do something and if you like this certain teacher personally, you would do it.

Teacher F concurred:

> Now, as far as support is concerned, it's depending upon the relationship of that particular teacher with the other teachers.

Candidly, some teachers admitted that others were just not getting along. Petty conflicts surfaced more often. Faculty rumor and gossiping ran rampant. Teachers no longer wanted to go to the lunchroom, a sacred sanctuary to let off steam and explore feelings, likes and troubles. The net result was that personal dislikes inched up and cooperation slid down.

The burn-outs, who increasingly gave less effort and showed less enthusiasm, minimized cooperation by being insubordinate, such as disregarding the district demands for extensive record keeping of mini-testing. The predictable half who always cooperate and the other half who don't, formed cooperative networks of friends. This excluded people and groups from selective cliques. "At the other school (School B)," an itinerant noticed, "they (the faculty) seemed to be cliquish. They didn't readily accept me." Insubordination reduced schoolwide cooperations on new and existing projects. Exclusive cliques limited interpersonal cooperations ordinarily only to chosen friends. Both depressed morale.

Additionally, the resentment toward new outside projects "...coming in on top of us..." grew. Proliferated projects increasingly regimented time usage and created "lots of pressure." These projects taxed and vexed teachers who saw them as "time consuming and pressure building." Then too the principal had her way to exert pressure. Teacher D noticed:

> I think that she (the principal) definitely pressures the teachers to work hard with their kids and try to bring up the achievement.

Question: What do you mean by pressures?

> Well, at meetings, she will say---try---to influence the academics very hard certain times during the year when the kids seem to be falling out or something....

Finally, classroom observers created pressures as Teacher Corps obtrusively did by interacting with students during instruction with their loudly clicking counters or as we did by just "sitting and watching." Real or imagined, pressures this year lowered morale. Pressures "pull us all here for this and...there for that", or with "the office" of the principal against one, cliques replaced the missing "somebody on your side " and exemplified organized distance among factions. Cliques expressed socially what had already happened interpersonally; many teachers had already been pushed apart during the lowering of morale.

Would the Real School B Stand Up?

School B was split up inside. Its faculty was splintered. Its teachers felt steamed-rolled by too much paper work, too many external program impositions, too many schedule changes, too many new tasks and roles and too much building pressure. This was not the sweet, happy place painted by the self-portrait. Organizationally fragmented, riddled with faculty factions and overwhelmed by excessively, disliked impositions, School B was an unstable organization with unresolved conflict among its staff tightly coupled with central office. Yet, the Principal was loosely coupled with her faculty, staff and community.

Unexpected staff changes and unusually large experimental teaching strategies destabilized the teaching force and teaching routines. Teachers changed at the beginning and throughout the school year. During SY 1979-1980 the teaching supervisor, four teachers in kindergarten, the lower achieving first, second and third grades respectively, were new. Four of ten regular teachers were new. In November and December, two veteran faculty members, one at a time, took ill. Nearly a month of continuous substitute teaching occurred in the top second and top fourth/fifth split classes. In February, a returning teacher displaced the lower performing second grade teacher. During the second term, three special subject teachers left and their replacements in remedial reading, speech and gym discontinued established practices in all three subjects. By all prior accounts, this many turnovers from attrition, illness and maternity leave in the full-time faculty, and mid-year leavers in special subject, rarely happened together and rarely produced such a single year of staffing flux at the start and throughout the year. What we saw did not represent a stable organization. It was more representative of the first year of a school in serious transitions.

Various teaching experimentations compounded faculty fluctuations. This year, a new third grade teacher instructed math to both third grades and the lower achieving fourth grade, while the higher achieving third grade teacher taught his reading and a fourth grade teacher did his spelling. (Formal arrangements at the beginning structured third grade math and reading trade-offs; the principal recommended the math-spelling exchanges between the third and fourth grade classes at mid-year.) Another fourth grade teacher gave science to fourth and fifth grade classes. A fifth grade teacher reciprocated by doing social studies for all fourth and fifth grades. (These exchanges came mid-year by voluntary perference.) In reading, in most rooms, the lowest readers, who were out-of-step with their classmates, moved across rooms and grades to get into their proper reading groups. (This started at the beginning but student placements

Table 36

Incumbent Teaching Positions For School B, SY-1979-90

Incumbent Teaching Positions for Two or More Academic Years in Each Classroom, SY-1979-80

Classroom	Present Teacher Assignment
Kindergarden	First year assignment at this position in this school
1.1	Held this position for more than two consecutive years at this school
1.2	First year assignment at this position in this school
2.1	First year assignment at this position; three years at this school
2.2	First year assignment at this position in this school
3.1	Held this position for more than two consecutive years at this school
3.2	First year assignment at this position in this school
4.1/5.1	First year assignment at this position; eight years at this school
4.2	Held this position for more than two consecutive years at this school
5.2	Held this position for more than two consecutive years at this school

Categories of Incumbents	Elementary	Intermediate	Totals
First year assignment	5	1	6
More than two years assignment	2	2	4
	7	3	10

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Table 36 (continued)

Incumbent Teaching Positions For School B, SY 1979-80

Incumbent Teaching Positions for Special Subject Teachers over Two or More Academic Years Among Special Subject Teachers, SY-1979-80

Special Subject	*Present Teaching Assignment
Music	First year assignment at this position in this school
Library	First year assignment at this position in this school
Gym	First half teacher: more than two consecutive years assignment at this school Second half teacher: first year assignment at this position in this school
Reading Achievement Center	First half teacher: more than two consecutive years assignment at this school Second half teacher: first year assignment at this position in this school
Math Achievement Center	First year assignment at this position in this school
Art	More than two consecutive years assignment at this position in this school

Categories of Incumbents	Totals
First year assignment	3
More than two years assignment	1
Shared between first year assignment and departing incumbent of more than two years	2
	6

*2 ESP teachers are not included

represented a joint student assignment by the principal and the building Union officer, the building manager of reading supplies, storage and distributions.) Our observation year was the first year for such extensive cross-subject specializations, mandated teacher exchanges in the third grade and voluntary teacher exchanges among fourth and fifth grade teachers (See Tables 36 and 37). In effect, we witnessed the making of new routines rather than replications of well-worn, established practices. We saw a school undergoing voluntary instructional changes under significant structural shifts in staffing.

Additionally, unexpected curriculum interventions broke old existing school practices. This year, the school district (a) imposed a new nutritional unit, (b) required mini-testing for the annual achievement testing, (c) demanded heavy record keeping of student testing, and (d) asked for an experimental test of a competency based curriculum (Project '81). These new impositions further destabilized past practices, while they robbed fixed teaching time for new curriculum implementations.

Then the NIE Project arrived. This became a nuisance because, suddenly, every behavior was under observation. Clearly but politely, teachers indicated that NIE's presence became a dread; their absence a clear relief. Before this team, Teacher Corp had conducted classroom observations, often obtrusively. A teacher noted that her students became wise to observers and"...put on a show for them." Our project became "...another project in this school," again breaking the solitary sanctuary of the isolated classroom teacher which had already been entered for two prior consecutive years by Teacher Corps. Inadvertently, the NIE project continued a pattern which was resented.

Even in-service had new features this year. Teacher Corps established a math and science center and conducted math/science in-services. The new teaching supervisor concentrated on language arts improvements in in-service. Both reinforced the sense that this setting was one big "lab" school.

Elites' Influence on the School and Some Omissions in this Study.

An elected school board member had three children in three out of the nine grade-rooms. The son of a senior school administrator taught at School B. An officer of FOT and a member of the bargaining unit also was on the faculty. Each elite posed problems.

Table 37

Experimental Instructional Division of Labor

Division of Labor Across Rooms

Teacher	Reading	Math	Spelling	Science	Social Studies
3.1	3.1, 3.2, 4.1				
3.2		3.1, 3.2, 4.2			
4.2			3.2, 4.1, 4.2		
4.1/5.1				4.1, 4.2, 5.1, 5.2	
5.2					5.1, 5.2

Teachers worried about what the School Board Member learned about the school rather than other immediate disruptive events to instructional performance. A three year commuting teacher observed the following about the unsatisfactory rating given a teacher at School B:

> ...they (regular teachers) just sort of ignore it (supporting teachers who do not achieve). When they (regular teachers) see one or two teachers goofing off at their jobs, they just let it go and ignore it. And to me, it gets so discouraging because it is bad for my morale. Because they are getting away with murder and then I think...what happens to these kids? No one (is) concern(ed) about the kids. They are worried about what the principal is going to say, about what Joseph Cash (the local school board member) is going to say. They are worried about what the Board (of education) is going to say. Then I say, the hell with all of them. What about the kids? That is discouraging.

In ranking and weighing possible consequences for malperformances, a local board member in the neighborhood and his influence on the governing structure of the district provoked anticipations and anxieties around accountability. To prevent problems, one teacher routinely called the School Board Member with unsolicited news on minor and major classroom events. Off the record, another teacher grumbled about a teacher-principal conference after the Board Member visited the principal.

The teacher, off the record, insisted that the problem should have been registered directly with the teacher. Even the principal had her worries about the School Board Member's presence. She did not like being called at home occasionally or receiving a reprimand. Privately, she felt their interactions rested on accusations, not direct investigations of events or incidences. Often, she felt, information requests from her elementary school superintendent about the school came from a complaint at the district office by the School Board Member. She couldn't prove it. She said she sensed it. In part, too, the "goofing off" which was erratic, selective and confined to a few, invited attention and inquiry from the School Board Member. The long shadow of a powerful figure in the district's top decision-making posts hung over teachers and the principal and entered into their choices and actions.

Additionally, a colleague of the wife of the School Board Member was the lead-investigator for this project at School B. He was accompanied by a female graduate student. He was seen as a possible line of direct information about the school to the School Board Member. Consequently, teachers acted guardedly with him throughout the early phase of the project and relaxed after they disassociated him from the School Board Member. At all times, teachers felt more relaxed with the female member of the team. Imputed close links between one investigator and the School Board Member prevailed against the backdrop of his parental responsibilities and resulting teacher anxieties.

A tenured teacher, the son of a senior school administrator of this district received an unsatisfactory rating during our study. Because it came late, it was not sustained. These actions followed: (1) The legal staff quizzed the principal about her anecdotal record keeping on this case; (2) The Director of Personnel allegedly claimed the principal incorrectly used his anecdotal record form for this case; (3) A mandatory teaching supervisor report which accompanied and affirmed the principal's observations was not entertained at the central district office on this case; and (4) The FOT entered late, not concurrently as they normally did. Selectively faculty pressured the aggrieved teacher to urge Union intervention before it entered and backed off the case. The head of this school felt negotiated settlements in the school district office aborted this matter. Hence, the principal concluded, central office politics imposed a solution on a principal merely following district regulations. These actions taught a powerful object lesson.

This action and this case, this school head insisted, were not typical. Nevertheless, to the schoolhead, the central office often made choices without fully disclosing their underlying rationale to the principal. By supporting the building principal's ratings, the central office facilitated discipline and control over a faculty since the teachers' rating was the only real power the principal felt she had over teachers. That supportive district office power was absent, in the judgment of the head. Interpersonal and formal facts accounted for this. Interpersonally, past subordinate position with the father of the aggrieved teacher inherited sexist liabilities. That is, because she was a woman, the principal felt, her prior superior, the senior-parent school administrator dismissed and discredited her prior judgments and lacked full confidence in her abilities as a school administrator. For these reasons, the principle suggested, he may have blocked a prior principalship for her.

Consequently, regardless of the merits of this particular trying case, she felt he would simply block any moves she made within his informal or discretionary reach in the school district office. Moreover, the School Board Member or the school FOT officer, the principal often inferred, could reach the informal networks of decision-making within the school district office more easily and with greater clout than she could. They had habitually greater experience in working through professional school bureaucrats and external power brokers for undisclosed trade-offs.

In power, the principal felt she had an unequal standing with the School Board Member and the FOT representative at the district office. This unequal power standing influenced the principal's actions and choices by consciously coloring them within potentially heightened political power differentials that shaped the actual decisions of the professional school district staff. Most importantly, unequal clout and power at the central office undercut the principalship by sharing its full power with an elected official and FOT officer. Increasingly, the principalship was declared undercut and powerless---at lease more than most. "I feel like I am always walking on eggshells." On the teacher ratings and in other pressing problems, that's the symbolic expression the principal constantly repeated. At least a dozen times, she used it to describe the plight she felt as principal of School B. That was the coded message on the nature of her weakened office.

Other dynamics surrounded this rating case. Actively, as word spread throughout the faculty, cliques of teachers took sides. That depressed morale, increased tensions, fostered greater personal distrust and ruptured tenuous internal cohesion. One clique urged the distressed teacher to fight the poor rating. Ironically, a dissenting clique refused to take sides and pointed out that this teacher's appointment, in the first place, was made to checkmate the neighborhood school board director but backfired. These cliques, their organization and activations and their strength and duration over school principalships influenced organizational dynamics.

The elected FOT officer's presence pushed the principal closer to the contractual rigidities of the district since the principal felt often obligated to discuss possible " contract stretching" with the Union officer. This year, this covered bumping a teacher from the staff to keep another one who was considered more effective. Both teachers were substitutes. The principal preferred retention on educational efficacy rather than mandatory contract benefits, the underlying basis for retaining the least effective substitute teacher. For a returning teacher to keep her benefits and help the better educational placement to stay, the contract had to be modified to have the district recognize this unusual one semester event. The district could have done so if the FOT had concurred. The principal invited the Union officer, who also was her primary unit reading specialist (previously mentioned). Before the observer she discussed the case and asked for her position and help to assure the better educational placement and retention. The Union officer asked to phone the FOT for their position. Because it was a contractual issue, she didn't want to commit herself to an answer, although she expressed hopes for the better educational placement to be retained. Within a few minutes, the Union officer returned and rendered the FOT judgment. The contract must be enforced. The FOT officer felt sorry. When asked specifically if her office influenced her role in this school, teacher E responded:

Question: You are affiliated with the FOT to some extent...

Teacher E: No. I am an officer.

Question: How does that affect decision making in the school? What role do you play?

> Teacher E: If Dr. James has a problem, she may come to me or if a teacher has a problem, they will come to me, and I will act as the go-between and try to get it settled without any other problems arising and we have been able to take care of problems by doing that. I feel very free with Dr. James and I'm sure she feels very free with me. I can go and tell her there is such and such a problem where some of the teachers may feel that there is a problem and that we get it ironed out. We just lay all the cards on the table and are very open with each other. I know I prefer to have it that way and I'm sure she does, too. As a result, I feel we have an excellent relationship.

An unofficial co-director of the building, the Union officer held this powerful invisible office nowhere listed on the table of organization.

Anticipating or reacting, strategic choices and actions were infuenced by these factors acting alone or in some combination: a School Board Member and his symbolic and substantive presence through his three children in a third of all classrooms; a teacher related to a senior school administrator; cliques that polarized factions and defended interest groupings; dependence on central office politics; and a teacher who was also an influential elite in The Federation of Teachers (FOT). By constraining or restraining the principal's office or by short-circuiting its ordinary powers, these extraneous factors checked and weakened the symbolic and substantive authority of the principal by keeping her "...always walking on eggshells."

Finally, a late entrance into the school complicated grasping a richly fragmented setting, inside and outside. This blocked important insights into strategic choices in programming and staff managements. For example, granting the FOT officer a role in instructional leadership increased her status, influence and power brokerage role, informally and formally throughout the school. Structurally, it fragmented instructional coordination and control in reading among the instructional supervisor, Union officer and the principal. Already, Teacher Corps shared some instructional coordination and enrichment over math and science. A principalship dependent on already varying relationships with organizational elites in the school district hierarchy was further weakened by relegating responsibility for reading instructional management, the achievement bottleneck of the school, to the Union representative. Understanding fully this crucial act required greater direct presence at the school than the actual field work allowed to unravel its evolution and effect. In this and similar issues, documentary evidence and interviews filled in what direct observations could not confirm.

Background and Setting: The Characteristics of the School, Community, Students, Teachers and Principal.

School Setting

The Site

School B stood on a steep incline diagonally across from a large park. On the northern side, high ridges and sloping ledges elevated residences from a main in-city thoroughfare. Along the southeast corridor, sturdy, solid dwellings held their true market value. Yet, down the ridge and around narrow roads on the northeast natural ledge, boarded houses, fire-damaged apartments and abandoned dwellings blemished a beautiful landscape. Within seconds prosperity and penury lived together.

The Physical Plant and Space Utilization

The old building erected in 1891 had eight rooms. An addition in 1930 added eight more. The older square structure with big, square rooms having large windows, old plasterings and deteriorating wall paint, had no built-in storage closets and one entry door. By contrast, the newer rectangular building had in-set storage and two doorways and continuous windows on the north and south sides. Dulled wall paint looked less sallow here than in the older portion. In the older section, overhead lighting wires ran encased up the wall and along the ceiling. In the newer section, these were in the wall.

Every floor had a boys' and girls' restroom where a little sexually explicit graffiti stayed on the walls all year. The second floor had men's and women's teacher's restrooms. The teachers' restroom for men lacked functional urinals or commodes. It also stored excess desks, numbering about fifty.

The first floor had a kindergarten, Grades 1 and 2, the Principal's office, and nurse's room, the school auditorium and one third grade class. The second floor listed a third grade, one fourth grade, a split 4th/5th grade, one fifth grade, a library, a Reading and Math Achievement Center, an art room, a Teacher Corps Math/Science Resource Room, the gym, the teacher's lounge and a school district social workers' office. The third floor housed the Elementary Scholars Center (ESC)., a district wide itinerant program, usually a hands-off area for the regular school children.

Lockers lined the hallways on both sides of the first and second floors. Students hung outer coats in these lockers which served as places for michief during changing classes and lunchroom line-ups. Bulletin boards also adorned these hallways. Usually monthly school projects, classroom papers or art works were pinned on these bulletin boards. They changed irregularly. At the west and east ends of the building, traffic stairwells were removed from the main classroom corridors blocked out student traffic, if closed. Closings varied.

In the basement of the old building, two lunchrooms with portable tables stood across from the central steamroom where supplies for the school lunch program entered throughout the week. Next to the furnace room, large storage refrigerators were in the hallways. The custodial engineer's office sat between the furnace and lunchrooms and faced basement stairs.

On the west and south, two small playgrounds encircled the school. A larger playground on the east side contained two portable classroom buildings for a full time daycare center and a morning and afternoon Headstart Program. On the west and south, iron railings about six feet high fenced in playgrounds. A large twelve foot fence enclosed the east playground. An alley wide enough for cars and trash pick-ups was behind the school to the north.

Daily, after school, a clean-up staff came. Throughout the day, a custodian handled the furnaces, minor repairs and other chores. A revolving crew periodically made repairs that a custodian could not do. Lunch, lunchroom cleaning and food disposal were handled by a lunchroom crew that worked separately from the building clean-up group and building custodial care during school hours. All furniture was moveable. Students generally sat in desk chairs in the upper grades and used small tables below the fourth grade. A new central heating furnace generously heated the building. In some rooms, teachers cooled overheated rooms by cracking windows constantly. Roofs did not leak. Windows show neither break-ins nor vandalism. No major hazards, e.g., loose electrical wirings, unsafe stairs or falling plaster, existed.

School Organization

Vertical Organization

School B had:

1) one afternoon kindergarten which was self-contained;
2) two first grade classes which were self-contained;
3) two second grade classes which were self-contained.
4) two third grade classes, one with a division of labor in math and reading; the other with a division of labor in math, reading and spelling;
5) two fourth grades, one self-contained and the other a split (4th/5th) grade, with the former having a division of labor in spelling, science and math and the latter in spelling, science and social studies,
6) one self-contained fifth and one split 4th/5th grade, with a division of labor in science and social studies.

Satellites, i.e., on-going education programs separated from the core, K-to-5 school, went on in the Scholars Center (ESC), Headstart, and Daycare.

Overall, eleven classroom teachers, seven special subject teachers, three educational aides, four lunchroom aides, one part-time social worker and a part-time school nurse worked under a head principal. Headstart, a parent community agency, had one teacher and an aide. Daycare had one manager and one assistant for each of their two shifts. One principal supervised these two with one helping clerk and no assistant principal.

Between 8:35 or 8:40 A.M. and 2:35 P.M., eight instructional and one lunch periods made a school day. First, second and third grades ate for 30 minutes at 11:20, the fifth period. The Elementary Scholars Center (ESC) also joined them. At noon, fourth and fifth grades had lunch. From 2:35 to 3:05, nine of the eleven full-time building teachers had a discretionary educational preparation period during the day. Children formally left at 2:35. The latest departed by 2:45 P.M. Usually ESEP time followed. On Monday, a Teacher Corps or a simple in-service displaced ESEP. On Fridays, teachers may leave in the middle of ESEP and most left by 2:45 P.M.

Two irregular programs were in school: Teacher Corps and Project '81. An irregular program is a school project generally not a formal part of the system wide programs. Initially, teachers and a Teacher

Table 38

School B: Organization by Grade

Grade	October 1, 1979 Enrollment	June 1, 1980 Enrollment
Kgn	25	20
1	34	31
2	38	38
3	46	38
4	36	38
5	29	32
TOTAL	208	197

Table 39

School B: Organization by Class, June 1, 1980

Kgn	20
1.1	19
1.2	12
2.1	19
2.2	19
3.1	19
3.2	19
4.1	13
4.2	25
5.1	8
5.2	24
TOTAL	197

Corps trainee worked out demonstrations on a science or math topic. After mid-year, Teacher Corps mainly provided systematic demonstrations at inservice meetings on Mondays and conducted classroom studies on low and high achieving students' actual time-on-task during math and science. Project '81, a statewide demonstration project on Competency Based Education (CBE) for the State Department of Education generated local options before long term policy emerged. School B was a testing site for simple competencies in financing.

Both Teacher Corps and Project '81 had directors in the central school office. Another central office director was for ESC. These directors took up much principal time for interfacing their programs with on-going school programs. ESC Projects decorated school stairways on the first and second floors. These included large ancient Egypt displays in December and an inflation project in January and February. Informally, School B teachers borrowed things from ESC. To show how to stimulate bright students, ESC did a courtesy inservice for School B. ESC used phones, received messages, and conducted other minor business in the principal's office. (Satellites did the same too.) ESC staff occasionally lunched with regular core teachers.

An adjunct staff, the teaching supervisor visited weekly or close to that. Often she missed visits because other central office priorities or projects took her time. She counseled teachers. She observed classrooms and examined lesson planning. She often requisitioned and acquired special teaching supplies especially for equipment or tools. She ran inservice occasionally. She worked very closely with the principal and teachers in examining learning disabilities (LD) or checking and correcting teachers' performance. By contractual agreement, before an unsatisfactory rating can be made, she must assist unsatisfactory teaching. The teaching supervisor confirmed any principal's allegation of incompetence. The teaching supervisor brought the Imaginarium, a special cultural and educational collage of the local museum, to School B. She also prepared materials and special events for a class or the entire school. She did direct her special projects and she often assisted classroom teaching by getting special texts or teaching aides for a classroom project. This year the teaching supervisor performed these roles.

Additionally, the teaching supervisor conferred with and counseled the principal on special programs or unfinished projects or external consumption, e.g., the PTA or a parent meeting. An itinerant, she also served two additional schools: one, a poor black and the other, poor white. Teachers' placements follow strict FOT contract guidelines.

However, if teachers agreed on alternative classrooms, they may propose it to the principal. If she concurred, teachers had their way. This happened this year over the split class.

Horizontal Organization

Reading scores from the basal reading series determined high and low room assignments of students within a grade. High and low students used only the Ginn Reading series formally taught straight from the manual of teachers. In all grades but the self-contained fifth, reading occurred in small groups by basal levels for one period. Math, on the other hand, is taught without ability grouping in every room. Other subjects--language, spelling, science, social studies, art, music, and library--were also taught without grouping.

Ordinarily, for transferring students, this school honored sending records without prejudice. "Everyone conducts an evaluation of incoming records, although most people may not be explicit about it," the principal said. Ordinarily, these occurred casually rather than formally through multi-faceted testings. Before records arrived, each grade alternated in taking transfers. As long as a classroom did not exceed the union's contractual limit, deliberate placement came after transfer evaluation.

There was constant bickering over who got what transfer when they first came. This betrayed uneasiness about transfers, a mixed group roughly equally divided between other local public school members and "out-of-towners." A summary presumptive judgment, i.e., transfers represented possible incoming behavioral problems or learning disabilities, prevailed. Transferring in stereotyped low achievers or members from a splitting, shifting or troubled family, often made easy teacher lunchroom topic reasonably soon after arrival.

Mainstreamed children with handicaps received all school special services--corrective speech, psychologist, social worker and other itinerant services. Speech, the principal handicap, came weekly. A part-time nurse handled routine school-wide health projects. Most children had art, music and physical education for two periods weekly. The itinerant gym teacher did not teach health this year. He left in March and was replaced with a substitute. Teachers with princpal approval may send children to different teachers for instruction in any subject. They also may recommend students for ESP, RAC, MAC, or LD. Only the principal changes student instructional assignment to a teacher.

Because RAC met in the afternoon and MAC in the mornings only, some students regularly missed regular instruction or a special subject to attend these supplementary programs. Additionally, many MAC students were also RAC students. These students systematically missed regular instructions in an academic area and a scheduled special subject. Double failures behind grade level got cut-out from two normal instruction classes for supplementary remedial work. They missed two out of eight regular classes in a day.

Social Status and Demographic Change Within the Student Body

Although the community was only 16 percent black by 1930, its neighborhood school was 31.2 percent. By 1950, two-thirds of the community would be Afro-American but 86 percent of the school would be their children. Traditionally lower middle class or upper working class children attended School B. As many as a fifth came from middle class families. Relatively, these students turned-over infrequently. Most of their parents finished Centre City's secondary education. By the late 60's, the student body shifted a little. Poor families, by 1970., made up a fifth of the student body. By 1975, however, the poor were half. At this point, increasingly families began to send children to non-public schools. By the late 70's, the lowest historical proportion of black middle class families had their children in School B, 44 percent.

As student social class composition changed, the student body dropped. Between 1950 and 1964, enrollments went from 550 to 574 students in a K-7 school. Between 1964 and 1966, additional students came. From 1968 to 1971, enrollment dipped by 11 percent per year. In 1971, 371 students, only three-fifths its 1966 size, were there. In June, 1972, a drop of 14 percent reduced the school to half of its 1966 size. From September, 1971 to June, 1975, three academic years of stability set in. But in 1976, school board reorganization took away sixth and seventh grades and, in one year, 20 percent of the student body left without replacement. The academic year 1976 opened with 224 students, a third of the enrollment of ten years ago. From 1976 to 1980, enrollments stayed relatively constant between 208 and 224. The per annum drop, from 1976 to 1980 averaged 2.75 percent; this was low but persistent (See Table 40.)

Over the last fourteen years, the student body shifted status (SES) and drastically downsized. Throughout the community, decreasing enrollment, fewer middle class children, and growing parent distrust about the school board's long term design destabilized this school and projected school closings. Increasingly, the black poor whose schools disproportionately closed in Center City in the 1960s and

1970s, dominated the student body. During SY 1979-1980 56.7 percent of the School B student body was classified as low income using the receipt of free and reduced lunch as the criterion.

Table 40

School Enrollment in School B: 1967-1980

Year	Enrollment	Student Loss/Year	Percent Loss/Year	Cumulative Percent Losses Since 1966
1967	537	-41	7.09	7
1968	475	-62	11.54	18
1969	420	-55	11.57	29
1970	375	-45	10.71	39
1971	371	- 4	1.06	40
1972	317	-54	14.55	54
1973	327	+10	3.15	51
1974	302	-25	7.64	58
1975	317	+15	4.96	52
1976	224	-93	29.33	81
1977	214	-10	4.46	85
1978	217	+ 3	1.40	86
1979	208	- 9	4.14	85
1980	214	+ 6	1.02	84

1980 Student Schooling Characteristics

Classroom Assignments

The average class size is 20.3 and the pupil - teacher ratio is 16.6. The slow first grade had twelve students. Two classes had more than twenty-two students: the self-contained fourth grade and the fifth grade. The general fund expenditure per pupil is $1719.85 and the total per pupil cost is $2198.31.

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Attendance and Punctuality

This school year, most students missed eight days. In class, typical absences ranged from six to nine days for the year, i.e., one day per month more or less. Nevertheless, extreme absentees annually missed better than twenty days of school, i.e., a month of instruction.* For every class, we could expect some chronic attendance problems. For a typical class of twenty students, a fifth then lost a month of instruction.

Table 41

School B: Regular and Extreme Absences SY 1979-1980 June 1, 1980 Enrollment

Grade	Regular Absence # of Students	Mean	Extreme Absence # of Students	Mean	Max/Min
1.1	8	2.5	11	18.45	0/39
1.2	8	6.75	4	20.62	2/25½
2.1	12	6	7	22.5	½/49
2.2	10	5	9	19.5	0/36½
3.1	14	5.35	5	15.2	0/26
3.2	11	4.25	8	15.3	1/20
4.1	11	3.5	2	14	0/17
4.2	14	4.42	11	18.9	0/30
5.1	5	7.1	3	14.5	4/16
5.2	19	3.3	5	19.2	0/28

Grades 1.2, 2.2, 3.2 and 4.2 are low achievement groupings. 5.1 and 5.2 are mixed. The other grades are mixed accelerated and average achieving students.

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*September, May and June severely slowed down or had minimum instruction. Missing a month by absence meant, at most, five out of nine months of school instruction. These students, then, had to grow over seven months if they were on grade level, after only five months of instruction. Students starting three months behind had to make ten months growth after only five months of instruction. Slow students excessively absent compounded reaching achievement. Schoolwide, attendance averaged 6.6 months over the achievement testing period: 1/5 (5 months) + 4/5 (7 months) = 6.6 months of weighted averaged attendance.

Table 42

School B: Regular and Extreme Tardinesses SY 1979-1980 October 1, 1979 Enrollment

Grade	Regular Tardinesses # of Students	Mean	Extreme Tardinesses # of Students	Mean	Max/Min
1.1	15	6	4	28.25	0/37
1.2*	11	1.18	1	11	0/11
2.1	13	4.46	6	30.16	0/46
2.2	15	2.93	4	17	0/24
3.1	17	2.64	2	45	0/63
3.2	16	3	3	19.6	0/26
4.1*	--	--	--	--	--
4.2	23	2.52	2	19.5	0/22
5.1*	--	--	--	--	--
5.2	24	0.41	0	--	0/4

*This teacher failed to keep tardiness records

Typical students regularly came late no more than five days over the school year. Correspondingly, consistently tardy students appeared in every room. About two students from every room were persistently tardy. Attendance and tardiness had trouble spots. On attendance, the split fifth grade had an ordinary absence rate above everyone else. High absentees among the best elementary students and the worst first and fifth grade represented an emerging attendance problem in opposite directions.

The high first and the low fourth led all groups with students in the extreme absence category. Among extreme absences good elementary students went to school less than poor ones; poor intermediate students went to school less than good ones. Ordinarily, then, four out of five students steadily came. But within classes, high and low absentees contrasted and in a third of all rooms, strong differences prevailed between ordinary (less than 10 days absent) and emerging attendance problems (two or more weeks of absences). Attendance and achievement groups negatively correlated among elementary students and positively correlated among intermediate students. What did this mean? Where students performed better, brighter students stayed out more often. Where students performed worse, brighter students came more often.

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Students Leaving and Coming

In 1979-80, sixty-five students left and fifty-four came in 57 percent of the October 1979 enrollment. Re-entries made up a fifth of all new students. So the real new entrants-- 43 new students in 1980--provided a fifth of the current student body, mostly concentrated in the upper grades beginning with the third.*

Because of re-entries and new entrants, this school's instruction and performance standards, at best, only meaningfully touched half of those who began first grade there. Currently nearly a half of the typical upper grade students were a shared product of various institutional treatments.

Table 43

Transfers In and Out

School B: Transfers In and Out, Academic Year 1979-80

Month	Leaving (Out)	Coming (In)
September	38	17
October	8	12
November	6	9
December	5	7
January	3	2
February	2	4
March	1	3
April	1	0
May	1	0
	65	54

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*Transfers went to classes with the most experienced staff, highest teaching experimentations and lowest achievement rates.

Reading and Math Growth Per Year

Reading growth generally fell below math growth in every grade over the last five years. Consistently, every grade after first produced six months of gain for seven months of instruction from October to May.** (Generally during the first month teachers reviewed the previous year's work. Since the formal testing of the school district took place in October, school district policy effectively measured only growth over seven months after seven months of instruction. For this reason, the seven months criteria is accepted as the true measure of actual growth expected in a school year.)

Over the last five years, annual growth in reading did not budge significantly. See Tables 44 and 45. Annual reading growth flux over the last three years undermined high growth performances under present conditions, all things being equal. Moreover, the best estimate of real growth in reading per year suggested (a) School B had to be at optimum reading growth to keep a student starting at grade level on grade level; (b) for a student entering below grade level, the expected reading growth will not pull him over to' grade level at the end of the school year. Present annual growth required most students to enter the school year with at least one month overachievement for his grade level if, at the end of the school year, he would be on grade level in reading.

The lowest annual math growth by 1980--6.7 months growth--displayed incremental continuity upwards; the ceiling cautiously suggested that two years math growth in one year easily happened for some students over the last three years. Regardless of student achievement at entry in the school year, substantial math growth could raise underachievers to grade level as an ordinary event. The Teacher Corps math and science emphasis over the last three years may have contributed to these math scores. Hence, improving reading growth performance constituted the crux of the achievement problem at School B.

**This is true for 4/5th of the students attending regularly, i.e., missing one day per month over seven months. The other fifth factored into this growth but only went to school five months. not seven. A "weighted" average of 6.60 months of attendance produced six months reading growth, i.e., every month of attendance produced .9 month of growth. That representative picture is remarkably close to the norm of one month growth for one month of instruction. This underscored the impacts of attendance on achievement.

Table 44

School B

Annual Growth* in Months in Reading by Grades & Years 1975-1980

Grade	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	$\bar{X}_2$	Standard Deviation	Confidence Interval at $t_{(4,.05)}$ Minima	Confidence Interval at $t_{(4,.05)}$ Maxima
2	3	6	8	8	7	6.4	1.85	4.2	8.8
3	8	2	9	7	8	6.8	2.48	3.5	10.1
4	6	7	4	5	9+	6.2	1.72	3.9	8.5
5	5	7	8	3	6	5.8	1.73	4.0	7.6
$\bar{X}_1$	5.5	5.5	7.25	5.75	7.5	5.8 ± 2.13	1.95	3.9	8.75
Standard Deviation	1.73	2.06	1.92	1.92	1.11				
Confidence Interval Minima	2.8	1.9	3.8	2.3	5.5				
Confidence Interval Maxima	8.2	9.1	10.6	9.2	9.5				

$t_{(3,.05)}$

$\bar{X}_1$= average per year

$\bar{X}_2$= average within a grade over five years.

ANOVA by Years: $F = .79 < f_{(4, 10, .05)}$ ≈ Means are the same.

ANOVA by Grades: $F = 1.29 < f_{(3, 8, .05)}$ ≈ Means are the same.

*Total months growth over seven months, October to May

+Tukey's method for the honest significance difference of growth by grade yields 5.8 + 2.13, the minimum expected growth by years in any grade. In the year of our observation, only this grade's reading score exceeded the oridnary per annum growth.

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Table 45

School B

Annual Growth in Months in Math by Grades and Years: 1975-1980

	Years							Confidence Interval at $t_{(4, .05)}$	
Grade	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	$\overline{X}_2$	Standard Deviation	Minima	Maxima
2	4	5	9	9	5	6.4	2.15	4.2	8.5
3	9	8	16	12	18	12.6	3.87	8.7	16.4
4	12	9	9	8	13	14.0	1.93	8.8	12.7
5	7	9	8	5	13	8.4	2.65	5.7	11.0
X_1	8	7.75	10.25	9.75	12	10.35 - 3.54	2.65	5.8	12.15
Standard Deviation	2.9	1.63	3.34	3.11	4.63				
Confidence Interval $t_{(3, .05)}$ Minima	4.7	5.8	6.4	6.2	6.7				
Confidence Interval $t_{(3, .05)}$ Maxima	11.2	9.6	14.0	13.2	17.2				

$\ddot{X}_1$ = average per year

$\overline{X}_2$ = average within a grade over five years

ANOVA by Years: $F = .93 < F_{(4, 15, .05)}$

ANOVA by Grades: $F = 1.12 < F_{(3,8, .05)}$

Additionally, a two-tier school achievement picture emerged. Top student classrooms from first to fourth persisted at grade levels in math and reading. Lower ability classes remained off grade levels in reading from the second to the fifth grades and in math in a second* and both fifth grades. Homogeneous grouping merely continued the gap which began at the opening of the school year. In part, this reflected the absence of exceptional treatment for lower performing classes in each grade; in part, it confirmed the normative character of undifferentiated growth rates in reading and math across achievement.

Table 46

School B: Students on Grade Level: Reading, May 1980

		Grade Level		Percent On Grade Level	GE for Mean Raw Score	Achievement Grouping
Grade	N	On	Off			
1.1	19	19	0	100	2.3	Acc/Av
1.2	12	3	9	25	1.7	Lo
2.1	19	16	3	84	3.1	Acc/Av
2.2	18	4	14	22	2.3	Lo
3.1	18	14	4	77	3.9	Acc/Av
3.2	19	0	19	0	2.7	Lo
4.1	13	7	6	54	4.6	Acc/Av
4.2	25	7	18	28	3.9	Lo
5.1	8	2	6	25	4.8	M
5.2	24	8	16	33	4.9	M
Total	175	80	95	45		

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*This year, this second grade was taught first by a substitute and later by a returning maternity leave. Both teachers were not regular second grade teachers.

Table 47

School B: Students on Grade Level: Mathematics May, 1980

Grade	N	Grade Level On	Grade Level Off	Percent On Grade Level	EC for Mean Raw Score	Achievement Grouping
1.1	19	19	0	100	3.5	Acc/Av
1.2	12	6	6	50	1.8	Lo
2.1	19	16	3	84	3.3	Acc/Av
2.2	18	6	12	33	2.5	Lo
3.1	18	16	2	88	4.5	Acc/Av
3.2	19	10	9	52	3.8	Lo
4.1	13	9	4	69	5.2	Acc/Av
4.2	25	11	14	44	4.5	Lo
5.1	8	3	5	37.5	5.4	M
5.2	24	9	15	37.5	5.6	M
Total	175	105	70	60		

Table 48

School B: Distribution of Students By Basal Reader and Grade Completed, June, 1980

Ginn 360 Levels

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total # of Students
1				17	13	1							31
2				1	18	11	8						38
3					2	10	16	9	0	1			38
4								9	9	8	9	3	38
5									1	2	21	8	32

Total Number of Students
This number excludes Kindergarten, Headstart and other programs.

Students on Grade Level in Reading and Math

In reading, 55 percent were off grade level; in math, 40 percent. Disproportionately, reading below grade level occurred at the upper grades. A third grade had the entire class off grade level in reading. See Tables 46 and 47. Pockets of serious math difficulty prevailed in four classes, both fifth grades, one fourth and one second where most students were off grade level. The slower first and third grades had more students than would be predicted from the schoolwide average off grade level in math. After the third grade, classes off grade level in math had a quarter and as much as two-thirds of their students falling behind schedule.

Over the last three years, the minimum math growth per year stabilized (mean = 6.3; standard deviation =.11), reading strongly had not (3.8, 2.3, and 5.5 months per year). So not only were subtantially fewer students off grade level in math, a minimum likely growth rate could be expected. No such fixed floor arrived in reading.

Students on Grade Level in the Basal Reader

Some students completed their basal readers in compliance with the minimum standard expectation of the BPE. First, second and third grades showed a difficulty. In the second grade only eight students had met that standard and no students had completed Level 8 which is the second second grade reader. In the third grade only 10 students (26 percent) had completed the minimum standard and only one student had finished the second third grade reader. See Table 48.

Faculty Characteristics

Total Teaching Experience

Sixteen of the teachers at School B gave interviews. On the average, most teachers had better than 7.2 years of teaching experience. Regularly assigned teachers collectively had more years of teaching experience than special subject teachers. By total teaching experience, the staff is not inexperienced. The mean years of teaching for the full-time teachers was 8.35 years that of special subject teachers was 5.3. See Table 49. There are 10 regular classroom teachers, six special subject teachers, 2 ESP teachers, one Headstart teacher and one Day Care Teacher.

Table 49

Average Total Teaching Experience at School B

Category	Number	Average (yrs.)	Range (yrs.)
Regular Teacher: K-5	10	8.35	2 - 18.5
Special Subjects	6	5.3	1 - 10
All teachers	16	7.2	

Table 50

Actual Teaching Experience at School B Among All Teachers

Category	Number	Mean Years
K - 5	10	6.05
Special Subjects	6	2.6
All Teachers	16	4.78

Table 51

Proportion of Time at School B for All Teachers

	Years		
Grades	All Experience	At School B	Proportion at School B
Kg	2	1	.50
1	9	1	.11
1	3	3	1.00
2	5	5	1.00
2	5	3	.60
3	7	2.5	.36
3	18.5	15	.81
4	9	8	.89
4/5*	10	7	.70
5	15	15	1 00
Special Subject			
1	10	7	.10
2	2	3	.15
3	7	1	.14
4	1	1	.50
5	6	3	.50
6	6	1	.17

*Split Grade

Longevity at School B

Full-time teachers averaged 8.35 years teaching; six were at School B. The typical full-time teacher spent the bulk of a teaching career at School B, while special subject teachers had not. See Table 50. Disproportionately, career presence at School B occurred among intermediate teachers. On the average, intermediate teachers spent ten out of eleven years teaching at School B. Intermediate teachers had been at the school three times longer then primary teachers. See Table 51.

Teaching Experience at School B and Teacher Grade Assignemnt

The intermediate block solidly had all career teachers but the primary block had half. At the lower level one out of every two rooms had inexperienced teachers to School B. At the higher level, a student was guaranteed an experienced one to this school. See Table 54.

Training of Teachers

Higher education in Centre City supplied half of the teachers. Public colleges outside of Centre City provided the other half. Most were trained by public colleges. See Table 52.

Most teachers--56 percent of the teaching force--graduated between 1970 and 1974. The least represented group emerged from 1960 to 1970. This group departed. Presently two surviving teachers trained from 1950 to 1960 remained. See Table 53.

Primary students received their instruction equally from teachers trained in public colleges of Centre City and in state colleges surrounding Centre City Intermediate teachers primarily came from public colleges outside of Centre City and a private college of Centre City trained one.

Table 52

Place and Source of College Training Among Teachers in School B

	CITY			STATE			Grand
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total	Total
Primary: K-3	4	1	5	2	0	2	7
Intermediate 4-5	0	1	1	2	0	2	3
Special Subjects	2	1	3	3	0	3	6
	6	3	9	7	0	7	16

*Public included state related colleges and universities because they receive tax support under non-preferred allocations and still have accountability to public authority, even though their management is under a private board of directors.

Table 53

Years Completed Initial Teacher Training
(B.A./B.S. in Education)

Group	Number	Grades K-3	Grades 4-5	Special Subject	Percent of Total
1950-54	1	-	1	-	06
1955-59	1	1	-	-	06
1960-64	-	-	-	-	00
1965-69	1	-	-	1	06
1970-74	9	4	2	3	56
1975-80	4	2	0	2	25
Total	16	7	3	6	
Percent	100	43	19	38	100

Table 54

Grade Level Assignments: Present and Past

Present Grade Assignment	Prior Teaching Assignments By Grade	Deviation From Present Placement
K	Kindergarten	Close
1	Pre-school 1, 2, 3	Close
1	1, 2	Close
2	K, 1, 2	Close
2	K, 1, 2	Close
3	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7	Far and Very Varied
3	Special Subject, 4,6, 7	Modestly Far
4	4, 5, 6, 7	Close
4/5	Special Subject: 2, 3, 4, 5; 2, 4, 5, 6	Moderately Close But Varied
5	4, 5, 6	Close
Special Subject 1	2, 3, 4, 5, 7	
Special Subject 2	Middle School Librarian	Moderately Far and Varied
Special Subject 3	Art	Far
Special Subject 4	K-5: Special Education, Art	Close
Special Subject 5	Music	Close
Special Subject 6	Substitute: K-12	Far

Definitions of Deviations for Specializations:

Set: a grade grouping, e.e., primary or intermediate.
Close: in a similar grouping; in the same specialized set.
Far: in a dissimilar grouping, spread over two or more dissimilar sets.
Varied: covers the range over two or more dissimilar sets.
Moderately Close: a common intersection over two or more dissimilar sets.
Modestly Far: a tenuous union over two or more dissimilar sets.

Two types of training occurred beyond the initial license: focused (an earned masters) and self-directed (masters equivalency). Primary teachers generally defined their advanced training through a standardized degree granting program, all at one Centre City public institution. Intermediate teachers guided their own discrete training. Generally, Centre City's Public School graduates returned to teach. Nearly half of the staff attended grammar and high schools in the public schools of Centre City. Essentially, then, a provincial and parochial group, representing mostly Centre-Citiers who had most of their early training in its public schools dominated the teaching staff throughout the school.

Grade Placements and Teacher Specialization

Five of the seven primary teachers generally had had their present assignment. Two had far reaching experiences outside of their present grade assignment. Among intermediate teachers, two held close experiences to their present grade assignments but one had a varied background and training in a field outside his present assignment. Special subject teachers followed similar patterns.

Sex and Race Composition

For full-time teachers, three simple trends prevailed. Blacks regardless of sex were primary teachers. All full-time white males handled intermediate teaching. Most full-time white females taught primary grades. For whites, the school displayed sex bias in assignment patterns. For blacks, assignment biases were always at the primary grades. Correspondingly, white males had extreme under-representation in special subject and over-representation in intermediate teaching.

Moreover, while the sex ratio was even for blacks, it was not so for whites. The white male to white female ratio was 1 to 2.5 and 1 to 4 respectively for regular and special subject teachers. The schoolwide sex ratio was 2.2 females per every male.

Principal Characteristics

As a teacher, the principal spent thirteen years in the classroom. Of these, three were outside Centre City. As an administrator, the principal worked in the primary and middle schools of the local school district, had an internship in the central office, was an assistant elementary school principal, a middle school dean and eventually became principal of School B for the last three years. She spent four years in a non-principal administrative position in the district; three as the chief school administrator of School B.

The principal was not a graduate of the elementary and secondary schools of the local school district as most of her teachers. Her primary and secondary education came from a formerly prosperous mill center east of the Centre City. Her college education was in Centre City. The principal had an earned doctorate in curriculum and supervision from Eisenhower University, a state-related university in Centre City.

The principal had substantially more experience than her teachers. She has had only one career: 21 years in public school education. Eighty-six percent of her professional career was in Centre City. The smallest part involved her present position at School B. Consistently, the principal said she saw herself as an instructional leader. During the year of observation, improvement of instruction focused on science and math instruction through a special Teacher Corps project. However, management, direction and goal setting for that project resided with Teacher Corps. Her school served more as a lab site facilitating a project under central office direction. Moreover, since the teachers decided on where to use the Teacher Corps initially and later the Teacher Corps decided where they wanted to go, this innovation was initially decentralized and voluntary and later coordinated and controlled by an outside agency.

An element of the principal's style surfaced around Teacher Corps' behavior. First, the principal cooperated with an outside agency in the school. Second, the principal permitted teachers full autonomy to decide if, how and when they would use the specialized, advanced training and resources provided by Teacher Corps. The first item was a particular example of a general problem. A range of programs in the school reduced the principal's role to a supervisor--not the chief governing administrator--for satellite and irregular programs. Ordinarily, for the principal too many petty supervisory responsibilities accumulated because she had no final directing authority over these programs in her building. Her time, then, was not exclusively allocated to managing the core school. This also made her management responsibility atypical for the district.

The second item--the voluntary preference of teachers to select or decide on what teaching changes or innovation they wanted--betrayed a fixed principle of the principal. Teachers were professionals. They exercised professional judgment and experience on what is best for their particular classroom settings. They should have a range of supportive resources, enrichment materials and instructional options. But they should always make the final judgment on what they wanted from these available resources, materials and options. Teachers could effectively evaluate their needs because, as professionals, they knew their strengths and weaknesses. Each decided how to take advantage of their unique opportunities to improve their instructional capabilities in math and science. Teacher professional autonomy was sacred and absolute.

Similarly, the principal stressed collegial equality. In ordinary interactions with teachers, formalities were broken. Teachers may speak casually, stop the principal anywhere in the building and present personal or formal business, or enter the principal's office for a request or discussion without formal appointment. By prior arrangement, teachers may walk through the principal's office anytime for a soft drink. The principal was available on demand to her staff. She had no social distance from her staff.

Not surprisingly, her time usage was unpredictable: calls, interruptions from staff and teachers and numerous outside meetings interfered with the orderly usage of time. Informality reduced available time for directed management. Ever present calls, minor problems and administrative clearances from satellite projects and programs decreased the time supply more. This was further aggravated by the habit of arriving late for school opening. Rarely was the time supply expanded by sustained early arrival or late departures. Effectively, the management of the principal's time in rigidly fixed allocations was partly precluded by (a) an informal interaction style, pervasively aggravated by non-core school interruptions and personally compounded by late entry for school opening and (b) no systematic expansion of time. Time, fluidly and unpredictably allocated to well-defined school management tasks, became intensively subdivided over larger than normal non-core school programs, satellites and outside meetings and, by informal interaction patterns, unpredictably available for systematic uses.

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Continuity and Change: Contributions of Social Background and School Setting to the Organizational Life of School B

By 1930, the most affluent blacks of Centre City began settlement in Upper Hayti, an isolated hilltop community of the city. Their emergence accompanied socially changing events: sex distributions evened sixty years of migratory imbalances of men; nuclear family expansion engendered younger children (under 10), replacing older migrant children (over 10) as the dominant black school age attendants; a second generation urban grouping started a marginal black middle class marked by proportionately higher homeowning, higher educational acquisitions than city-wide norms and overrepresented high achieving wives exclusively rearing children. These patterns, relatively stable until 1960, came with social welfare slightly better than their racial peers and with income at 70 percent of city-wide parity until 1960. Then again social change took hold in the 60s.

Now, internal stratification widened. Increasingly, two income earning families secured middle class standing, where earlier one income earners had, in most instances. Entrenched pockets of serious poverty surfaced and attenuated families but nuclear families still disproportionately dominated. Because of the growth of female labor force participation, one of the highest in the city between 1960 and 1970, more mothers in nuclear and attenuated families worked. Significantly this helped and improved gross material welfare for children in attenuated families. Compared to surrounding communities, family attenuation and impoverishment did not move hand-in-hand, partly because the higher credentials of working mothers reduced slightly the income effects of single parenting.

School B too changed during the 1960s. Downward drops from 600 to 200 students began and steadily continued. Traditional black middle class students dropped off. As size became smaller, lower SES students emerged larger for the last 15 years. Simultaneously, during the changing class composition of students, teachers trained between 1960 and 1970 replaced the crop from the previous decade. Between 1970 to 1974, teachers of the 1960's vanished. Changing students and changing teachers mutually occurred throughout the late sixties. Over the last score, changed household composition, expanded female work force participation and differing social class characteristics in education and income made this urban black middle class increasingly the new captive clients of public School B.

At the same time, old and new Upper Hayti dwellers had a shifting neighborhood school in size and staff turnovers. Community, student and teacher changes sustained sources of flux surrounding School B. Moreover, leaving and coming students added even more flux. Only half of the entering first grade now finished the fifth. Flux became a key institutional shaping force.

Inside School B, destabilization rocked the faculty, additionally. In the fall of 1979, two classrooms with insufficient enrollment were to be split. Only a split 4th/5th emerged. A scheduled 3rd/4th and 2nd/3rd did not materialize. The person most affected was the elected Union official. She and the principal urged the central office to send another teacher. This was granted. Powerful informal structural arrangements resolved a problem and sustained practices of senior teachers' preferred placements. Even with flux, certain rules for organizational conduct still worked.

Among students, two emergent problems lingered. One involved slight attendance plights. Nearly 36 percent were absent over a month. Who missed was critical. In the lowest fourth grade, a third missed over a month of instruction. The top first grade experienced significantly higher absences than low achieving classes. The split fifth grade had significantly high absences. This skewed concentration of absences reduced optimum instruction exposure among two leading classes and hit hardest the poorest achieving fourth and fifth graders. In a real sense, boosting attendance in these concentrated pockets would raise achievement more than marginally across the school. Weighted average attendance [1/5 (5 months) + 4/5 (7 months) = 6.6 months] and ordinary annual reading growth (6 months per year per student) dramatically displayed interactions between attendance and performance: on the average, even with sustained flux, every month of attendance produced .9 months of growth, strikingly close to one month growth for every month attendance. Similiarly, in reading for the last five years, regardless of who taught, most students had to start out on grade level in reading to be there at the end. Not so in math. Students off-grade level in math, in September, had a strong chance to get back on, easily and ordinarily---except in the fifth grade. Math stabilized growth for the worst cases. On the other hand, rock bottom minimum growth in reading strongly fluctuated from year to year.

Reading, the key problem of achievement, received less systematic attention, intervention and special resource allocations than math. The most nagging problem of sustained student performance on grade level slipped through organizational priorities and received less than comparable management rendered to math, a content area well on the way to sustained performances. More than half of the students were affected by unsatisfactory reading. Better than seven out of ten did well on math. Where effective demand prevailed in reading, commensurate leadership attention or high goal priority failed to surface.

This occurred partly because reading instructional supervision was diffused loosely across teachers, the Union officers, the Teaching Supervisor and the principal; critical daily instructional management was affected by autonomy; instructional correction was vested in the assigned role of the Teaching Supervisor; corrective instructional intervention by the head occurred intermittently; searching and using external resources often superceded stretching existing resources. Management information on the biggest student achievement demand simply was not sought out from existing data sources or deliberately used to shape organizational goals by the Teaching Supervisor or the principal. Moreover, teachers made no such determination.

Full-time teachers who were most responsible for daily instruction ordinarily taught twenty students. Most were career teachers i.e,, they had more than five years and 70 percent of their total teaching experiences at School B. Novices inherited primary grades with lowest achievers. These novices, though, had focused training, proportionately had more advanced credentials than upper grade teachers, and produced higher student performances.

Additionally, sex, race and experience biases ran through teaching assignments: longer teaching tenures insured intermediate placement; the only two white males did intermediate teaching; white females stood under-represented in intermediate teaching and over-represented in primary classes; all black full-time staff had primary grades; black were over-represented in special subject teaching. Experience profiles displayed more experience in teaching upper grades with the exception of the second grade. The transitional grade between primary and intermediate school--the third grade -- had the lowest experience among all teachers. There, full-time teachers had placement out-of line with their prior teaching experiences. School B had experienced teachers who had better than eight years average teaching in local public schools. Yet, disproportionately, in this parochial teaching force, teacher longevity and student performances inversely correlated.

The primary and secondary schooling of the principal differed from her staff. A veteran of various teaching and administrative posts, she was from inside the ranks of the district. She had the longest tenure and the highest credentials, an earned Ph.D. in curriculum and supervision. Nor surprisingly, she leaned toward instructional leadership as a preferred managerial goal.

Other realities in the school's organization blurred this goal: (1) Satellite program proliferations robbed the principal's time and attention from the core school; 2) External agencies (e.g., the Teacher Corps) and external agents (e.g., the teaching supervisor) managed instructional intervention, re-training and enrichment in math and language arts, respectively; (3) An in depth analysis of achievement and growth in reading and math failed to occur or to shape practices and programs; (4) Teaching relied on voluntary actions and teacher professionalism for finding and correcting instructional needs; (5) Intermittent presence at School B by the teaching supervisor and rare undertaking of this role by the principal created an organizational vacuum in instructional supervision. Occupying a stressful principalship, which was structurally weakened, with heavy daily demands for supervision and conflict the principal rarely had time to negotiate or provide instructional leadership through the establishment of functional routines, the mobilization of teacher consensus and community cohesion.

Formal Structural Arrangements

CCSS provided rules and regulations for organization and conduct of particular schools within its district. For this discussion, formal structural arrangements resulted from district rules and regulations and their particular expressions and structures at School B. In their own words, the principal--mostly--and school teachers discussed their feelings and reactions on key formal structural arrangements.

Goals

The principal discussed the origins, uses and intentions of goals: The following school objectives for SY 1979-1980 were proposed for and by the School B faculty and distributed in a handout at the beginning of the school year.

Program and Projects

1. To provide in-service training for the staff in the areas of Math and Science.

    A. Strategies

        1. Weekly staff meetings with teacher representatives of the existing Math and Science programs to discuss the needs of children.
        2. Planned visitations to areas in the community which provide resources in Math and Science.
        3. Exploration of new and existing materials which relate to Math and Science.

    B. Resources

        1. Supervisory Instructional Specialist
        2. Selected staff members, Eisenhower University
        3. Community resource persons
        4. Science and Math materials

    C. Time Line - on-going

II. To establish a Science and Math resource center which will enable the staff and the students to experience scientific experiments and projects.

A. Strategies

1. Provide a resource room for implementation of the project.
2. Provide materials and equipment for the center.
3. Provide consultants to facilitate the operation of the center.
4. Provide a schedule which will allow for visitation of the center by teachers and students. Also, for resources from the center to be utilized in the classroom.

B. Resources

1. Eisenhower University staff
2. Materials and equipment provided by the Teacher Corps staff and Board of Education.

C. Time Line - Two years

Relationships

1. To establish linkages between the, school and the community.

A. Strategies

1. Develop a school identity handbook

B. Resources

1. School Information Specialist, Board of Education
2. Teachers, parents, students, and selected staff members

C. Time Line - One year

II. To develop a model to communicate information to parent groups and the community.

A. Strategies

1. Schedule monthly meetings with selected representatives of Title I, P.T.A., Teacher Corps, Parent Representatives.
2. Schedule meetings at a time when at least two groups can meet consecutively on the same night.
3. Circulate a newsletter to provide information to the community.

B. Resources

1. P.T.A. Board
2. Teacher Corps Community Council
3. Title I parents
4. Parent representatives

C. Time Line - On-going

School Climate

I. To provide a positive, healthy, and attractive learning environment for children.

A. Strategies

1. Support the faculty in the implementation of the school discipline policy.
2. Provide in-service in the areas of classroom management.
3. Provide in-service in ways of enhancing the classroom atmosphere.
4. Provide some funds for materials.
5. Use activity funds for field trips.
6. Schedule activities for clubs for teachers and students.

B. Resources

1. School Handbook
2. School Discipline Code
3. Staff resources
4. Activity Funds
5. Parents organization
6. Community resources

C. Time Line - On-going

In her interview the principal elaborated on these goals and others which she held for the school, the faculty and her school community.

The Principal's Interview on Goals at School B

Goals for this year: 1980-81

> My goals...may vary from year to year and they depend upon the needs assessment which is conducted each year, at the end

of the year, with the staff. My goals for this year are: to improve...reading and math achievement.... The second one is that selected students, grades K to 5 will demonstrate skills in creative writing. The third one is to facilitate the process of communication from the school to the homes and the surrounding community and the fourth one is that the staff will utilize a self-evaluation model for the implementation of school goals.

Goals for 1979-80

...To improve reading and math achievement....is constant. Number two was to provide in-service training for math and science. Number three was to establish a science and math resource center which will enable staff and students to experience scientific experiments and projects. The next one was on-going: to establish linkages between the school and community. The next one is constant: to communicate information to parents; and, the community and to provide a positive, healthy and attractive learning environment for children is on-going.

Goal Priority

...The reading first and then the math achievement, in that order, would be the first two. The third one would be... creative writing. The next...would be the self-evaluation model.

How were goals decided?

After...a needs assessment with the staff using the Metropolitan Achievement Test Scores and teacher-made tests and diagnostic tests of students... I chose the goal for reading math achievement....(C)reative writing...was assessed as a need by the staff as well as...the superintendent. As far as communicating from school to home....I think we need to establish as much of a positive image as we can for this school in this community.

How did you arrive at goals?

Question: So your goals came from the information consultation with your advisory bodies? Is this the only way you arrive at goals.

> The other way...is that the Superintendent, last year, brought very broad goals for the total system and built our school goals from the Superintendent's goals.

What did you have to do to reach these goals?

> ...The student master schedule was one way to achieve the goal for curriculum and instruction. Number two was providing resources from curriculum and instruction. Number two was providing resources from inside and out of the building by consultants using staff from Eisenhower University as well as the Board of Education to conduct in-service was another way. A careful analysis of achievement test results for the purpose of planning... was another way. By the newsletter which went to different schools was another way that we reached our goal. Monitoring the instruction in reading and math was another way that I had to reach my goal.

How well did you...reach these goals...?

> I was able to meet all my goals. I met some in varying degrees....I feel that some were more effective than others but I was able to accomplish what I set out to do.
>
> Question: Could you explain?
>
> To be more specific, my achievement scores showed growth... in reading and mathematics. When I set up my objectives, it was that they would show growth from September to May and all the scores reflected growth.
>
> Question: Is there anything else you can suggest that would illustrate what you did to actually reach your goals?
>
> ...(S)pecifically, of mathematics--fortunately I have this Teacher Corps program in the building and we have a monitoring system which was piloted last year and is continuing this year. ...We do feel the more time the student spends on-task, the better the student will achieve.

> ...Last year, the monitoring system began with the staff from Teacher Corps observing and collecting the data. ...Teacher Corps was responsible for collecting the data and giving the feedback to the teachers. I don't feel that the method was as useful as it could have been because I didn't get the feedback until the end of the year. However, I do feel the process had some effect on the achievement of the students.

Could you speak about other things in the...district and educational system that helped you...reach your goals...?

> Well, the use of the materials. The supervisory instructional specialist that was the support I had had in the building. ...What blocked reaching these goals?
>
> The amount of time that--well, not the amount of time, but the time that I didn't have to spend with individual teachers. I would like to have had more time to work in conference with individual teachers. I would like to have had a supervisory specialist in the building more time to give me the kind of support I could have in observing the staff and in doing a more clinical type of supervision.
>
> Question: (Is there anything the school district did to block reaching your goals?)
>
> Yes. I feel that I needed the same kind of support that I just mentioned in evaluating teachers and I don't feel that this system has the kind of evaluating set-up that you could really evaluate the staff in an on-going way that's really productive to the staff.
>
> Question: Could you elaborate...?
>
> All right. For example, I had a staff member who was having some difficulty. I was able to go in and observe and evaluate this teacher but the teacher does not get a rating until the end of the year. ...(T)his was a tenured teacher. So there is really no way until the end of the year. If there had been some on-going checkpoints during the year, where we could work something out with the personnel division, I think it might have

been more productive for the teacher and for myself.

Question: Is there anything else that...helped you either reach your goals or blocked your goals...?

In order to reach the goal of creating a positive school climate, I did have outside help. I had the use of the Imaginarium and I had the use of outside consultants--for instance, staff people from the Board in Project '81.... I have quite a bit of fund raising here to help with activities such as field trips and educational materials in excess of those provided by the Board....

Would you say there is goal consensus around your goals?

Yes.

Question: Could you elaborate on that?

I say this because of the goal setting process that we have at the beginning and end of each year.

Question: And why do you think that the goal setting process sets up consensus?

Because we work together after conducting a needs assessment. We work together on how we can meet those goals and the staff is in agreement as to which processes and strategies we develop to use to make these goals--in fact, they work with me in the development of the strategies to meet those goals.

Question: And you think the process, in itself, generates consensus?

Yes, I think so, because of collaboration among the staff in the whole setting.

Question: So your measure of consensus is collaboration.

Would you say this goal consensus exists among teachers?

I think the goal consensus exists among the teachers because of the goal setting process....

> Question: Would you say that this goal consensus exists among the parents?
>
> I feel that goal consensus exists among the parents because of the kind of input and the kind of support and cooperation that is given to the staff and the school....
>
> Question: Would you say that this goal consensus existed among the students?
>
> I feel that they spawned the performance of students in achievement.
>
> I feel you need more information on the goal setting process. ...(I)n the goal setting process...as principal, I presented some very broad goals...at the beginning of the school year and, in turn, the staff presented their goals and objectives which fit into the very broad goals and objectives I had presented to them. What I'm really saying is that...my goals were not laid upon the staff. We did work together in developing the goals for the whole school.
>
> Question: Could you go a little bit into the needs assessment, telling why you decided on a goal?
>
> ...(A)s far as student achievement is concerned, we look at the test scores from year to year and also throughout the school year to determine what kinds of needs--pupil needs--we've had in the area of math achievement and reading achievement. That's one way of assessing needs. Another way would be...the Ginn reading series and the Heath math achievement, on-going throughout the school year to get an assessment of pupil needs. Looking at actual classrooms and determining what kinds of learning activities, what kinds of displays would enhance the learning environment for pupils would be another way of assessing needs. Looking at ways to expand and enrich curriculum for students would be another way that we would set priorities in determining what kind of activities we need to present to students.

What were your goals for the teachers...?

> Number one: to provide a responsive learning environment for the students. Number two: to diagnose student needs. Number three: to provide instruction to meet those needs. Number four: to evaluate the progress of the students. I prioritized them in that order.
>
> I decided on these goals because of the process of goal setting....

What did you have to do to reach teachers' goals?

> ...I had to observe the teachers. I had to have conferences with teachers. I had to monitor the instruction in the classrooms. I had to provide a schedule that would allow implementation of certain activities. I had to provide the resources, such as rooms, outside consultants from the university. I had to sponsor fund raising to provide money for the school activity fund...to have money to buy extra instructional materials and also to provide money for children to go on field trips and so forth.

How well did you think you reached these goals...?

> I feel that...there was growth in achievement for the students in...reading and mathematics. I feel we did accomplish that at each grade level. I feel that the teachers made every effort to enhance the learning environment of the total school by planning activities and little displays and decorating the school and establishing learning centers and so forth. I feel that, through in-service activities, the teachers were trained...in mathematics and science and therefore able to implement these learnings in their classrooms with their students.

What helped you to reach these goals?

> I had help from parents. I had help from Teachers Corps staff. I had a commitment from the staff to reach their goals as well as the enthusiasm of the students who worked along, as well, with the teachers to reach their goals.

...(W)hat blocked reaching these goals?

For the most part, the goals were not blocked. I can say that there was growth in the reading and the math and we were able to accomplish our goals.

Question: ...(N)othing...hindered performance significantly?

What were your goals for the students...?

...(T)o experience or demonstrate growth and achievement in each grade.. in.. mathematics and reading; to experience extra-curricular activities in the arts, Black History and music. To experience alternative instructional experiences in...math and science over and above what we have in our present curriculum and to have field trip experiences at each grade level.

...What specifically led you to choose one over another...?

...(N)ow specifically with the science and math, since Teacher Corps...is into School B..., there was a goal setting process involving parents, staff... and community. ...(W)e felt there was a need for the students to experience more enrichment activities in... math and science. So that was one reason why we pursued the goal for the alternative strategies for... math and science. ...(I)n... the arts, we felt the students did not have enough experience in the arts, per se. We were able to become involved in the Imaginarium, which is a program of arts provided by the Board of Education to selected schools. With the help of our supervisor and instructional specialist, we became involved in the Imaginarium program for one year. In fact, we were able to provide enriching activities in... the arts and social studies....

What were your goals for the larger community (politicians, Board members, community activists, others)?

I wanted the larger community to be aware of the positive things that are occurring in this school, to visit and observe the school program and to be acquainted with the location of the school in the community.

Question: Why did you decide on these goals?

> For one thing, for many years, there has been the threat that this school was going to be closed because of the low enrollment. I think that the community needs to be aware of the good things that are happening here. .... (I)n light of the desegregation proposal for the school (which could close it), I think the community needs to be aware so that they can rally around this school in trying to keep it open. Also, I think that the community needs to be aware of the things--the good things--that are going on because so many of the students are going to parochial and private schools. We'd like to do everything to publicize the positive things that are happening here so that we can entice some of those students to come back into the area. We constantly need the support of the total community in this effort.

(What blocked reaching your curriculum goals?)

> Anything that was blocked would have been by, more or less, low expectations that teachers may have had (maybe in a given classroom) would have been one of the things that might have blocked reaching a specific goal. ...Another thing.... was not having some support that should have been in the building all the time simply because of scheduling throughout the whole school system in different activities and so forth.

How much freedom do you have to implement your own ideas?

> I have the freedom, within the framework that I can work, within the Board guidelines. I have a pretty much supportive Assistant Superintendent in implementing my goals but my goals really come from the Superintendent and the Board. So that's basically the freedom that I have. It's definitely controlled, I'd say. I don't have Carte Blanche freedom but I do have some. I can be unique in some ways as I implement my goals within that framework. I do stay within that framework. I'm bound by the Union contract and by the standing operating procedures of the Board.

Board Rules and the Union Contract: Shapers and Restrainers of Organizational Conduct

To the question, "How much freedom do teachers have to implement their own ideas?" the principal replied:

I feel, here again, that we all work within a certain framework and within standing operating procedures and within the Union contract. Other than that, I think each teacher has his or her own teaching style and I don't interfere with that freedom of implementing their own teaching style. They do have freedom to institute different activities in the school if we can get a resource for them to do this.

Question: But does there come a point where your freedom to implement your own teaching style becomes a way to dishonor the request of the principal and the system?

Not if we have established a goal setting process with objectives, which I certainly have. These objectives are personal objectives of the teachers and we agree upon this and we have a consensus between me and that particular teacher as to what--as well as how--these objectives are going to be implemented. The freedom doesn't mean that they have Carte Blanche freedom to do whatever they want to do. I think I prefaced the whole thing by saying we do have standing operating procedures from the Board. We have standing operating procedures in the building and we have a Union contract.

The Principalship

What CCSS defined for the principal, the principal believed she met and did.

I have to define my role the same way as the Centre City School System. I can say I define my role as doing whatever it is to be needed in...school administration and management--just a hodge-podge of everything.

Question: Could you elaborate on what that means specifically? Does that mean you are much more of an instructional leader or a building manager or a guidance counselor or a disciplinarian?

I define it as being all of it--everything you mentioned. All of the above: as a guidance counselor, a disciplinarian, a management operator, operator of the plant, instructional leader--all of them.

There's agreement between CCSS's definition and the way I'm defining it (the principalship). That might not be how I see it but there is agreement....

Question: Well, you say this may not be the way you see it. Would you....

That's not the way I would like it to be. All right. But you asked how the CCSS defines it (the principalship) and then you asked me how I define what I do. As I see it, I do everything they have listed down, some maybe to a greater extent than others. I think, maybe, where my priorities would lie would be, probably, what I would emphasize.

Question: What would you emphasize that would not be emphasized and does that show agreement between you and CCSS?

As I would like my role to be, I would prefer to be an instructional leader in this school. I would feel that that should be my greater emphasis and that I should have more support in other areas than what we do have as building principals.

Questions: You don't think there's agreement between you and the Board on that, viz., that your role should be primarily instructional leader?

I'd say...I'm not quite sure that everyone is...being consistent about what the role really is because you have to devote so much other time to other areas than instruction. Then, that's not really the role.

Question: O.K., let me try that question again. What is your gut feeling about whether or not your performance of the role of the principal is actually in agreement with the way CCSS defines that role?

Okay, if you want--I have defined how I feel CCSS defines the principal. Now if you wanted me to define the role of a principal, I think that's a little different. I could define what I think the role of the principal should be, but I told you how I define what I do.

Staff Selection

...(W)e as principals don't have any kind of input in staff selection. I'd like to be able to select my own staff. I feel that might give me some leeway in providing the kind of instruction that I want to do with the students.

Teacher Evaluation

Question: How do you evaluate the teacher's performance?

Well, it's really with...the state form (the professional employee rating form of the state). It's really almost as a checklist here. Either you do (satisfactorily) or you don't with the state rating form. We also have a regular observation form sent out by Personnel that we use at the end of each conference, talking about strengths and needs and recommendations.

Question: Could you explain about...the state wide form?

The state wide form is divided into four areas: personality, preparation, technique and pupil reaction and then they have definite items under each of these categories that we are to look at when we make the final rating.

Teacher Dismissal

If an employee in this school receives an unsatisfactory rating, he/she would have to have a hearing and this employee would be transferred to another school. I might have a role if the employee receives two unsatisfactory ratings, one from this school and then the following year from another school. Then the employee might be dismissed from the system. My role, though, would be the same. I would have to give an unsatisfactory rating at the end of the year which would be followed by a second unsatisfactory rating. This is supposed to guarantee dismissal. It doesn't always.

Curriculum

...(O)ur curriculum is, for the most part, developed with teachers and administrators on a system wide basis before it is brought into the building. So teachers do have some

> say-so on textbook selection and on curriculum building. We had teachers to work on...curriculum and tests in... mathematics for the Project '81 curriculum. We had teachers who agreed to have their classrooms monitored...in math for the Teacher Corps program. So it's not a case where things are "laid on." Teachers...have been involved in the curriculum and the textbook selection and in the curriculum writing and...implementation....

Testing

> According to Board rules and regulations, we have achievement tests in the Fall and Spring. ...We also are required to have unit evaluation tests (in reading) and level mastery tests for each student in the Ginn program. Each math teacher has to give both pre- and post- tests for each unit in...mathematics. Also, this year, we have a new social studies curriculum and we have chapter checks, preps and tests which must be given at the end of each social studies unit. Also this year, we have...tests made up on...lesson plans that the teachers use.... These are made up...with Teacher Corps...and the classroom teacher. These tests are given once a month to go along with the monitoring system....

Student Classroom Placement and School Test Evaluations

> Question: What role do the Metropolitan Achievement Tests play in the placement of students in the classrooms?
>
> It would be one of the criteria that we would use...but we do use the Mastery Tests in the Ginn first before we use the MAT scores.
>
> Question: What happens if........MAT is saying the student can do better and the Ginn is saying, No, the student cannot do better.
>
> The teacher would then base her judgment on the classroom performance and I feel, the Ginn level.... If a child is way above, for instance, scoring stanines of 9 and working on a much lower Ginn level, then I think we have to determine that there is some inconsistency and then that child could be recommended for further evaluation, maybe through the school psychologist, to determine why there is some inconsistency in performance.

Promotion and Grading

> The children are promoted based on the grading system. ...(T)hey have to have a passing grade in both reading and math in the primary...and...in the intermediate...they have to pass both the reading and math and then they have to have passing grades in two other special subjects. ...(T)he grades were cumulative....

This was the principal's neutral description. A classroom teacher noticed systematic punishment, destroying achievement motivation and poorly distributed rewards to achievements in the grading standards.

> ....I had a child at level 6 (the first grade reader) in reading who was doing A work, but I can't give that child above a C because of the level that they're reading on. I almost went through the roof. There are not two grades (one, for the level they are in and the other, current reading performances and skills on or off the school schedule). The grade (now) is based on their effort and the level where they are. But if the level where they are is lower than their (grade) achievement, they get a lower grade. So instead of having one grade for how they are actually achieving at that level and then another grade for the level according to where they should be within the scheme of things in reading--then that would make sense. But they don't have that. They just have one grade. So all of these kids who would be getting B's and A's are getting C's which, seems to defeat them completely.

Lesson Plans

> Lesson plans are...into the office by three o'clock each Friday. Each...contains the subject...objectives and... goals of the lesson and a short description of how these goals are to be implemented as well as the page number and guidebook page, the name of the book concerned, and any kind of resource materials that may use.

The principal activated these procedures after the instructional supervisor discovered poorly prepared, unprepared and erractically prepared lesson plans on random classroom visits. A mandated task had submerged into voluntary preference and tastes before it was forcefully reinstituted.

Instructional Monitoring and Teacher Expectations

Math worked satisfactorily with direct monitoring. Reading, on the other hand, demanded greater direct exhortations, occasional interventions for reorganizing instruction and one-on-one conferencing to see if the principal and teacher read the same things from level (promotional) testings. For the principal, math monitoring sufficed, but reading required some instructional negotiations and constant consensus building, in addition to monitoring. Reading, the principal felt, operated against expectations and attitudes which are difficult to handle or change.

Monitoring Math

Monitoring math is a little more specific than the reading because we have the monitoring system established. ...The only difference this year from last year is that the monitoring system in the math is a little more specific than it was last year.

Monitoring Reading

Question: How would you assess or state your role in the management and implementation of this (reading) series in this school?

I feel that I have to encourage the teachers to test and re-test, group and re-group. ...I am responsible for the monthly check on pacing of the students. I also have a conference with each teacher at the end--at the master level tests--to go over the needs of each individual student, assessing where they are and what kind of additional needs they may have. I also observe individual reading groups to determine pacing, again, and individual student needs.

Question: What about your satisfaction or dissatisfaction (with the Ginn Reading Series) or your concept of its proper usage or its strengths and its weaknesses?

Here...you have to be careful.... I think that the problem is the expectation, staff expectations, that you have in the building. This is something that the building principal has to constantly repeat, over and over and over: the fact that they are students; we have to meet the needs of students and that we have to have, maybe, higher expectations than what the staff might really have. I find many...are just satisfied that the student completes work maybe where the average student should fall. We have to be constantly on top of the fact that some students should go much farther and much faster.... You have to really closely monitor what's going on in those classrooms...to make the series really work. I think that the weaknesses that many teachers don't really look at is...a way of challenging students. I think they (teachers) are so overwhelmed with all the other paperwork and all the other subjects they have, that they really don't want to really stretch out and take a look at how they can really push these kids and to make sure that more students are passed on grade level. That's one problem...in management. I can't say whether it's a weakness in the series. I think it's at the school-level. I don't see it as a weakness in the Ginn program. I think if we all try very hard to implement the program as it should be, then we would be more productive.

Discipline

An aggravated matter was sent to the principal. Otherwise teachers were responsible for all discipline. The principal demanded extensively documented egregious behaviors and events before making any formal determinations of their merits and deciding appropriate responses by the teacher or the principal or the parent. The principal described the Byzantine labyrinth around discipline.

I feel that discipline in the classroom has, and always will be, the responsibility of the teacher but we have to work together as a total school and I am always ready to provide that kind of support to the teachers in establishing classroom control. I ask that the teachers use the counseling approach for the students that they do speak to them when they're away from their peers to try to establish the positive standards that the students are aware of and to be consistent with those standards before they refer a student to the office. If this means counseling after school or sometime during school, I feel that this is effective. I also think--or sometime during school, I feel that this is effective. I also think--ask--that the teachers contact the parents immediately either by phone call or by a note or a letter, if necessary....to get the parent involved...or by inviting the parent to have a parent-teacher conference.

I ask that documentation of all these procedures be kept. Then, if this continues to be a very serious problem, I ask that the teacher make a written referral to the office, in which I will then look at the referral and determine what action I feel there needs to be and then notify the teacher of that action. And then I will keep a record of such referrals in my office.

Every attempt is to be made by the classroom teacher and other teachers working together as teams in the building to handle these kinds of problems unless it's a very, very serious outburst which, then, I feel, is to be handled by the principal.

Question: Do you have a documentation form for the teachers?

No, I don't....

Formal Structural Arrangements, Organizational Conduct and Student Performance

Goals and Routines

The district superintendent annually handed the principal the goals of the CCSS. The principal took them to teachers and discussed them. After consulting with parents and community groups, the principal and teachers jointly decided what the system goals meant for the school by specifying their objectives, strategies, resource requirements and a time line for implementation.

Teacher Corps, an irregular program, had a parallel goal structure. They organized a parent council. The principal, the Board staff and a researchteam from Eisenhower University came up with goals, projects and programs for ongoing math/science instruction and involved systematic teacher retrainings, time commitments and specific classrooms.

Achievement testing results from October arrived by November. Other testings in reading and math also had produced their claims by mid-November. After monitoring classrooms for instruction, environment control and discipline, goals in November and December were retained, reformulated or added, depending on the interactions between classroom observations and formal testing results. Earlier goals for the school year now became more fluid as one-on-one conferencing created different emphases and tasks across classrooms. Goals now became differentiated and specific rather than uniform.

Throughout the year, as new needs were discovered, the teacher supervisor brought in new programs, projects or special events or added new curricula materials, emphasis or in-service demonstrations for classroom experiments. These included even more goals for the school. Whatever was overlooked, this double-net recaptured.

Then as the year moved along, the system introduced experimental practices (the nutrition curriculum), new requirements for instruction and testings (mini-testing and record keeping of testing successes and failures), and district-wide experimental projects (Project '81 curriculum writing, testing and use in financing). School district needs added another layer of unanticipated goals, tasks, requirements and intrusions. These were sandwiched-in on ongoing activities, projects and programs. They drained effort and energy away from a main goal focus.

Goals and Process

Phasing-in irregular program goals, unanticipated district goals and demands and teaching supervisor's discovered needs and desired enrichments took a lot of administrative time away from the core school and its supervisory demands. Auxiliary work robbed time and effort away from primary work. Inordinately, the principal's time drifted to meetings with new programs and mediated conflicts between growing outsiders and her staff.

Structural problems occurred in the goal statements. School, teachers and student goals were often not matched directly or if matched directly, they stated vague outcomes which were not sufficient to reach satisfactory achievement. See Table 55. First, the highest goal, reading, was an ongoing goal without the concrete approach rendered to other goals. This understated the true plight of reading instruction and mastery. Secondly, the student outcome stressed only growth. But growth was not enough. Substantial growth above present performance patterns was required. Concretely that meant, on the average, one more month of growth for the entire school and more than that in slower classes. A concrete numerical understanding of the actual growth needed to overcome achievement gaps was not in the inprecisely stated goals. School reading goals and student performance standards were unclearly linked.

Other structural problems emerged from the goals. For example, complementary and integrally related goals were not strongly joined together. Again, reading offered a case. A complementary goal was to diagnose student needs and to match instruction to those needs. Specifically this involved taking the post-tests after each unit and reteaching. It rarely meant pre-, post-, or retesting to be sure about the diagnosis. Furthermore, although abundant dissatisfactions registered against unit testings, alternative teacher tests failed to replace them to provide greater teacher confidence in student mastery. Additionally, teachers had full control over their instructional styles. This teacher autonomy led some teachers to diagnose seriously. Others did not. Teacher autonomy conflicted with insured attainment of complementary instructional diagnostic goals little alternative test construction and satisfaction undermined confident teacher diagnosis. Little supervisory time by the principal examined how well diagnosis matched instructional treatment and what

TABLE 55

Matching School Goals with Those of Teachers and Students: Direct Correspondences and Omissions

School Goals	Teacher Goals	Student Goals
To improve reading and math	To diagnose student needs To instruct to meet student needs	To demonstrate or experience growth in reading and mathematics (To reliably and validly test instructional acquisitions and retentions)
To provide in-service for math and science	(To continuously monitor and have accurate feedbacks on current student performances) (To retrain teachers in math and science)	(To know science and math proficiently) To have experiences above the present curriculum in math and science
To establish a science and math resource center for scientific experiments and projects	To experience scientific experiments and projects	(To do science experiments and projects) To have experiences above the present curriculum in science and math
To provide a positive, healthy and attractive learning environment	To provide a responsive learning environment for children	(To generate student responses from a positive, attractive, healthy learning environment) (To experience extra-curricular activities To have accelerated instruction in math and science
To communicate with parents		
To have a positive community image		

( ): Omitted corresponding goal statement effects diagnostic practices had on present student performances, if any. Without these interrelated routines this important complementary goal resulted in a cacuous operational fact.

Similarly, the natural wedding of complementary goals* and integrating goals happened unintentionally. Take the case of the integrating goal, to provide a positive, healthy and attractive learning environment. Again, reading makes a useful illustration. Easily, stimulating classroom environments to encourage greater reading and cover more than mandates curriculum applied. Instead, math received an accelerated curriculum while reading had a higher demand for it. Classroom decorations and reward symbols---e.g., weekly stars, honor roll calls or meritorious mentions, went to spelling, language arts and math but not to reading gains and strides. Structurally, integrating goals into a hierarchy of pressing demands or strongly stressed focus on the worst performance subject depended on individual teachers' insight and professionalism. That failed using integrating goals to reach other goals.

Another structural problem involved leaving missing assumptions and presumptions unanswered across goals. A sampling of these omissions appeared in parenthesis in Table 55. This undermined goal setting. Enabling conditions to reach a school goal and correctly specified measures of adequacy---e.g., the proper growth rate to beat the known performance of the staff---were poorly keyed to principal school goals. Linking actions and outcomes between a goal statement and corresponding organization acts were disclosed imprecisely by commonly shared formal goal statements and by the principal's explanations of roles and uses for goals.

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*By definition, in this discussion, a complementary goal is a logically corresponding goal in a scenario. A corresponding teacher goal to reach a school goal or a student outcome represented a complementary goal when looked at as part of a jointly related series of school-teacher-student goals. An integrating goal is a sub-goal in a hierarchy. It assisted reaching a major or principal goal. While a complementary goal worked horizontally in a series of goals, an integrating goal joined and worked with a series of vertical steps and goals. Essentially, an integrating goal worked for another major goal.

Table 55 across represents complementary goals. If goals are ranked from top to bottom accurately and if lower goals facilitated upper goal fulfillment, vertical arrays in Table 55 would display integrating goals with the lowest member of a column tied to the highest member. This is not exactly the case in Table 55 where goals in this ranking are mutually exclusive.

Scenarios Around Goals

By working mechanically and not methodically, goal setting missed hard facts: the school had a true reading problem and math was getting under control. What went to math in emphasis, training and clear systematic monitoring promised larger payoffs in reading. Comparatively, teachers produced adequate math growth but getting substantially greater reading growth, which had become predictably stable but inadequate, ruptured the most unresolved achievement bottleneck. This was the highest imperative to change this school's achievement record. Furthermore, simple growth ("experiencing growth" as the principal labeled it) was insufficient. How much and for whom were the essential questions. How much demanded, on the average, one more month of growth than present stable norms. For whom focused on the widening gaps between fast and slow classes, and differential resources and strategies for poorer stratified groups to keep them up to par. What the needs assessment-goal setting processes envisioned as student progress, growth, misplaced emphasis on undifferentiated growth only and in the wrong subject and place. Consultative and consensual, but overburdened and randomly revised throughout the year, the needs assessment-goal setting overaimed in math and underestimated in reading. Where needs were greater, it had reversed priorities.

What was collective in form, under this goal setting process, became personal and discretionary in fact by teaching autonomy. Consequently, complementary goal proclamations and integrated goal usages did not work together to meet principal goals, especially those which required beating reading growth rates and slightly improving attendance patterns to enhance school-wide mastery. These school-wide desires depended on individual teachers concurrences to work. Well stated complementary and integrating goals ignored restraining background factors, partially affecting student overall mastery and actual school best performances.

Teacher Concerns

Teachers had strong feelings about grouping, reading and math texts, discipline and achievement. Their concerns constantly emerged in their interviews and comments.

Grouping

Grouping by reading levels of the district's basal reading series was imposed by district guidelines for instruction in reading. This practice generated ample opinion from teachers.

Comments from Teachers

Teacher

A Grouping is necessary. I am really strong on grouping. By grouping you really get to everyone.

B I think that is something that you would have to have just because of the different levels of achievement that the kids have....

C I like it if I could just group and stay within my own room. I don't like the way I have two kids come down from the third grade just for reading. I can see that these two are behind my grade 2 kids. (They don't get two periods of seatwork reinforcement that the other kids get).

D ...it's a necessary evil...within the system we are right now. ...(W)e have no facilities for individualizing. ...I don't like grouping for everything. I would like to deal more on an individual basis for reading and math--particularly math, because we really don't even have time to group for math. (Within reading groups, skill variations persist and require individualized instruction. The premise, common skill level within a reading group, remains violated by student performance demands of improving or acquiring new skills.)

E I can't have a child in the third grade that's not able to read at the third grade level without grouping. You have to put the child on the level where they are able to learn to read. The grouping is extremely important.

F ...it has its merits, especially in...reading.... ....So it depends on the subject, for me anyway. ....I don't really think grouping for instruction is a must. It all depends on what kind of kids you have and what subject you're teaching.

G ...(I)t's good. ...(I)t had worked in reading. ...I think it can also work as far as the other subjects. I say basically for two--for reading and math. (Some math students needed grouping and would have improved their performances if we had it.)

H ...if you cannot group there are always going to be some students left out.

I (The teacher prefers whole class instruction within a heterogeneous setting.)

SP-1 "In order to see any growth among children, I think that you have to find at least three or four groups and divide the children up and. . . that is . . . one of the best ways for instruction. I don't particularly care for individualized instruction and I do prefer grouping for instruction.

Grouping Heterogenously and Frustration

Teacher

Sp-5 Sometimes if you put the slower learner with the higher achiever, they get very frustrated.

4.1 The three (slow 4th graders who could not keep up with the ten other 4th graders). . . had a difficult time trying to keep up with the other students and a lot of times they would just get totally frustrated and wouldn't even try to keep up.

Eighty-three percent of the School B teacher respondents believed that grouping maximized learning for all students in reading particularly. There were some teachers who questioned whether or not the practice was useful in subjects other than reading. For reading generally there was a great deal of teacher discontent especially around the reading texts.

Reading and Math Texts

With teachers the school district selected consensual texts to satisfy their instructional desires, personal preferences and classroom situations. The district's texts for reading and math and their accompanying structural curriculum dynamics, i.e., their testing routines for forced instructional feedbacks before continuing and advancing topics, and, occasionally, providing rules for satisfactory mastery, differed. The reading text, the Ginn 360 (1973), subsequently revised in 1976 (Reading 720) and 1979 (Reading 720, the Rainbow edition (a much more multicultural reader), was the most outmoded parent edition of a "modern American" English linguistic (sign/sound) basal reader. Cynically, a teacher remarked: "I think the Board was snowjobbed into it." By contrast, the math text, just adopted this year and a more "state of the arts" text, programmed pre and post testings and doublechecked annual mastery by an entire gradebook mastery test. Built-in testing came too with the basal reading series but it concentrated on post testings after instruction and teachers used very little pre-testing to skip students within a level or bypass a needless level. In practice, consecutively tight testings after each unit within a level, followed by a unit mastery test, projected linear and sequential mastery in reading, i.e., prior levels and units determined future satisfactory performances at higher levels. This resulted from mechanical pacings through every unit and level as arranged by the publisher. Teachers expressed measured feelings toward both texts.

Comments

Teacher

A I don't feel the Ginn 360 series is consistent. I would like to see another reading series. . . . Ginn. . . is . . . jumping from one thing to another.

B . . . I haven't worked in any other series so I like some of the things. I wish the stories were a little more interesting or the work sheets a little more interesting. . . . I like how they are presenting some . . . things like the vocabulary, the skills. In the beginning levels, they are pretty repetitive. (She is very hesitant to move kids out of a level by placement testing.)

C . . . . (T)here is just no way you can get kids through two levels if you got a slow bunch--there's just no way. . . .(Y)ou could get them through it but they don't know it.

Question: Are there any other assessments. . .?

The recording and paperwork--all these tests at the end of the year. . . .It just seems ridiculous. I think the unit tests are much harder and the kids usually don't do as well. . .when you come to the end of the level and you give them the mastery test, it's like playin' games with them. They almost all come out ready even though they may have failed a skill. They could still total out in the READY column and there in COMPREHENSION, his comprehension score was so poor. It needed help--desperately needed help. Now why go on if the kid doesn't even understand what he's readin'? . . .(T)he test is really easy for the kids at the end. It almost tells them the answer.

Question: Do you think this conflict between the level. . . and. . .unit tests is consistent in. . .Ginn. . .in all the different grades you've taught?

Yes. All the ones I've used up to Level 8, yes! Now, the kid who's just goin' average, he needs that extra skill work to pass the level test, or else he's really slow. I've had real slow kids who did really poorly on unit tests and yet they did good on that level test.

D Well, I think the series itself. . .is a good one. I think it gives a lot of skill development and my kids did really well on word analysis. I think they still need to stress some comprehension areas. That seems to be the area where my kids fall down. . . .Comprehension seems to be the downfall of most of them in terms of the tests as they progress through the series. . . . . . . .I know the way the Ginn tells you to stop after every page. I would do that for years and then I found the kids, by the time they wait for the other person to be ready they completely lose the comprehension that they've had before. So I've been trying this year to get them to read the whole story and then occasionally,-- . . .I did it with the other series we used. . .--to write up the questions.

E I'm impressed with the Ginn 360 readers more than the series. . .we . . .had been using. . . . . It assesses the decoding skills that children are having problems with. Certain skills, it gives extra work. . . . to do. If they've all really mastered it, you could just move on.

The only area. . .I do not like is the switch when they move Level 10 into Level 11. Level 10 is extremely easy and Level 11 is extremely difficult. It takes a full year to get through Level 11 if you're going to do it right. You can't take a story one day, do the skills the next day, check the skillbooks the following day like I do with my every level up to 11. On 11, you may be on a story two weeks if you do everything you're supposed to do with that story. The thing with that is that the children get bored and if the reading is difficult, they have a hard time with the reading. . . . .(T)he Level 11 we're using--that is extremely hard for fourth graders and fifth graders to get.

G I don't like it. . . .I don't like so many diverse levels that they have. I like the old system when you had two basic levels. Your lower levels (in Ginn) are quite similar. . .say 5, 6, 7. . . . But yet what you've got to do is you've got to split your classroom up into different groupings. Then you get to the higher levels, when you go from Level 10 to 11. There is such a drastic change in 11 as compared to what the students had been going through previously. Often times they get frustrated with it. They don't enjoy working in that level as much as they did in the other levels.

I think that with some of these kids, you're making them work hard enough in the level that they're in. A lot of kids just ease on through. They really don't have to apply themselves that much and yet they're in a group and they have to stay in that particular spot.

In my opinion, if someone would take a look at the reading scores over the last couple of years as compared to what the scores were before they started Ginn and what they are now, I don't think there would be a drastic change in scores to entitle them to invest such a grand amount of money into the Ginn 360 which, whenever we got them, was out of date anyway because they had the 720 series out. The 720 series has made that correction between Level 10 and 11.

. . .Also the terminology is more difficult. I know in the beginning when we started with Ginn, the kids had a very difficult time. The teachers had a very difficult time with the terminology. The teachers were accustomed to calling vowels long and short and the kids were used to it being called the same way. Then when we went to the Ginn Series now, we're calling them glided and unglided. In their language books and in their spelling books, they are called short and long. This causes a lot of confusion as far as the kids are concerned.

H I feel there could have been another series. I think the Board was snowjobbed into it. The stories aren't bad. The skills vary in difficulty. A higher level could be easier than a lower level and often times, the interpretation of skills or terminology is different than that which they learn in another subject other than reading. It provides difficulty for both teachers and students.

I I think that it's a good reading series. I think there's enough material for both the students and the teachers. There's quite a jump between the Level 10 and Level 11 skillbook. In some instances, it's difficult for the children. I think if it were possible, there could be a little change between the Level 10 and the Level 11 work. . . . . . . The Level 11 and 12 books are more challenging and require more teacher assistance than the earlier books.

Math Texts

Comments

Teacher

A I really like the math series. It has lots of practice. The series is set up for the needs of the children at all levels.

B For my kids, I liked it. I liked the way it progressed. I think some of the pages kind of overwhelmed the kids. . . . I also think for repetition and practice work, it was good.

C I really couldn't judge it. This is the first year I've used it.

D It seemed to cover the skills well. As a basic text, I think it was good.

E I don't teach math.

F I feel it is a good series. I find one problem. They should have more vocabulary. . . .(T)hey (the children) can say multiplication, addition, subtraction, not add or plus for addition. . . . .They don't have the vocabulary I think they should have in the Heath series.

G I like this book considerably more than the book which we had previously. It gives the kids a lot more practice. There is more drilling which I think the kids need. . . . .The kids seem to enjoy it. I know the students in my classroom, they really enjoy math. We have enrichment worksheets. We have basic worksheets which you can give to the students who need that extra bit of help as far as certain areas are concerned. . . . . As compared to the book which we had before, I think the Heath book is an excellent book.

H (The teacher didn't teach math.)

I I think it's a very good series. I'm pleased with it. Their approach to math, I guess is more traditional than the other book we had and I think there is a

> greater stress on basic math processes. . . . .I like it. I like it. Their presentations are well done. I'm pleased with it.

Achievement and Discipline: A Trade-off between Teachers and the Principal

Discipline in the classroom required attention. Teachers wanted something done about discipline on a schoolwide level. One went so far as to suggest that a discipline-achievement trade-off should exist. Teachers easily cooperated with the call to do better in achievement. But that was held hostage for more involvement in the discipline process by the principal. They clearly wanted her to do more about correcting children and their repetitive disregard of classroom norms.

The Principal heard these pleas. Yet her discipline policy while it recognized that teachers needed support in discipline, established such complex procedures for getting a disciplinary case down to the office, creating a court of lengthy motions and many pretrial rulings that the time involved in submitting the case obstructed the use of such a ploy. The point was clear for teachers. Unless you really wanted to document, argue and wait extensively for a decision on whether your arguments and documents were even worthy of consideration, handle your own disciplinary matters in your own way. It had a long maze to criss-cross before it would get attention with little promises of resolution from the principal. Teachers disagreed with this policy. On discipline, an unstated stand-off existed between the principal and the teachers. The Principal thought that staff used her office for dumping discipline problems which they did not want to counsel. The staff felt that the Principal was too lenient with students who misbehaved continuously.

Interestingly, both parties understood the other well. Teachers recognized the Principal wanted more achievement work from them. But they refused to cooperate unless they received more disciplinary help. Both parties engaged in remaking the other. The Principal wanted a particular kind of instruction and teachers wanted their particular kind of Principal-Discipinarian. This unstated negotiation was open and unresolved. One teacher put it this way:

> I feel the Principal is naturally the head of the school and should have the final say. I feel that maybe. . . in some disciplinary cases, she could act a little stronger. I don't know what you would do about it. They sort of tie your hands. When there are repeaters over and over and over, the Principal should act a little stronger on the discipline.

Another teacher said:

> She is pushing for achievement in the school. We'll make concessions to things in order that we are allowed to help children to achieve. Like if they're having difficulty in reading, we can schedule a reading period or take them on a duty period and work with these children. Instead of goofing off our time, she allows some periods like that (so) we can help. Nevertheless, if even teachers went an extra mile to reach the Principal's achievement drive, the Principal was not going along with teachers in straightening out a "lot of discipline. . . which is correctable."

Instructional Supervision

From time to time, to meet instructional goals, the principal monitored classrooms, conferred with teachers on practices and effective demands, manipulated scheduling to add more experiences or outside inputs and searched for resources (funds, outside consultants, outside help). But classrooms were monitored irregularly. An instructional supervisor usually handled incoming teachers in the kindergarten, first, second and third. Experienced teachers had far fewer visitations and reaped smaller benefits from their service. The Principal eventually got around to all; but generally, veterans operated without intrusions.

The Principal's staff would not necessarily be the staff to do her kind of instruction. Only if she could hire her staff personally, she felt, could she get her kind of instruction. Moreover, the district provided little help with clinical guidance for instruction, especially with troublesome teachers who needed help. The annual rating period was useless for everyone---student, teacher and school---because it impeded mid-year corrective strategies during poor teacher performances. The summary annual evaluation used a coercive supervisory tool to extract instructional accountability. Then, too, the district handling of that power was uncertain. The principal worked with staff selection, supervision and evaluation procedures which were not to her liking and which granted her few powers to get her personal preferences. So in addition to the role conflicts which were imposed on the principal prohibiting a true instructional leader role, the principal avoided direct handling, intervention and management of instruction supervision. At best counseling and persuasion would be practiced as instructional guidance--much the way the students were approached on discipline. To adapt, the Principal pushed the self-evaluation model for teachers, the underside of teacher professionalism and instructional autonomy.

Lax and intermittent instructional supervision allowed mandated instructional requirements to be voluntary. The lesson plan is an example at School B. What the district demanded had been done by preference at School B. Supervised instructional examination and monitoring through an ordinary instrument of school instruction had ceased and teachers, with full power over instructional style, felt it was useless in some cases and useful in others. Unsupervised instruction had produced unplanned instruction. Novice teachers rarely were without lesson plans, though. Veterans were disproportionately so. Significantly, the instructional supervisor discovered unprepared lesson planning and reported same to the Principal who immediately demanded their submission by all teachers. (In trying to join the club of veterans, one novice who got sandwiched between untouched defiant veterans and the resuscitated formal authority of the school received an unsatisfactory rating.)

Technical Division of Labor for Instruction

Achievement and reading mastery tests may have contradictory claims on the real achievement of a student. To resolve this problem, the school turned to the testing specialist, the school psychologist. Controlling classrooms and finding better discipline strategies are demands to improve school climate, a goal proclaimed. To resolve this problem, the school sought help from outside specialists. The principal believed teacher expectations were excessively low and tolerated covering materials rather than sufficiently high mastery after finishing. To solve this problem, the principal wanted outside specialists. If attendance or absences posed problems, the Principal assigned resolution to the social worker. To improve supervision and instructional feedbacks to teachers, the principal desired more external resources. Ordinary events at the school--testing, adequate subject coverage and satisfactory high student mastery, low teacher expectations hampering the highest instructional outputs, and the creeping undertones of skewed absences in the wrong places (i.e., among good students in primary and poorer students in intermediate)--required high powered specialists. This projected an organization dependent not on its own resources but on outside help.

This practice maintained a condition of dependency. For example, teachers wanted to resolve the conflicting claims of the level and unit tests in reading. They missed why unit testings should have been more precise and exacting than level testings: unit testings monitored closely how well a specific skill was mastered. By design, it checked more rigorously. Level testings provided a decision rule for strengths and weaknesses and for possible firm or cautious movement ahead, if reteaching was not advisable. Level testing clustered many skills and out of them all, derived a readiness formula. However, if comprehension required alternative testings--and good experiential evidence at the school advised so--then some alternative testing format was required. One teacher devised an after-story test solely for comprehension. She did this for all stories. She did not recognize a testing problem without posing a testing resolution. Her acts were exceptional. For instead of registering displeasure and protest, she made an instrument and followed the achievement test format. This was one of several options. Within the organization it surfaced where it was supposed to be: at the level of teacher discretion and actual mastery of all instruments of effective instruction. Simultaneously, when teachers were baffled by in-built sequences for instruction, testing and feedback, they often didn't understand what publishers intended the school district to do and they sparingly devised alternative satisfactory strategies for getting student mastery or for meeting widely recognized reading comprehension improvements. They looked outside of the school for help.

Looking for specialists to find and solve present problems produced a backfiring effect. Existing problems which had no specialists to recognize them went unattended or unappreciated.

The number one problem--who was achieving where and what was working for the students in the two basic subjects, reading and math--was misrepresented and went unrecognized because a serious analysis of the October and May achievement tests did not occur. Simple aggregate examinations of successes and failures pointed to the higher reading needs. Likewise, neither the social worker nor the school head appreciated the subtle achieving drains that poor attendance was creating for that fifth of the school that missed a month. The deeper structural changes in the very basal reading series itself, shifting from learning to read, to learning from reading, and stressing greater comprehensions of different variety--e.g., fact recalls, details, argument--were not truly appreciated. These compromised the goal setting process as a weak vehicle for getting at the heart of serious, sustained problems which must be solved to have achievement progress.

Seeking a better technical division of labor moved principally toward expanding instructional support services, including classroom control. This just added more specialized support where teachers wanted it. Already, math had it. Reading called for it, too. The teaching force subtly expressed a need for more specialized backups which often pointed to inadequate capabilities for doing their work. The habit of searching for and finding specialists to do narrower and narrower tasks--e.g., pure spelling, reading or math instruction, or understanding reading tests--exposed dissatisfactions with generalist teaching assignments and growing misunderstandings of built-in instructional packages and programs for understanding how well students are doing. Much faculty predilections desired more divisions of labor to replace management. Informally they started to make the school in their image: two teachers taught no math; one became a primary reading specialist; another emerged as a spelling and language arts specialist for the intermediate unit. One math teacher taught all third grade and one fourth grade math. Mid-year one teacher taught all uppergrade science and another had all uppergrade social studies. On-the-job work rather than formal credentialing supported these declared specializations. Even with this, the problems of not understanding the inherited structural components of curricula materials persisted since teachers restratified by likes rather than mastered competencies.

Teachers had instructional autonomy. Teachers called for and created technical divisions within instruction. By direct participation in formal school text selections, the principal observed, teachers also were well represented in selecting their present curricula. At School B, teachers were viewed as highly participatory and directly controlling strategic choices around instruction. This was buttressed by their negotiated inclusion in the final goal selection process and by their self-evaluation encouragements. Key elements of instructional organization were under the powerful collective control and influence of teachers. This made School B a close approximation of teacher-run school.

Teacher Consensus at School B Around School Goals

In School B 18 teachers responded to the PSQ. A low level of consensus was reached on achievement by these teachers and it was the only scale which showed even a low level. Consensus was used to indicate unanimity of opinion in either direction, agreement or disagreement, by a faculty on the 310 statements given to them for response. Because School B was perceived as a "teacher run school" with great teacher autonomy, School B was expected to show a high consensus around this scale. This did not occur.

Teaching and Teacher Autonomy

In tesponse to the question, "In my school except for minor matters, the Principal is in charge of all discipline," 61 percent of the School B respondents indicated agreement. Observations of School B show the contrary and point toward a quiet conflict between teachers and principal over this matter. Again in the same subscale in response to "The Principal is in charge of parent/school relations in my school and teachers work with his/her directions," 77.8 percent of School B teachers showed agreement. On the contrary, observations point toward teachers who solicit help from parents for discipline control through telephone contact and conferences without the principal's knowledge. In response to the statement." "Teacher contacts parents on classroom disciplinary infractions," 83.3 percent of School B teachers agreed, and there was no consensus around the notion that teachers had complete discretion and control over discipline although at School B teachers could resolve discipline problems in almost any way they saw fit.

Nearly sixty-seven percent of the School B respondents felt that they made decisions on important matters and 72.2 percent agreed that they participate in that decision-making by giving recommendations to the principal who makes the final decision. The kinds of decisions that teachers made were interesting. Sixty-seven percent felt that they made adjustments for special students' needs even when the Central Office specified the amount of time which could be spent on a skill or subject; and the same percentage of teachers believe they decide how much time to spend on each skill or subject. Seventy-eight percent believe they are the best judges of student performances in skill acquisition and skill mastery. More interesting was the response from School B teachers around the participation of the Union Representative as an influence in school decision-making. There was no consensus in School B on this issue although the Union Representative at School B was greatly involved in this process and served as the Principal's surrogate in several instances. Additionally, there was no consensus around the presence of teacher cliques at School B and a disagreement with the statement that the Principal had teacher favorites (66.7 percent).

There was no consensus at School B among teachers around beliefs that teachers decided which students will be referred to EMR, SED and LD; select the grade they want to teach; determine whether or not they wish to participate in departmentalization; whether or not they wish to participate in team teaching; whether or not they will have student teachers. Seventy-eight percent believe that the principal makes teacher-subject assignments and that teachers determine what students belong to what reading group. Seventy-two percent of the School B respondents disagree that teachers select the students for their classes in spite of the fact that observations reflect much haggling among teachers around the placement of transfer students in School B, and 66.7 percent disagree that teachers decide who stays or leaves the room assigned among these transfer students. There was no consensus around who fails or postpones students in School B.

There was a middle range consensus level around teacher evaluation on a regular basis (77.8 percent). There was no agreement on whether or not the principal evaluates teachers by goals which the teachers set or that the teachers set the minimum standards which were used to determine their evaluations. There was no consensus around the statement that the principal visits classrooms daily, but 67 percent felt that the principal does have criteria for evaluating teachers' progress in School B, and 72 percent believe that the principal makes suggestions for improvement of teaching performance. One hundred percent of the School B respondents agreed that they had to keep lesson plans and submit same to the principal for review once a week and 77.8 percent felt that they generally followed those plans.

School B respondents believe that they contact parents on classroom disciplinary infractions (83.3); handle parent complaints and refer them to the principal only when they became major (77.8 percent) keep in contact with parents on a regular basis about student progress (72.2 percent) and see themselves as strict disciplinarians (61.1 percent). Yet, 77.8 percent of the School B respondents agreed that the School B teachers were a mixed bag, some strict and some permissive. Generally, they believed that they had high expectations for their students and tried to push them to their potential (77.8 percent); assume the responsibility for teaching reading (83.3 percent); give and grade homework (77.8 percent); help each other with instructional problems (66.7 percent) and with discipline (72.2 percent). There was no consensus among the respondents on the statement that collaboration and feedback occurred among teachers across grades and subjects.

Only 59 percent of the items in this scale reflected some level of consensus among the School B respondents. This was unexpected given the delegation of authority to the teachers by the principal whose style is dominated by her belief in the importance of the professionalism of teachers. The contradiction of answers by observations probably reflects the subdued conflict which prevails in this setting.

Administration and Supervision

No consensus was present at School B around the statement that the principal studies the reading progress records, the mathematics records or the students' report cards at School B. Nor was there consensus around the belief that the principal looked at students' writing samples. School B respondents reflected no consensus around the statement that the principal modified the curriculum whenever required, provided more time for teaching new subjects or to master new or basic skills by shortening or eliminating science or social studies and and allowing the use of music, art and physical education for providing more time to finish basic skills work, or provided extra time for students to complete unfinished work and to master basic skills. In fact, School B showed no consensus at all on this entire subscale of the Administration and Supervision scale.

School B respondents showed no consensus around the statement that the principal set the goals for the school, and they disagreed that their principal did not have the final say in decision-making in School B (66.7 percent). Sixty-one percent felt that the principal coordinated school routines through bulletins and memoranda and that the principal coordinated school activities through meetings and conferences (72.2 percent). They also believed that the principal coordinated school routines by these methods equally (83.3 percent). There was no spirit of student advocacy shown at School B on the PSQ nor did the respondents think the principal knew all of the children by name.

No consensus emerged among School B repondents around the statement that the principal communicates with teachers individually most of the time, but they did feel that the principal communicated with teachers in groups (72.2 percent), and in meetings and conferences (83.3 percent). This was the highest level of consensus around this issue.

A mid level of consensus (77.8 percent) emerged around the statement that the principal provides supervision for children who arrive at school early; holds regular fire drills and insures the safety of everyone (88.9 percent); initiates and maintains contact with parents (66.7 percent); and generally gets along well with the community (83.3 percent). There was no consensus among teachers, however, on the statements that grievances and gripes between students and teachers received swift attention and sure resolutions from the principal; that the principal has a known procedure for identifying discipline problems; that the principal expects teachers to refer students to her for discipline; or that the principal supports the teacher in discipline matters even when the teacher is wrong. Yet, 72.2 percent felt that the principal supported the teacher in discipline.

Only in School B was there no consensus around the idea that students are placed in classrooms according to age and reading skill mastery level. School B respondents disagreed that students are placed in classes according to IQ (88.9 percent). School B respondents felt that the principal assigned teacher responsibilities (94.4 percent) and showed no consensus around the statement that teachers determined their own classroom assignments. Teachers agreed that the principal developed methods for generating positive interactions between teachers and students (66.7 percent) but showed no consensus around the statement that the principal emphasized the need for the teachers to be aware of the social lives of their students.

On this scale School B respondents revealed a level of consensus on only 36 percent of the items. Teachers may be responding in these scales as they would like matters to be rather than as how they actually are.

Achievement

As expected the highest level of consensus occurred in School B on the Achievement Scale. This did occur. Most teacher respondents agree that reading is the most mportant skill (83.3 percent); yet teachers also consider reading and mathematics of equal importance (100 percent). Teachers group their students for reading according to the basal reader (88.9 percent); generally believe that grouping maximizes learning for all students in reading (83.3 percent); agree that the principal emphasizes the use of the basal reader unit tests (77.8 percent); teach mathematics according to the textbook (77.8 percent); and use the chapter tests at the end of the units to measure student skill mastery (83.3 percent).

School B respondents showed no consensus around the statement that teachers reteach unmastered skills when students receive a Probably Ready on a skill in the basal reader but 72.2 percent agreed that mathematics skills are retaught when students do not master them. A high mid-range of agreement occurred among the respondents regarding the importance of the reinforcement of skill They generally believe that reinforcement is the key to high achievement (88.9 percent). Other required courses were clearly second to reading and mathematics in importance. Writing was important, however, according to the teachers (66.7 percent).

Teachers generally believe that they provide supplementary reading material for students who learn to read faster (83.3 percent) and that a student could learn mathematics faster and move ahead to learn as much as he was able to do (61.1 percent).

They disagreed with the statement that the Scholars' Program was the only outlet for gifted and talented children (61.1 percent) and felt that good study skills were the means to high achievement (83.3 percent). They generally believed that they taught them to the students in School B (66.7 percent).

School B respondents agreed that some teachers emphasized Black History and Culture throughout the school year (77.8 percent) but showed no consensus around the statement that teachers feel that the history culture and life of black people was a part of the regular curriculum. Nor was there consensus reflected around the belief that Black History and Culture was emphasized throughout the school year at School B.

No consensus developed around the use of MAT tests as indicators of reading achievement. Teachers generally did not feel that MAT was the best indicator of high achievement. (77.8 percent disagreed). Nor was there any consensus around the statement that teachers' tests were the most accurate indicators of high achievement or that their students achieved at the national or big city norms in reading.

Discipline

There is no consensus among School B respondents around the statement that a discipline code of rules and regulations is well known to students, teachers and parents at School B. Respondents do agree, however, that discipline problems are handled by the classroom teacher most of the time (77.8 percent); that teachers refer discipline problems to the principal whenever they think it is necessary (88.9 percent); that discipline problems are often handled by the principal (72.2 percent); but no consensus around the belief that there are written rules indicating when students should be referred to the principal.

There is only a low level of consensus among School B respondents around the means for gaining compliance and obedience at School B. Sixty one percent agree that the denial of privileges, music, art, library and physical education bring about compliance and obedience but 94.4 percent do not consider physical harassment as effective. About 83 percent believe that ignoring student behavior is effective sometimes. No consensus evolved around the use of work assignments during lunch and other programs or around the use of parent intervention as a way to gain compliance although the latter was extensively used at School B.

There was no consensus on the belief that most of the children in School B were well behaved or that disciplinary problems increased after lunch or that it was a good idea for the children to go home for lunch. School B respondents felt that there was a lunchroom program supervised by the principal which controlled student behavior (61.1 percent); that inappropriate behavior was not tolerated in the lunchroom, hall and bathrooms in School B (61.1 percent) but there was no consensus around the belief that students who misbehaved in the lunchroom, hall or bathroom would be sent to the principal for discipline. School B respondents, however, felt that the children were polite and courteous for the most part (83.3 percent); that the climate of the school was conducive to learning most of the time (88.9 percent); that there was little screaming in the halls by teachers (83.3 percent).

Interestingly, 66.7 percent of the School B respondents disagreed with the statement that tardiness was not thought to be tolerated in School B; yet they believed that students came to school on time most of the time (92 percent). Teachers thought that teacher attendance was good (83.3 percent). No consensus evolved around statements concerned with the ability of students to monitor and correct their own behavior. Nor did any develop around the belief that teachers could leave ther rooms and the children would remain quiet and orderly or that school jobs were used to reward students who were well behaved. Teacher respondents did believe that classroom rules were posted so that children could monitor their own behavior (61.1 percent); and that students were taught to make the school rules a part of themselves (66.7 percent).

Parent and Community Relations

Observations reveal a pattern of using parents for disciplinary control at School B by teachers. Parents are recruited to perform a function most teachers would delegate to the principal. Yet teachers do not show this pattern in their answers on this scale.

At School B teachers try many ways to get parents to come to school (88.9 percent); 94.4 percent believe that their parents attend special events; that at any time in the school day, parents are welcome (83.3 percent); that parents feel free to call the principal at home (88.9 percent); that parents are involved in the school and participate in school affairs (66.7 percent); that parents generally support the teachers' decisions in school (72.2 percent). School B teachers showed no consensus around the statement that teachers generally work hard to get parents to attend PTA meetings by telephone and letters; that teachers see parents from 2:35 p.m. until 3:05 p.m.; that parents generally attend PTA meetings.

They did, however, believe that they gave parents information about the MAT tests scores (61 percent); that parents in the school were concerned about their children but did not visit school unless called (61 percent); and that parents called teachers about their children at home (72.2 percent). The School B respondents believed that their parents' ideas were worth considering (72.2 percent); that teachers and parents shared information about the students (72.2 percent); that teachers respected parents' ideas and suggestions (72.2 percent); that teachers speak to parents about their childrens' work before it contributes to failure (88.9 percent); and that teachers believe that parent awareness and input is an asset to the school (93.8 percent). Teachers believed that they kept the community informed about what was going on in the school (83.3 percent); that the principal had good relations with the community (77.8 percent). There was no consensus around the thought that the principal had good relationships with the school board members; nor was any around the belief that the success of past students was publicized to show what their students had done and could do. Teachers showed no consensus around the statement that the principal had good relations with central office either.

Teachers did believe that they tried to create a feeling of family where each person felt that he/she belonged (88.9 percent); that everybody helped everybody else (83.3 percent); that School B respondents showed no consensus around the belief that the principal was responsible for the feeling of family in School B or that the teachers lounge was not a place of gossip and hard feelings.

The high reality of the answers given by School B respondents show a lack of consensus among the faculty on four scales with only one showing even a low level of consensus. The cluster analysis of these responses gives even more insight into this faculty.

The Cluster Analysis

Goal Importance Within the Tightest Groupings at School B

At the upper limit for tight clustering, three groups surfaced. These groups displayed different priorities over the five goals. So, unlike School A, School B did not have overlapping groups in agreement over priorities. At the tightest level of permissible agreement, three factions held three different views on what goals would be important.

Cluster one and two had two members, respectively, they had tighter agreements than the more populous cluster---Cluster three---with seven members or 39 percent of the faculty. Hence, tightness about feelings and opinions was more marked and clear in the first two clusters and the third had less rigid consensus. But the third was more representative of the faculty. In this cluster, discipline had the first and highest priority and it was clearly separated from all other goals. The four other goals clumped together into a relative uniform priority with minor gradations between them. This splitting of the five goals into two broad groups is important: no other tight cluster split the goals into two disparate groups. The centrality of discipline produced greatest agreement within the largest, tightly grouped set of teachers. They numbered seven. No other item could produce such close priority among these seven.

Goal Agreement

Getting agreement over goals was tough for School B. This required stretching the criteria for clusters very widely. Consequently, the agreement patterns are very tenuous, lack the precision and clarity of the three groupings and, at best, convey very, very loose coalitions. At this stretched out level of agreement, the five goals clumped into two sets. The first set which was relatively similar in agreement lumped together parent/community relations and administration and supervision as the first priority goals. The second set brought together the rest of the goals into a common unit.

Goal Importance

The second set required extreme stretching to produce agreement. This is excessively elastic since the consensus criteria is nearly three times higher in requirements than those of the worse goals in the most populous cluster at the tightly knit level. Excessive elasticity suggests that these be dropped in the broadest band of faculty consensus. Hence, in this setting of strong factions, the broadest agreement about what is important concerned adminstration and supervision and parent/community relations, the first goal clump. This agreement is shared by 13 faculty members or 72 percent.

Goal Ranking

At the broadest inclusion level, with 13 members, consensus came by severely stretching the basis for agreement. This high elasticity for non-unanimous agreement diluted its usefulness for discovering the most important goal within the school. This leaves the earlier---three different factions as most representative of the school rather than the broader cluster of 13 members. Within these factions, the most representative faction with seven members pointed to shared expectation better than any other measure. Hence, its orientation toward discipline as the singular goal with strong meaning for this school appeared to be most representative of the school. What is commonly shared by most in a setting that, by definition, exists with strong factions could only be disclosed by the dominant faction. The faction valued discipline as the most important goal. The valuation is the strongest shared sentiment, tightly and meaningfully, within the largest faculty grouping. However, in the analysis of the ranking of goal preferences on the PSQ under the Achievement scale responses indicated a level of consensus above 60 percent among the teachers at School B. No other scale reached the level of 60 percent. These two analyses confirm the lack of consensus at School B where 59 percent of the items in the TTA Scale reflected consensus; 58 percent of those in the PCR Scale reflected such; 55 percent of those on the D Scale and 36 percent of those on the AS Scale showed consensus.

Conclusion

The cluster analysis of School B suggests that discipline is the goal valued by the largest faction in the faculty. This is what is shared by most in this faction. Nevertheless, in a search for a modus vivendi, this faculty ranked parent/community relations and administration and supervision as strongest concerns. The largest number---thirteen---can agree about these two top items if we continually break down our requirements for their definitions. This watered down consensus is the best political goal of the setting, i.e., it is the negotiated goal claim of what is most troublesome for most. But half of these thirteen faculty members lean toward discipline as the most troublesome problem. A two tiered structure emerged. For the dominant group, discipline goals are what is most important and that is what they would stress if they could impose their will on goal setting. For the largest grouping that must live with some negotiated settlement of what is more important, school administration and parent/community relations are the most important goals. This tendency set the stage for the informal structural arrangements.

Informal Structural Arrangements

Interactions in any organization generate rules of conduct which are informally shared and derived. Informal structural arrangements display voluntary practices, particular interpretation of rules, and other organized, systematic expressions and structures of values, choice, preference or accommodation. Participatory assent rather than legal coercion determined their legitimacy. From the principal's interview and field observations, outstanding and troublesome arrangements are discussed. Unless indicated otherwise, the speaker is the principal. See Table 56.

Political Influence Structure with Central Staff

"The most threatening thing to me are the political games that are played with the Board members, politicians, and the central staff. It's to the point where you feel that you are walking on eggshells sometimes because you don't really know where you're going to get support or if you're going to get support. . . .(Y)ou sometimes wonder if the children's interest are the main view or is it something political that you're not even aware of--or just what the issue really is. It's a very difficult thing to handle, even though you feel that you're doing all that you can do and you're working with what you have; your're working with the staff you have."

Teacher Evaluation

Question: Are you commanded by the superintendent as part of your duties to use that form (the anecdotal observation report) every time you have a conference?

No, you don't have to use that form every time you have a conference. That form is used for the documentation of an evaluation.

Question: So it's up to you?

Yes.

Comment: So it's possible, then, that across the system the principal can have a formal record that complies with the system's requirements of formal record keeping for teacher evaluation and others do not.

That's true. It could be.

In the judgment of the principal, schools could be as sloppy or precise as they chose to be in documenting teacher performances. This was up to the individual principal's style. But if confronted legally by the board lawyers on the proof of teacher misconduct or unsatisfactory ratings, the principal had to produce this form and it had to have sufficient legal merits to stand up in court. The rigor of that merit was not disclosed to principals. The heart of the process of giving unsatisfactory ratings by the harshest legal standards was soft-pedaled to principals who, if they really wished to be effective in using it, needed to know how to make their documentation forceful and irreversible. The main office was ambivalent about sharing this craft with principals before an actual confrontation emerged. Young principals would learn by battle scars.

Classroom Placement

"At the end of the year, each grade level has to sit down and confer with the receiving teacher and the sending teacher for the placement of students. The first criterion would be that we try to set the classes based on the reading groups. . . . . After taking reading into consideration, we also look at the adjustment cases of students who seem to get along well or thinking of students who don't get along well and then we place students according to that. We try to look at sex as far as how many boys and how many girls we have."

Homework

"Last year, the homework policy was, more or less, up to the individual school to implement in the manner that they saw fit to meet the needs of the school. . . .(T)eachers will assign homework if and when they determine it will help specific needs of the pupils. Last year, we put ours (homework policy) into effect at the end of the year (approximately in April)."

Teacher Judgment Supercedes Achievement Tests

> Question: Are you satisfied that the Ginn mastery test or the level tests are adequate enough to actually measure the student's achievement and these are superior to the Metropolitan's claims?
>
> No, I'm not saying that either is superior. I'm saying that the Metropolitan test is only one criteria that can be used to measure the achievement of students. I'm not saying that it's a bible because it certainly isn't. In my estimation, I think you have to go along with teacher judgment, teacher evaluation as well as the use of Metropolitan tests.
>
> Question: Suppose the critics suggest that. . .no matter how flawed the Metropolitan is, at least it does give you an idea where your particular students stand in relationship to the nation. . .?
>
> . . . On the whole, if the Metropolitan tests are given exactly the way they should be, then there should be strong correlations between the results. . .and where children. . . .
>
> Question: . . . (Y)ou don't believe that they are given the way they should be given?
>
> I'm suggesting that you have to be very careful in monitoring to make sure that teachers do not give too much time in a given section on a Metropolitan test. You have to be very careful that the test is not being taught in some classes. It does require very careful monitoring.

Question: O.K., what about the mini-test series this year? Would you consider that coaching or teaching?

No, the mini-test was developing skills in comprehension. They were not items taken exactly from the test.

Question: Yeah--but isn't that. . . .coaching and making you test-wise and test-conscious?

I can't see where there's anything wrong. I think all students, especially Black students, need to be made test-conscious. We have a way where we teach techniques of taking tests. We also have worksheets set up in the form of the Metropolitan. I have no problem with that. I was speaking of going a step further. . .when I say "teaching a test."

Question: You mean just actually matching your teaching. . .

Actually teaching the test is what I said. O.K.

Curriculum Conflicts in Language Arts

Spellers and Language Arts texts used short and long vowels. "The strong, systematic, linguistically-sound word-study. . .of the phonemic and structural features of American English," the Ginn 360 self-definition of itself, pushed glided and unglided for long and short vowels. The reader divided words differently from the dictionary, Language Arts, and the Speller by concentrating on "sign/symbol," i.e., each major phoneme/grapheme correspondence. On recurring English language issues, institutionalized inconsistencies prevailed across subjects without clear institutional instructions for uniform tactics in conflicting tests used daily.

Getting Students out of School: Positive Benefits from Negative Testing

Stricter policies for transferring learning disabilities (LD) and emotionally mentally retarded students (EMR) went into operation this year. The district demanded a formal observation period, a social worker investigation, a psychological test and evaluation, a parent consultation process and direct confirmations from periodic visits of the instructional supervisor. This took away past practice, which heavily took and weighed classroom teachers claims and request.

This frustrated teachers. One second grade teacher kept a daily public record on a student isolated from the rest of the class in the front of her room. Every move out-of-order was recorded. A first grade class assigned a teacher aide to one student who periodically got out of his seat, walked around, touched other students and, after lunch, chanted intermittently. A fourth grade teacher could not get a chronic suspension to be put someplace else. Complaints alleged that psychological testing slowly returned findings. Impromptu and likewise, impatient teachers came running to the principal to complain. Some parents refused to sign the school movement form.

In this process, formal testing quickly built a case. The level tests, the October MAT, the math pre- and post- test, the weekly spelling tests, daily board work records and performances: testings as organized rationalizing documents would be assembled. Across teachers, in self-contained rooms and special subjects, collaborating reports would flourish. Only limited Teaching Supervisor time and excessive social work case loads decelerated the rate of out-processing students. Also shortages in classroom supply for immediate placement halted demand.

Testing in this instance occurred for clinical evaluation and educational prescription. For non-problematic students, it did not have this usage. A dual role for testing emerged. For ordinary work in measuring student performance, it is discounted. For extra-ordinary work in eliminating students special educational settings, it strongly counted. The form and functions of mandated testing behaved drastically different, generally penalizing slow learners or problem students and providing little instructional guidance or measured progress for ordinary students.

Instructional Freedom

Two respondents on the teaching force characterized teaching freedom permitted by the principal in these ways:

> . . . She's, I guess you could say, flexible as far as the methods that you use. I think she's more interested in not the method that you use, but rather the results of what you do. At least, that's what I interpret what our principal does.
>
> I think that the principal gives the teachers a lot of authority, and she treats them with respect and that

probably has a lot to do with their striving and their work in their classrooms.

Student Freedom

Two itinerant teachers concurred that children were freer here. They had fewer formally declared rules to follow. They resisted adult authority with impertinence. (This was true in the intermediate grades more so than in the primary grades.) They had more self-assertion and wider boundaries. "We have a semi-open classroom environment here." a fourth grade teacher noted. "It has a structure but we don't get uptight about students getting up, walking around and being a little restless. As long as he's doing his work, he's okay."

Principal-Teaching Supervisor Relationship

"I've had a very positive relationship with all my teaching supervisors. The only problem I can see is that they're not here enough or as much as they want to be. I feel that perhaps this causes them to lose their credibility because of scheduling problems in programs that we have set up and school objectives and goals that we have set up. . .are partially blocked because they (teaching supervisors) are pulled out in so many different directions."

The Principal-Union Leader Relationship

"The lines of communication are open and. . .we have a positive relationship with the process. . .set up through the Union contract. . . .

> Question: Do you. . .have a special Union representative in the sense that your Union representative is also an officer of the Union?
>
> Well, I know that I have a special representative but that has not deterred our relationship in any way.
>
> Question: Or changed the character of it?
>
> No.

Question: In terms of formality and the like?

Well, I'm not going to say that that hasn't changed the character of it. You know, I might have the gut feeling that the staff may feel that she is because of the office that she has. They may feel a little differently but I look upon her as I would any other Union representative."

The Principal and the Union

". . . I feel that they (the Union) view me as being consistent and fair with the staff. When I have been involved, where they've had to come in and pursue any particular thing, I've had meetings with them to clarify situations that have been here. They have apparently been satisfied with what's going on."

The Principal and the Community

"I've had some contact with civic organizations. . .a women's civic organization. . .the block clubs. . .the Hope organization (of a neighborhood church). . .and the community council ("a group of parents and community persons"). . .is mandated by Teacher Corps. That's the most positive relationship that I have with the community. Then I work along with The Boy's Club...in getting students in different sports throughout the school year. Plus The Boy's Club has a school club in the building. I also work with the YWCA in giving materials out and encouraging the children to belong to groups. We also contact different community organizations in setting up displays. . .such as Hayti House and the Big D Grocery (a large new community supermarket).

We also use that (Martin Luther King Library, the community public library down the street from the school). We walk the children down especially during the month of February when we work on our Black history--all of the grade levels.

We had one teacher. . .working specifically with the Red Cross last year. They made a lot of things for Children's Hospital. . . . . We have a UNICEF drive on now. We worked along with the United Fund. We do fund raising for that. We did fund raising for Children's Hospital. We, the staff, have been supportive of different active groups."

Teaching/Teacher Autonomy: The Master Variable Over Instructional Strategy, Measuring Achievement and Instructional Organization

Troubles with teaching math word problems were revealing. The linkage between reading and math dissipated as teachers ignored the relationship of reading levels to math development. Again, the demand for systematic attention to and intervention in reading slipped out-of-sight and out-of-focus.

Behind skipping math word problems were strong feelings and firm conclusions. One teacher put it lucidly, "If you gave them (students) word problems, which the Metropolitan doesn't do, they would not get those high scores." That teacher had the highest achieving group of second graders. She pinpointed shared sentiments: actual math achievement among students was lower than tested in the achievement tests, because these outside instruments ignored the students' biggest weaknesses, word problems; consequently, teachers could feel at ease in devaluing high proclaimed achievements in math by these national achievement batteries. The authority for judging true and valid performances in reading and math would be the classroom teacher, the very same agent who overlooked reading demands on math skill acquisitions and accelerated development.

Routine practices emerged from these feelings. (1) Often teachers skipped word problems, substituted exercises with non-word problems and diluted the strength of math instruction. (2) The principal often failed to intervene in this practice. The Teacher Corps' in-service emphasis on math and science instruction, a formal intervention, aimed at correcting deficiencies in the teachers' knowledge stock or teaching competency without formally declaring this intention. Before the principal, this trainers' dialogue on math-word problems illustrated that, by formal training and actual competency, teachers missed elementary building blocks of the number system, and its relations, operations and symbolic language conversions. (3) The dialogue displayed attitudes, expectations and personal classroom problems among teachers in math instruction which were being evaluated by the schoolhead in conjunction with Teachers' Corps. But only a diplomatic mental record of problems and issues were recorded. Formal study of these comments for possible investigation and intervention did not occur systematically and functionally (4) The schoolhead empathized with teachers' apprehension and tension in math instruction. She volunteered:

> When I taught, I had to work myself up to do it (math) perfectly and clearly, patiently and correctly. I found

Table 56

Informal Structural Arrangements and Selective Organizational Chart

1. How do teachers get their classrooms?
    - A. Voluntary preference ordinarily for veterans
    - B. Involuntary preferences for new teachers
    - C. Teacher bargaining and negotiating

2. How do students get their classroom
    - A. Ginn reading level; occasionally MAT scores
    - B. Bargaining and negotiation between sending and receiving teachers
    - C. Bargaining and negotiation between teachers on the same grade level
    - D. "Special Windfalls:" The breaking-up of split classes by central board staff discretion
    - E. Random entry of transferring students

3. Some particular instructional practices
    - A. Moving students across rooms for reading
    - B. Using preparation time for special instruction
    - C. Engaging instructional supervisor in special projects and gifted student projects
    - D. Systematic in-service in math and science
    - E. High level of instructional freedom encouraged

4. Discipline
    - A. Full teacher classroom management; not uniform across classes
    - B. Hard-to-handle students to the office for sitting down
    - C. Suspensions
    - D. Teacher-parent communications
    - E. Principal-parent communications
    - F. High level of student permissiveness allowed

5. Student climate impacts
    - A. Social segregation between floors
    - B. Daily, many detached personnel from core instruction are in the building
    - C. Highly informal interaction patterns on a first-name basis between teachers and principal and among teachers
    - D. Free teacher and staff movement in and out of the principal's office

6. Special relationships
    - A. Principal and union representative
    - B. Principal and teaching supervisor

> teaching arithmetic was easier than I expected. But I still have a mental block.

Consequently, to improve math instruction, she relied on a specialized outside agency, the Teacher Corps for two years. (5) The Teacher Corps' conducted workshops and in-service every other Monday. Their suggested techniques and projects were optional. (6) Teachers Corps' took up the principal's time for meetings, preventing conflicts between teachers and Teacher Corps' teachers and some obtrusive, disruptive observation in classrooms. To gain a service, the principal inherited more time demands, additional management tasks and slight or systematic disruptions of classroom routines.

Table 57

The Scenario of Skipping Math Word Problem

ITEM	FUNCTION
1. Skipping word problems	1. Adaptation to teacher-student problem without resolution
2a. Tolerating the skipping of word problem	2a. Systematic School B avoidance behavior
2b. Subtle training in-service without costs; mandatory improvement of knowledge stock deficit or of competency and skills)	2b. "Adroit manipulation by head;" accommodation to system constraints to retraining teachers
3. Formal revelation of teachers' math attitudes, math expectations and personal classroom math problems	3. No role in the evaluation of teachers. It may serve only to investigate aggravated problems (e.g., not doing assigned school curricula). This move is optional for the principal.
4a. School manager as a member of the school group experiencing the math problem	4a. Dysfunctional placement for a critical curriculum leader
4b. Specialized outside agency to resolve problems	4b. Conflict-resolution strategy

Table 57 (cont'd.)

ITEM	FUNCTION
5a. Prescription and treatment: systematic in-service on topics requested by the principal or recommended by Teacher Corps'	5a. Voluntary option for self-correction by teacher
5a. Teacher Corps' studies of time-on-task in math	5a. External agency's imperative to satisfy its own goals; shifting goals in the middle of the school year
6a. Teacher Corps' time requirements for the principal	6a. Less time for basic building and school management
6b. Preventing conflicts between Teachers Corps' and teachers	6b. Additional managerial responsibility; diffusion of management time and focus
6c. Slight or systematic classroom disruptions of normal routine	6c. Undoing classroom order and controls

Each item discussed in (1) to (6) in Table 57 had costs and benefits. Bureaucratic requirement teaching word problems in math), teaching force attitudes and responses to the requirement (lowered expectations and resistance), and the principal's intervention strategy for change (specialized external agency acquisition and assignment) unfolder a scenario.

Not fully attending to word problems in math represented a school adaptation. That well developed adaptation undermined a standardized math curriculum. The principal challenge the adaptation by "adroit manipulation,"* a preferred managerial tactic, in a undisclosed subtle teacher retraining goal. This hidden goal responded to formal teacher's deficits in knowledge stock or instructional techniques. This new goal also depended on teacher voluntary cooperation and internalization, i.e. individual professional maturity to accept weaknesses without negative feelings and to be self-directed in prescriptions, corrective treatments and assured achievement in a new skill. Indirectly influencing teacher change occurred within sacrosanct teacher autonomy.

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*This is the principal's phrase.

Correcting the adaptation created its own problem. Overall, less principal time was available for daily routine management: external agency demands drained a fixed allocation of time. Consequently, ongoing school demands and problems were slightly traded-off for acquiring a service. The principal's presence in the school also declined as she attended to external agency business. Not surprisingly, few ordinary school problems received full principal attention as her time became divided between school tasks, other external agency business, and proliferated school programs. Then, there were classroom costs in disruptions during teaching. This further disrupted classrooms, already up in the air by extremely permissive conduct, tolerated as long as students did their work.

Teaching autonomy went beyond just math instructional strategy around word problems. Teachers made classrooms to fit their behavioral and academic values. They picked their students. They refined technical divisions of instruction and implemented them. They even had options to take grades and classrooms by internally negotiated settlements. They blocked skewed intake of transfers. They had total command over teaching style, instructional strategy and discipline tactics. Even management and interpretations of continuous curriculum testings and periodic achievement tests were theirs. Additionally, instructional reinforcements after school, homework practices responded to their wishes and wants. All of the major routines and processes connected with the organization of classrooms, instructional strategies, after-school instructional reinforcements and measurement determinations of satisfactory and unsatisfactory mastery: these predominantly belonged to teachers. The schoolhead remained significantly removed from making strategic classroom organization and operating strategic instructional strategies unless an emergency or crisis developed. Consequently, for measuring and monitoring achievement, for correctly interpreting built-in "needs" or demands of students, and for corresponding instructional goals and objectives in student achievement programs, teaching and teacher autonomy reigned supreme.

Human relationships: A Barrier To Communication, Hitching Specializations Together and Improving Student Performance

Already teachers discussed how much they valued getting along, "working as a family," and having time for each other for enjoyable social conversations after work and social affairs outside of school. They had been such valued friends and colleagues, good neighbors and helping hands over the last five years. Suddenly, this year these intimate friendships, invaluable supportive comforts and confessionals (Teachers' room privacy and Principal office empathy) vanished drastically. New teachers who did not automatically take to older teachers came. In fact, they often kept a formal distance. At lunchtime, this was evident as two groups of teachers ate lunch separately during the first lunch period. The next lunch group of teachers touched neither of these two. This disjunction persisted over strong disagreements by the first floor over disapproved instructional managements on the second. The first floor shared classroom control of students but not complete friendships among teachers. Then, the intensive demanding time scheduling of so many activities, supplementary instructional duties and meetings with irregular and satellite programs barred making time for strengthening human relations, at least to the point of desired and known satisfactions of this teaching force. The emergence of small groupings of strong dyads replaced shared cohesions, shared instructional experiences and past interpersonal support systems once made in a common setting.

Even itinerant special subject teachers joined battle groups. One felt welcomed and supported during her first year. This was also her first year teaching in the school district. Another who had been teaching six years in the district pointed toward pressures to join a group and his resistances to this invitation. When he once entered the teachers room to have lunch, a teacher exclaimed!" "Well, well -- let's roll out the red carpet for the stranger." He smiled back but stayed to himself all year by eating lunch in his room. Another itinerant flatly helped only those she liked. She had been at the school for many years. Increasingly, she didn't get along with the principal or teachers but showered praises on her other teaching assignment throughout the week. Building a support group of friends, which was important to many faculty members, dragged everyone into a faction.

Even though the principal shared a positive relationship with the instructional supervisor, that did not move along to teachers. She observed:

> I would say there was agreement. . .and disagreement among teachers as far as. . .the supervisory instructional specialist. There was not all disconsensus there even though certain school goals may have been agreed upon and made a difference. . . .With other support staff, I would say there was consensus.

> Question: Could you elaborate on the absence of consensus on the teaching supervisor?
>
> It may have been the technique that was used by the supervisory instructional specialist. She had a tendency, sometimes, to turn the staff off. I think it was the fact that she was very talented and had a lot of variety to offer and the staff wasn't sure which idea to take and sometimes, I think, they would be a little overwhelmed. I think it was more an attitude--a personality--thing.

The bridge to improve instruction, meet new instructional needs, provide resources for improving current uses of existing instructional technologies, had become a communication gap. In this sense, she reinforced a "Tower-of-Babel" feeling teachers had about communications and coordination with other programs. The principal described this:

> It was a common fact that these different groups were existing but no one seemed to know what the other group was doing. There was a need to facilitate the communication process among the different groups.
>
> There was consensus, in the beginning, among the staff and parents that there was a need--that there was a communication gap and so we had to plan and schedule a meeting time to involve representatives of groups (in irregular and satellite programs). . .to facilitate. . .communication.

Cliques had distance from and communication gaps with each other. Instructional leadership (the assigned teaching supervisor and the principal) had a hard time getting across to teachers what they were doing and what was happening in the entire school. Behind human relations conflicts stood a big communication problem.

In contrast, no communication or misunderstanding occurred between the principal and the Union officer. The building representative summarized their clear reciprocal understandings.

> . . . Dr. James. . .may come to me or. . .a teacher. . . will come to me, and I will act as the go-between and try to get it (a problem) settled without any other problems. . . . I feel very free with Dr. James and I'm sure she feels very free with me. I can go and tell her there is such and such a problem. . .and that we get it ironed out. We just lay

> all the cards on the table and are very open with each other. I know I prefer to have it that way and I'm sure she does, too. As a result, I feel we have an excellent relationship.

Even with registering school-wide problems, a specialized vehicle emerged and handled its communication and resolution with the principal. This Union leader spoke for teachers and by the extensiveness of cliques, that leader did not speak for all. The principal had informally appointed a ring leader for teachers. That, in turn, made the ring leader a conflict resolution agent and an unofficial co-principal of the school. Teachers could influence the principal indirectly through a specialized agent in just the way the principal indirectly influenced instruction through outside specialized agencies. Specializations hid the methodical character of indirect communication and influenced informal structural arrangement.

Entrenched specializations obstructed sharing and prevented seeing achievement problems and possible solutions within existing organizational resources, routines and instructional programs. The principal noticed: ". . . (E)veryone working together for the same goal is the thing that would keep the achievement high." This was defeated by the highly structured specialization used to mediate problems, especially those from outside School B. Nor did specialization resolve the conflict over discipline which teachers tried to shift to parents.

Teachers, Parents and Discipline

Significantly various teachers commented about how parents worked with them to make discipline work.

TEACHER	COMMENTS
F	I...like parental contact 'cause it helps a lot with discipline. If the parent himself, or herself, is the kind of parent who cares—and some parents don't care--then you can see the attitude in the child. If you contact the parent who cares...you must try to establish some kind of relationship, letting that parent know that we know there is a problem. You tell them you know and you can't do anything. So we try with parents and leave it at that. If the parent cares and tries and has some kind of rapport with the child, then parental contact is really the best thing you can do to help with that (disciplinary) situation. The parents know you're concerned. They'll be more concerned because you're concerned.
G	They (the kids) know that if we call their parents, the parents are going to try to do something for the most part. ...(M)ost of my parents have been very cooperative. They're not always successful but a least, they make some effort to try. They (parents) know that if I reprimand their child that their child has done something... The kids know that, too. I call...my parents...once a month or have them come in. I have an open door policy. I like them to come in. I like them to observe. I usually write letters home once a week if it's needed and I ask for a response. If I don't get one in writing, then I'll call again. The parents...usually cooperate with the teachers.
H	Our administrator does not get real involved with the kids. That sort of policy is weak as far as the administrator is concerned. The teachers could pick it up on their own. Usually the teachers call when the child is bad. ...I...for selfish reasons...go to...(community affairs and get to know

TEACHER

H, cont. parents---meet them on the street. Because I think if I have a hard time, they will always be there. They will know I am not...just trying to pick on their child. Plus they will get to know you in a different light than...talking about Johnny's bad or good faults or whatever.

SP-2 Most of the parents are very supportive of the teachers. The teachers can call parents anytime and say, "Your child is having a problem with this or your child was disruptive in class today; please speak to him or her about it. Your child was sent home with work. Your child needs extra help in this; I'm working with him on this in the classroom but I think that if you could give some help at home, it would be beneficial."

C If a child does something that needs to be handled more severely than I can handle it--fine--I expect them (parents) to cooperate in a way that I can't (punish them). My way of punishment is if a child won't do their work, I will keep them after school and they'll have to do their work. In behavioral problems I can generally handle it but if there would be a severe case with striking or hitting me, I expect to be backed by the parent. I don't expect the child to get away with it. Or the bad language--no way! I don't want the parent to say, "It'll be taken care of." I want to know how it will be taken care of. I've only had one problem with that and it was taken care of. Otherwise, I don't want the kid back in my room because I don't talk like that to them. I explain: If you allow your child to talk to you like that, then okay. But not to me.

Clearly teachers recognized that their ability to control the students resided with their interactions and relationships with parents. At this school, parents represented an outside force that affected how well students behaved. Parents' contribution to disciplinary maintenance was the most important informal structural arrangement teachers had to cultivate if they wanted to teach. While most felt they had a good relationship, this took away from the school the decisive role of controlling student conduct. Parents were brought into the school as a matter of necessity and as a strategy of disciplinary management.

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A Look Inside The Principal's Office

Routines, Scenarios and Processes

Office Decorum

The outer office bore a heavy traffic from teachers signing in, collecting mail, checking daily notices, duplicating assignment sheets, consulting student permanent files, storing classroom keys, or school equipment and using outside phones. Additionally, it was the study of the principal.

In this hectic center, staff and visitors engaged in informal chatter lasting two to twelve minutes or even a whole period. Propriety disappeared, and the disruption of secretarial work was common. Unauthorized work breaks were not discouraged here in the open chamber of the principal's office.

Passing Traffic and Student Punishment in the Outer Office

Punished students and waiting transferring students sat in the same section of the outer office. Passing teachers and fellow students often engaged them verbally and non-verbally. Verbally, a teacher may discuss student misbehaviors. For a returning student, a teacher pried into her whereabouts and her reasons for returning. A patrol guard poked fun at a punished student. Often without work assignments, these discipline referrals created their own world as they waited for attention. Many of these students marked time aimlessly.

Classroom Punctuality by Teachers

A teacher came to her classroom late after lunch. On a break between classes, a special subject teacher came late to her class. Both received reprimands from the principal who, herself, was frequently late. A touring principal discovered the late lunch. A first year novice teacher who was angered because lateness took up her precious preparation time, reported the late itinerant to the principal. Earlier reprimands failed to correct habitual lateness of a few teachers, regular and itinerant.

"Get Back The Old Music Teacher For A Show!"

A new music teacher came, did his work and left. Quiet and withdrawn, he interacted with no one. He caused no problems. His quietness, interpersonal silence and aloof manner produced disapproval. A teacher faction wanted the old music teacher, a very popular person with parents, to return and do a play. These teachers hand-picked friendly parents to request the old music teacher back. The Principal banned the thought. She felt this would undermine morale and question the professional integrity of the new music teacher.

Assigning A Peer Helper Who Couldn't Help

When the October MAT came back, old and new teachers were paired to aid new teachers in understanding scores and doing diagnostic work with them. An older teacher, who had previous private conferences with the principal on these scores in the past years, could not handle the minimum interpretive technicalities of the scores. The principal had to do the assignment she gave to a veteran.

"You Left Your Boots Home!"

> As a teacher corrected seatwork, suddenly a
> parent came in. An adult walked into the classroom.
> She walked toward Mickey carrying a plastic bag.
> She nudged him with the bag on his shoulder...
> Mr. Q (the teacher) looked over in her direction.
> She told Mr. Q she had brought her son his boots.
> She gave it to him and left.

Suddenly she came. Swiftly she left. Neither students nor teacher got ruffled by their unexpected morning visitor. The principal never knew.

A Sick Leave Teacher Returned To A Changed Class

After three weeks of hospitalization, Mr. Z returned. He found a new class before him. Although the students were the same, new dysfunctional routines had replaced the old. Students no longer did their homework, respected class rules and attended to their seat work. Students across the hall moved often, and similar free movement occurred in this class. Isolated students often took unassigned seats and constantly, with or without reprimand, returned to their sealed-off section in the back of the room.

A fifth grade teacher had a perennial disruptor. He often plopped his head on his desk and feigned sleeping. He started up conversations with neighboring students on and off all day long. He constantly moved in and out of his desk to go to the back of his room. He sought and got the teacher's attention by moving, talking or imitating sleeping. At least twice in every lesson, he had to be addressed.

In these grades, these were the premier cases, well known by the principal and former teachers in the building. Their behavioral patterns often passed from one room to another over the years. Every grade had a case disqualified for special education. Informally sending and receiving teachers checked what treatments worked or failed with these students.

Punishment In A Special Subject

Library began. Students prepared to hear a story. The teacher called up a discipline case, told him to kneel and had him put his hands on her knees. The student stood there all period in that position. Occasionally, with indiscretion, his hands moved up and down the thighs and legs of the teacher. As his hand bordered on the private, it was stopped and put back on her knee. This side show happened all thoughout the period as the story was read.

Threatening to Fail A Repeating Student

An active fifth grader kept moving around. Annoyed, his teacher insisted that the child sit down. Forcefully he threatened to fail him. "I'll repeat you if you don't listen." Already a repeater, the child and teacher exchanged forceful stares before he sat down.

A Personal Request For Help

A first grade teacher took a class disruptor to the office. She said he was not working. He constantly got up, touched and harassed other students. With his workbook, he was turned over to the principal. After briefly talking with him, the principal asked him to do his work. One period later, the child did nothing, his teacher looked in and took him back to classes.

Detention and Symbolic Harassment

A third grade detention after dismissal time wrote an assigned punishment and turned it in. In front of his face the teacher tore it up and threw it in the garbage. The teacher smiled. The student turned away silently, looked at floor and left.

"Do You Do That At Home?"

A student sat on the table in a special subject room. The teacher said: "________, if your mother invites me to your home, I'm not going to sit on the kitchen table. So move it." The student got off the table. In another room, teacher sarcasm took this form: "________, pick up the book. Is that what you do at home? If that is what you do, I wouldn't want to see your bedroom. Pick up your book." (His book accidentally fell on the floor when another student's movement pushed it off.) Often in disciplining, sarcastic and derogatory references to home are made.

Fighting Across Rooms

A fight started in art. The teacher separated the students. Leaving art and returning to their classroom, the loser pushed the winner into a hallway locker. The assigned teacher for the room now had a student with a minor head bump. She rushed the rest of her class into their room and sent a student to get someone from the office. The office clerk came, took the student downstairs and gave him first aid. A few minutes after the fight, the grade teacher came, asked about the student's condition and said, "Now I have to pick up the pieces of that fight in my room!" The principal came out and saw what happened. She asked the clerk to file an accident report. She slipped back to her office. Later, the teacher noted that what happened in one special subject class between students often spilled over into the regular room when they returned. She said that she lectured on fights and threatened what she would do if another one happened. The lecture had been given before. Fights temporarily waned but didn't cease.

Censoring A Christmas Play

This year, two new teachers did the Christmas play: an old veteran of eighteen years and a first year itinerant. Two characters in the play offended widely known community sentiments. After rehearsals advanced, the principal saw the script and hit the roof. She requested line changes in the middle of the preparation. Inflammatory lines to the black community, performed by the very children of that community, almost slipped through.

Cancelling A Special Spring Community Play

On the day of the spring play, the principal and teacher supervisor attended a mid-day rehearsal. Across grades, children showed uneven readiness. Most of the elementary students had memorized their lines and moves. The intermediate students had not all committed their lines to memory. The teaching supervisor thought the play needed music and added it in. Because upper grade students forcefully embarrassed prepared younger students, the principal and teaching supervisor jointly rescheduled this play.

Calling A Drama Meeting When In-Service Is Scheduled

A teacher called a drama meeting. On that day each classroom teacher signed a notification announcing an in-service meeting. The day before, notification was also sent around. Still, this teacher scheduled a conflict. The principal personally fetched and walked him to his teacher training meeting.

A Program Director Visits Without Notifying The Principal

The third floor program director of the Scholar's Program came to check why ethnographic observations took place in her domain. Without notification, she entered the building and went directly to the third floor. She made no courtesy call to the principal at entry or exit.

Changing The Goals Of An Outside Project And Involuntary Rescheduling

In September, an outside project did instructional collaboration in math and science. In December, they shifted to time-on-task studies in math and science. Suddenly, this rescheduled classrooms for observation and teachers for using generated data in their lesson preparations and executions.

Table 58

Ordinary Control Routines: Their Sources and Roles

Illustrating Item	Interaction Source From		Interaction Source To	Routines Disclosed
Office Conduct				
1. Office Decorum	Staff	-	Staff or Student	1a. open interaction system 1b. no fixed rules for propriety
	Teacher	-	Staff or Student	1c. extremely permissive 1d. disorderly
	Itinerant	-	Staff or Student	1e. no clear separation of work and non-work rules
	Student	-	Student	
2. Discipline Referral	Teacher	-	Student	2a. no clear office discipline code to discipline students removed from class
	Student	-	Student	2b. instruction stopped by removal (punishment and continuing instruction separated and not resolved) 2c. correcting student behavior ignored (student is responsible for self correction) 2d. formal disengagement of the office from classroom disciplinary problems

Table 58

Ordinary Control Routines: Their Souces and Roles

Illustrating Item	Interaction Source From	To	Routines Disclosed
Principal-Teacher Conduct			
3. Punctuality	Principal -	Teachers	3a. voluntary compliance request for expected role and assignment 3b. low control of teacher compliance with fixed, systematic procudure 3c. teachers disruption of scheduled classroom instructional time by its unathorized reductions 3d. a diminished, predictable classroom for students
4. Supervision	Principal -	Teachers	4a. ex-post facto management of professional conduct 4b. no monitoring of on-going directives of teachers 4c. last minute feedback on the implementation of schoolwide projects 4d. poor cooperation and integration across classrooms 4e. head consultation with the teaching supervisor before a final decision (shared management)

Table 58

Ordinary Control Routines: Their Sources and Roles

Illustrating Item	Interaction Source		Routines Disclosed
	From	To	
Principal-Teacher Conduct (cont.)			
5. Teacher Compliance with School Rules and Principal's Directives	Principal	Teacher	5a. ignoring directives by the principal 5b. direct presence and personal command required to get a teacher at an assigned post
6. Teacher Assignments	Principal	Teacher + Teacher	6a. imprecise information on staff's capabilities 6b. reacquisitions of delegated tasks
	Principal	Teacher	6c. formal arrangement by head from maintaining classroom standards
Selected Parent and Teacher Factions			
7. Supervision of extra curricular Activities	Selected Parents + Selected Teachers	Principal	7a. polarizing school 7b. undermining internal cohesion

Table 58

Ordinary Control Routines: Their Sources and Roles

Illustrating Item	Interaction Source			Routines Disclosed
	From		To	
Outside Projects and School Rescheduling				
8. Supervision of School Programs	Outside Project Director	-	Principal	8a. built-in destabilization for regulating school conduct 8b. external demands undermining internal command
	Outside Program Director	-	Principal	8c. imprecise rules between collaborating projects on who is in charge in the building
Parent-Principal/Classroom Teacher Conduct				
9. Parent Visitation	Parent	-	Principal + Parent	9a. no formal rules on parent movements during classroom instructions

Fighting In The Lunch Room

On three occasions, lunchroom aides brought students who fought to the principal. Two received a small counseling session. The principal expressed dissatisfaction and disapproval. She asked about the precipitating incidents. She told them that it would be dangerous for them to fight: they could hurt themselves. The students then sat outside in the outer office. When lunchtime was over, they went to their classes. Often lunchtime fights caused minor skirmishes between students again in class. In a third case, a student precipitating a fight was suspended immediately.

Leaving Art And Library: Traffic Jams And Noise

Two classrooms faced the art and library rooms. Often as students left and came, traffic jams formed. Loudly teachers called for order, straightened out lines and reprimanded individual students. Even without traffic jams, students often talked loud enough to disturb surrounding classes, including remedial math and reading.

"I'm Going To Send You To The Office."

In the middle of the instructional day, a constant class disruptor finally was pulled aside and learned he was headed to the office. The disruptor looked at the teacher's note to the office. He challenged the claim of the teacher. The teacher, in disgust, crumpled up the note, threw it in the garbage and sent the student back to his seat. Under his breath, he loudly smirked, "What's the use. It wouldn't have done any good anyway.

Chasing Students In The Hallway

A fourth grade class awaited dismissal. Students went to get their coats, one by one, in the hallway. A student left without permission. The teacher ran after him; loudly he yelled, grabbed him and marched him to the room. Earlier, a similar sequence also happened. The student then simply walked out of class without permission. The teacher ran and fetched him. Two neighboring classes stopped their work and took in this spontaneous activity.

Listening To Reprimands Across Rooms

Individual instruction in a remedial class suddenly stopped. Clearly a teacher screaming across the hallway filled the room.

In rapid fire, loud outbursts of five to six angry commands clearly registered in this room. It was not the first time. It was not only one teacher. Loud clamors of three teachers penetrated this room on different occasions.

"What Do I Do With The Imaginarium Effects?"

A second grade class with orderly and well behaved students nearly ended reading. Suddenly a fiddle sound came from the hallway. Students rushed to the door. A few seconds later, the next door teacher entered and told this teacher to get ready and come over to her room. Hurriedly she finished her lesson. She took the students over, saw a demonstration on make-up and imagination and attended a special program immediately afterward. That afternoon, classes resumed with students still restless from this morning. Special assembly materials were not integrated into the normal school work. An orderly beginning ended with agitated students from schedule changes.

"Let Me Get A Bite Of Your Sandwich!"

Lunchtime! Escorted fourth grade students reached the lunchroom. Playfully, the teacher grabbed a student's sandwich wrapped in a plastic bag. He mimicked biting it. The class stopped and looked at the show. The teacher duplicated the scene with another student's sandwich. He then left. Students began their lunch.

Student Discipline: Routines On Classrooms, School Climate And Leadership Confidence

Discipline routines occurred under irregular procedures determined by various teachers' preferences, tactics and emphasis and usually with unpredictable results. These irregular procedures resulted from the principals' formal insistence that the responsibility for discipline, first and foremost, reside with teachers. Formally and informally, teachers received commands and directives to handle their own problems and to bring only the worst to the principal. Consequently, general policies were rare and general practices were tough to derive. Individual teachers figured out how to handle discipline alone, the repeated sore spot of the faculty.

Discipline routines divided the staff from the principal. The principal believed counseling, advice, and coordinated supportive acts by school staff would be adequate to control discipline.

Teachers knew differently. Already, some expressed the need for a central place to handle problems affecting the entire school. These problems included repeaters, reinforcement of homework policies and uniform classroom management standards on both floors. Also some teachers wanted direct counseling by the principal on certain infractions and placed their students in the office. The principal ordinarily left students alone. Usually new teachers sought this help. Veterans gave up on expecting any principal intervention in discipline. Even students recognized this in the upper grades and challenged teachers' right to send them to the office. Teachers felt unsupported. The principal felt enough was available to handle discipline. On this point, quiet but acrimonious disagreements lingered without direct confrontations between the principal and her staff. This avoidance permitted differential standards of classroom order across School B. As discipline problems mounted, they increased frustrations, dissatisfactions and instructional uncertainty around lesson planning and completion. As disciplinary strategies expanded, they consumed large time blocks after school calling parents for conferences during school hours. More than a sub-role tied to teaching, discipline became a co-equal fulltime job for some teachers. Large uncertainties about process goals across teachers and the school and disjunctions between process goals and product goals resulted from the unmatched world of principal and teachers over roles and functions.

Discipline was public and constantly visible as an issue. This needs emphasis. At assemblies and school program rehearsals, the principal entered the auditorium and ordinarily found highly active students out of control. On a few occasions, the principal called for order. Looking at lunch lines on any day revealed the difference between order on the first and second floor. Second floor students often had to have a teacher holler to keep lines moving and mouths shut. On the second floor, students stayed out of classroom longer on bathroom breaks and their teachers often fetched them out to be sure nothing happened. (This stopped classes.) On the first floor, every room had a system of exit and returning and accounting for who is out. No such system happened on the second floor. The principal ignored discipline plights in the most public events of the school, daily and ceremonially. More appropriately, strict separation of the principalship from classroom or other disciplinary matters, until gravity set in and avoidance had to end, resulted in strongly tolerated student chaos.

Nevertheless, teachers had to cope with discipline in three spheres: classrooms; public school spaces (hallways, lunchroom corridors and grounds); and school community. In classrooms the following routines were standard:

(1) Severe disciplinary problems would be isolated and put in the back rows, usually separated from each other by a desk
(2) To stop an indiscretion or to point out unacceptable behavior, holler.
(3) If a severe problem broke out--like fighting--lecture and exhort. Try a little moral education. It took the form, "Don't do this, will you?"
(4) When a student became incorrigible and exploded into violent verbal tirades, arguments, or temper tantrums or touched, pushed, or shoved another student, send him to the office with a note. Let him sit there. Then pick him up later. Usually, the clerk read the note and told the student to sit down if the principal was not in. The same thing happened when the principal read the note. Sometimes the note prompted an immediate call home.
(5) Call home, depending on the student or the problem. Some parents received periodic reports at home on selected, hard-to-handle, disciplinary students. Major and minor problems were reported constantly. Others had to take a big leap into disciplinary infractions before parents received a call.
(6) Use shame to change a student's manner. Usually, teachers compared home and school behaviors and insisted that surely home behavior is not as terrible as school behavior.
(7) Make a threat. This took two forms: "I'm going to call home tonight if you don't behave"; "Be careful--I could fail you."
(8) Do a useless punishment exercise and then display to the student how he wasted effort, energy and time for nothing. Typically, this symbolic harassment called for an after-school writing assignment which would be torn-up before the student's eyes. On two occasions, such action produced dejection--a strong student stare at a teacher, the shrugging of shoulders and angry gestures like stomping a shoe on the floor hard as you turn around in disgust.

(9) Physically restrain a student when nothing worked. This took two forms: direct and continuous. In a direct restraint, a teacher chased after a student who left a room or ran down a stairs when he should be walking. The teacher would return the wanderer to classrooms or physically walk next to the runner. A continuous restraint involved kneeling down an entire period next to a teacher or sitting next to a teacher who held back any attempt to leave a desk-chair.
(10) Directly monitor students by a point-warning system and to generate a record of conduct throughout the day for eventual case building for classroom removal into special classes. A daily log was kept on these targeted students.
(11) Stop classes. Wait for order. Return to teach after order. These routines aimed at recovering or imposing classroom control and order.

At the school level, routines were less defined.

(1) Traffic and high noise levels were constant as students moved from classes to special classes and some went on unauthorized bathroom breaks. Individual teachers had different reactions. Some insisted on relative quiet. Others permitted a free-for-all.
(2) Second period lunch occurred during instruction time for the first group. Unruly second period students often distracted and interrupted first period groups at special subjects, compensatory instruction in math and reading or in classrooms near corridor doors. Affected teachers took it and never complained.
(3) Slow or late returning intermediate students from special subjects similarly distracted and disrupted classroom instruction.
(4) Hollering in one room provided entertainment for another. Cross-room disciplinary noises entered rooms constantly on the second floor but almost never on the first floor.
(5) Teacher variations in disciplinary standards affected students who had a regular subject teacher and a special subject instruction during the same day--an ordinary event. Ordinarily special subject teachers

tended to be slightly more formal and traditional. This proved compatible with first floor students. For second floor students, this reeked havoc. Consistency across teachers on disciplinary standards for either the same infraction or a particular behavior treatment occurred by accident.

(6) The separation of adult and student often became blurred as teachers played with students. The blatant mimicking of eating a student sandwich exaggerated and amplified what happened ordinarily, especially among two teachers. A third played with students in lines between classes but not in classroom. Openly, hugging, kissing, patting and complementing good work in a special subject room transpired during the trek from special subject to homeroom. Teachers who played with students acted as if they were members of student peer/play groups while the one separator of play and work mothered in the hallway and became friendly but steady teacher in the classroom. Both groupings found it hard to cross the line from friend to disciplinarian with students.

(7) When to send a student to the principal involved a ponderous individual decision. What should the principal do with discipline? Neither teacher nor schoolhead supplied satisfactory answers for each other. Special matters requiring schoolwide standards or particular expressive styles that confused adult and child roles and made crossing from friend to disciplinarian difficult moved along without specific characterizations and school mandates. School climate bore the brunt of individual discipline routines and unsystematic schoolwide procedures for defining and handling non-classroom discipline. Discipline diminished the already scarce time available for instruction. This diminished the rewards of teaching for many teachers. Cumulatively, internal and external disciplining surrounding classrooms reduced orderliness and predictability for teaching and drained work satisfaction, enthusiasm, and self-sustaining motivation involvement in teaching. Both discouraged and demoralized teachers, while command over teaching steadily slipped from instructional technicians. In much the same way, unregulated

> collective behavior in hallways and between auxiliary activities (e.g., the Imaginarium and classroom tasks) undermined confidence in the teachers' feeling that someone was in-charge and knew what was going on. In a sense, unchecked students outside of classrooms and inconsistency in scheduled programs and classroom tasks, while nominally unrelated, undermined faith and legitimacy in the head of the school.

If a student stayed in the bathroom too long, his teacher was responsible for knowing his whereabouts and safety. If a student went to the office, his teacher was responsible for him working and for knowing what class separation would do for his improved conduct. Then, to cap-off everything, the nature and kinds of discussions between parents and teachers in discipline cases were teachers' responsibility. All of the ancillary tasks of handling discipline, which had to be done constantly because of the persistence of the discipline problems, replaced other activities in and after the instructional day. All of these disciplinary jobs, sooner or later, became counterproductive to undivided concentration on teaching. By ignoring these interrelated events, the organizational head allowed the persistence of alternative task requirements to undermine the prime task--instruction. At the same time, the teacher role became more heavily taxed, overburdened, and ill-organized in time, energy, and focused activities.

Discipline problems may go on from year to year.

> When I first came to School B in September of this year, Dr. James told me that in previous years, discipline in the library had been very lax and therefore she felt that the library was not an effective learning center as it could be. This was one of the primary things that I had to do...to establish discipline... Teachers could expect little help from the center, the principal. The problem was well known and allowed to persist for the new teachers, informal sharing with older teachers provided a way to learn how to discipline.
>
> When there is a problem with a student...they will help you as much as they can: speaking with the child, assigning punishment; seeing that punishments are carried out in the classroom like writing assignments or whatever.

Among teachers, shared strategies created uniformity, if any.

Coordination Under The Principal: Routines, Processes and Scenarios

Daily Communication

In three ways, daily communication occurred. First, at the morning sign-in sheet, on a formal school form, notices, announcements, special events, upcoming dates and periodic school business were stated. Right on this form, beside each teacher's name, teachers initialed it. Second, in the school day, a courier usually pulled from the third grade diagonally across from the office (the homeroom of the Teachers' Union representative), carried around the announcement form. Again, initialing was requested. Third, on a teachers announcement board, future and past notices by the same formal memorandum were posted over a few days.

A fourth direct communication method used meetings. Specific announcements, for example, a new homework policy, would be fully explained. Questions and problems would be entertained then. Often new school actors received formal introduction and asked their own questions at these meetings.

Getting a Substitute

The district required sick teachers to notify the principal before 6 a.m. Then the principal called the substitute office for replacement. Ordinarily, the school clerk--by an irregular procedure and another informal structural arrangement--did this. If a substitute did not come, a special subject teacher often took over the class for a day. When a special subject teacher had to be out, he had a substitute. If no substitute came, teachers kept their classes or did the special subject themselves, if they wanted to give up their preparation period. Often, teachers complained that they did not know until the middle of the day that a special subject teacher would be absent yet, they suggested, the office knew from before classes began in the morning. The average teacher absence for SY 1979-80 in School B was seven days.

The Lunchroom will be Without a Director Today

A tragic fire the night before wiped out the home of the lunchroom supervisor. She could not be in today. Thirty minutes before lunch, a lunch aide told the principal. Everything for lunch was on time and all right, the aide said. At the last minute, the building manager received this notification.

Supply Control of Reading Texts

Control over reading materials--textbooks, workbooks, and level exams--was delegated to the union representative. Stock management and distribution usually by oral request or an informal note came through her. Requisitions for new texts and inventory control were also her responsibility.

Excess Texts not Currently in Use

Often older texts were in the storeroom. Also games, program purchases from past years, and stored projects of previous years reposed there. The principal personally evaluated this inventory and mandated classroom distribution and use of older texts. Also, if a grade finished math earlier, for example, and the next sequential text was not available, the principal suggested and distributed older texts to a classroom to keep students moving on. Similar suggestions occurred around games, teaching aides and sharing scholar's program materials with the core school.

Instructional Interruptions

Tardy students automatically went to their rooms. Rarely did they stop, notify the office and then go to their rooms. As they came, teachers stopped and announced their classwork. Parents visiting a teacher often merely walked directly to the classroom. Some stopped first at the office. Requested permission and freely entering parents evenly split.

Teachers often came to other teachers in the middle of instruction. Particularly across the second floor rooms, where instruction was shared across teachers in the third, fourth and fifth grades, teachers often entered opened doors without prior notification. The RAC and MAC aide daily sought students who did not show up as a period began. For special projects, itinerant teachers entered rooms during instruction and requested selective students to come out. Couriers came anytime. Lunchroom clerks checking monthly authorizations walked into rooms in the middle of instruction. Outside personnel--the teaching supervisor, Teacher Corps observers, psychologists, reading specialists--often came for specialized functions a few minutes after instruction began. Every agent permitted in the building, at one time or another, stopped routine instruction at various parts of the day. Repetitions more than once daily were common.

Consulting Time

A teacher lost his mini-test scores. During his preparation time, he came and asked the principal what should he do. A teacher didn't know what to do about a special student placement into EMR. She came to the principal on her preparation time to find out. A new teacher wanted disciplinary help. She visited the principal on her preparation time for guidance. A teacher planned a special Christmas party for the staff. On preparation time, she came to the principal thirty minutes before lunch began. Consultation time with the principal was available anytime in the day. Usually teachers used their preparation time.

Preparation Time

A novice second grade teacher used her preparation time to plan instruction. She reviewed lesson plans. She worked on classroon demonstrations and a filmstrip lesson. Another second grade teacher did the same on some days. On other days, she corrected papers in the lounge over a coffee break. Or she had a casual or serious discussion on non-school topics. An itinerant always took a smoke and coffee break during scheduled preparation time. Another itinerant worked on his next class, carefully preparing lessons by grade levels. An upper grade teacher did manual labor chores during his preparation. His counterpart stayed in his classroom and just rested from interaction fatigue. He required recovery from the grueling day he had just put in. A gym teacher took small naps on his preparation time. A remedial math teacher stayed in her room and attended to filing and instructional preparation . Instructional preparation time systematically was used as such or displaced, diverted or replaced by competing tasks.

Essential Educational Time Usage

After school dismissal, thirty minutes are set aside for educational planning and preparation. This was in addition to daily integrated preparation time. Once a week, this time went to in-service. On Fridays, teachers left early--about midway into the scheduled essential instructional business time. On the three other days, activities varied. Some teachers methodically attended to their classroom business and often left school after it was over to get materials for their projects and returned. Some days, the teaching supervisor counseled teachers in this period. Other days, most teachers had unsystematic usage.

A third and fourth grade teacher often congregated in the office or lounge at this time. Other teachers used it for visitation and informal conversation--sometimes on school tasks and other times, off school tasks. Voluntary projects--e.g., drama club meeting--consumed this time for some teachers unsystematically.

Occasionally, groups met in the outer office, conducted a friendly, informal discussion, kidded around and "signified," and strengthened informal bonds. The principal often joined these small groups' spontaneous interactions. Everyone killed time together. They waited for the approaching teacher dismissal time. Five minutes before formal termination, movement to leave started. The nature and use of essential educational time had a highly variable, fluid character.

Noise Control

On the first floor, a first, and two second grades were quiet. Directly above them, students formed various subgroups of conversation, work and distractive behaviors at the same time in three separate rooms. (The sound between floors did not travel.) Not a whisper is heard in three rooms below; every room above them had incessant conversation filling a common hallway at the east end of the building. At the west end, on the second floor, commuting traffic across grades passed every period. Every forty minutes, organized noise predictably came there for two self contained classrooms. Then the second floor lunchroom traffic also passed a class in session everyday. On the first floor, east to west movement occasionally got out of hand. Rarely did this happen on the first floor.

There there were times of special noise making. A special art exhibit frame for a schoolwide project is being nailed together. It occurred during the preparation period of the teacher doing most of the manual labor, i.e., in fhe first period of the day. He hammered away in building the frame for over thirty minutes. It rang on the first and second floor. The distraction affected everyone. No one asked that it be stopped.

Older Kin Picking Up Younger Kin

The time is 2:20, fifteen minutes before school closed. Three fourth and fifth graders rushed into the kindergarten and first grade rooms to pick up their brothers and sisters. The classroom teacher reminded them that school was not over and they made noise running up and down the stairs. She reminded them that their teachers should not have let them out yet. Additionally, instruction was not finished. The students left and returned later.

The kindergarten teacher today had a special sibling pick-up. A new student came for a brother. She had no note. The teacher refused to release the student. She visited the office and phoned home. After telephone confirmation the child did leave with a new escort. The standing procedure for changing sibling escort could not be found in present operating practices.

When do we get the Project '81 In-Service?

In mid-December, three days before the Christmas break, a special project head met the teaching supervisor and the principal on a new curriculum implementation scheduled to begin the first week in January. The director of the curriculum project suggested an in-service date. The principal objected. That time was already taken with a prior in-service program by Teacher Corps, another external project. Project '81 and Teacher Corps stressed math competencies and math curriculum writing, instruction, and evaluation. They overlapped but operated mutually independent. The principal requested that these programs informally negotiate some consensus and keep a common focus. The suggestion is bypassed. The principal then asked the teaching supervisor to coordinate in-service schedules with those pending from Teacher Corps and Project '81. Specific in-services' perferences were not stated formally. Instead, the principal first tried to get overlapping programs in the building together. Central board staff, in turn, concentrated on getting the Project '81 details out of the way. The other project, Teacher Corps, would be later contacted for their own independent twist on this problem.

When is the Best Time of the Day for a Special Music, Dance and Art Program?

A performing arts troop had two programs to do for the school district. One occurred in the morning and the other in the afternoon. When should the program be held at this school? The decision went to the morning. Traditionally this time went to reading, the most pressing achievement subject.

Student Teachers

The young male student teacher taught spelling. He formed two groups against the wall and alternated spelling words between them. At an error he visibly frowned. The misspelled word went to the next student on an opposing team. If correctly spelled, cheers put down the misspeller. The assigned teacher for this room corrected papers while this contest and student finger-pointing went on. She neither looked up to regulate the students or to examine visible disapproval and low expectations from the student teacher. This was the second student teacher this year for this room. The first had similar freedom to do as he saw fit. Unable to control students, he often yelled and physically grabbed them while his supervising teacher was out of sight. This teacher received two of the three student teachers for this year. She was the union representative.

Nurse's Visitation

The kindergarten class started an hour ago. Grouped students performed different tasks. Suddenly, a lady in a white coat walked in. She asked to weigh students. She received a negative answer, while her request drew humor. Students asked whether the scales worked properly. "They were not, but now they are." The comic relief capped the distraction and diversion.

Teacher Corp's Visitation

The Teacher Corps intern walked into the teacher's lounge. She found the relaxing, jovial teacher on his preparation period. As he took his coffee break, she insisted, "Let's get the time correct now. I came yesterday and you had me at the wrong period." The teacher provided a proper math observation schedule for his fourth graders. On another day, a Teacher Corps intern visited a second grade teacher in her classroom as she taught. The intern thought it was her preparation period, the time they had arranged for consultations. It was not. Actually, the next available preparation period occurred the next day. The teacher stopped teaching, verified her next availability and made a new appointment. Her students waited for the three minute conference to end. Classes continued after the interruption.

Hallway Bulletin Boards

In early February, first floor bulletin boards changed. Special Black History decorations replaced those up since December. Those in December replaced September open-house displays on the walls. Between the two months intervals, displays drooped and dropped. Periodic missing pieces rearranged original displays, often incoherently, from their original wording, symbol or designs. The September, December, and February displays scarred disheveled hallway walls before they received replacements.

Dr. James, the Principal, is Visiting us Today

The itinerant kindergarten teacher arrived early and opened her room. She prepared her lesson plans and arranged a new large demonstration poster for the wall. All classroom decorations out of place received tacking and pasting. Last month, Dr. James, the principal, announced classroom visitation for all teachers and requested teachers to sign up. Everyone selected their proper time. Today, the kindergarten teacher who usually came in from the Lower Hayti morning school and visited the lunchroom, changed ordinary habits. She wanted to show her best. She went to lunch only after everything was neatly ready. In another room, a week before, the principal also had an announced visit during a period of low attendance for the special subject--a very unrepresentative period. The special subject teacher and Dr. James mutually rearranged, on the spot, another visitation at a more appropriate time.

Dr. James came on time. She stayed thirty minutes. She watched instruction and students as an entire class and in groups. Then she left. Before she came, students were counseled to behave well. After she left, students received praise for their best manners. The coordinated show worked.

A Sick Student moved across Classes for his Instruction

John, a second grader, declared he felt sick. His homeroom teacher did not believe him. She sent him to his special reading group in this first grade. His tummy-ache continued when he arrived for his reading group. He looked visibly sick. Unaccompanied, his reading teacher sent him back to his homeroom. Not once did he go to the office to notify the principal. His homeroom teacher kept him there without sending him to his reading group for today. Before this reading group began, attending this matter from another classroom halted the inception of reading.

Unauthorized Program Inception

A faculty meeting is on. The principal inquired about special projects to stimulate students. A few weeks before, she asked her faculty to devise challenges for accelerated students. A teacher announced he started a tutoring project--to match upper grade students with lower grade students. He already had one user of the service. He asked for sign-ups. This was the first notification the principal received about the project's operation.

Where Are Your Students' Library Books?

Library time came. The first grade teacher lined up her students. She had a hard time getting a line. After getting a line, she remembered they had a special library project: it required that they bring their library books to library today. The teacher decided to skip this requirement after the line formed. It took too long to get students lined up. To get their library books after so much work invited disorder again. The teacher marched the students from the first to the second floor. At the entrance to the library, the librarian inquired about her students' books. The teacher apologized for their absence but indicated getting a line was difficult enough. Undoing the line for their books would have delayed their library period. The librarian insisted that on the next library day, the students must bring their books. She had a special lesson for today. She had to change, she wryly noted. In a room with a teacher aide, the sending teacher never thought about possibly going back with her aide and getting the books.

Preparing Monthly Calendars for Teachers in Grades 3.1, 3.2, and 4.2

A math and reading aide received a break from instruction. She attended to the new month's calendar for both third and a fourth grade. These teachers formerly had her as a classroom aide. She merely continued a service she performed for them when they had her exclusive service. This task was not authorized and detracted from copious work necessary for individualized instruction. The task had some priority: it was the first day of the month and they were not ready. This had higher value than preparing and correcting remedial reading and math lessons which was the aide's primary responsibility.

"Raise your hands before you ask a question!"

Math just finished. A third grade student blurted out a question. The teacher ignored the question. He insisted that students raise their hands, get recognition, ask a question, and then he would answer. He repeatedly asked all students to follow this procedure and, on most occasions, he corrected relapses. His students, though, had spelling, reading, and art from other teachers who coped with spontaneous student requests. They neither reinforced his rules of class conduct nor tried to teach students how to behave in school. Similarly, their music and gym teachers insisted on order but did not use the repeated request format. They merely lectured to all without individual correction to specific students. Two groups of teachers for these students had formal class conduct rules. A third group ignored formal conduct formats. Typically, other classes received exposure to differing canons of classroom conduct as they moved across teachers in specialized daily instruction or periodic special subjects.

Bathroom Breaks

Immediately after lunch, these first graders indicated that they needed a bathroom break by taking their names from one folder and placing it in another. Individually, throughout the day, they did the same thing. After they returned, they replaced their names in the "class-present" folder. A second grade had a girl and boy key. Only one could be used at a time. At any time students took their proper sex key and left for the bathroom. Upon returning, they replaced the key. Third graders in one room requested permission and often had them denied until periods ended. Fourth graders in one class walked out without either a pass or permission. Fifth graders persistently annoyed their teacher by asking him for permission to use restrooms. Regardless of what method prevailed in a room, students generally took their restroom breaks alone, often engaged in minor mischief without adult supervision--including some minor fights--and, in one class, persistently forced the teacher to physically escort them back to their room after deliberate delays. Across the school, passes and permission, smooth supervision and undistracting attention varied across rooms on timing, procedures, and places in the school day for restroom breaks.

"It's Puzzel Day!"

Today, students finishing their seatwork early can go to the back of the second grade classroom, get an envelope, do the puzzle in it. They can write a story about the puzzle's image. Notices about the special event misspelled puzzle by making it "puzzel."

The misspelled word was posted on the board all day. No one from the office caught it. In this locked room at lunchtime and other break points, its discovery would be highly unlikely in any ordinary day.

Substitute and Lost Toys

A sick kindergarten teacher returned to school after four days absence. Her normal Friday routine, toy sharing time, produced a mishap. Some students lost their toys. Some school toys accidentally left the room and were not reclaimed. Students and the school lost the property as the substitute and the normally assigned aide did not keep normal sharing and orderly accounting practices for all items. This involuntary toy exchange reached the school administrator after the fact on the following Monday.

"The pizza is not cooked."

The first grade teacher aide ordered her lunch from the lunchroom. It came. The pizza was uncooked. It had to be returned. The aide commented: "The lunches are often cold. Now they are uncooked." The hotness or coldness, readiness or unpreparedness of lunches stayed strictly with the supervisor. The incident was not reported to the principal. The private disgust produced no shared information to the principal on this or any other systematic occasion. To the principal, the much underpaid lunch aides and supervisors did a very good job.

Summer in the Winter

A third grade class kept a window open. The room evenly divided between high heat and drafty cold spots. A fifth grade room steamed. The teacher kept all windows slightly cracked. In the middle of winter, most rooms received excessive heat. But, on Monday mornings, many complained that the building heat is erratic. The large steam furnace had to be cranked up to yield its mid-seventies and nearly eighties reading for the rest of the week. From room to room, maintaining proper heating varied with teacher sensitivity to rising heat and their drowsy student effects.

Taking Telephone Calls

It's 10:10. A third grade teacher had a call. The school clerk asked her to come and take it. The teacher stopped the reading group and handled the call.

"We already had that!"

In mid-afternoon, students tell their teacher that the spelling lesson and exercise are not where she should be. The third graders had the lessons and work assignments already from a student teacher. They proved their point by showing the teacher the exercise.

Filling out School Forms on Instructional Time

In mid-April, the school district surveyed students' transportation needs. Most teachers did it after school ended and before they left. One teacher took out one hour and fifteen minutes of reading instruction time to do it. Students lost their most pressing subject instructional time. Then the teacher sent the forms around to two other teachers. They had already filled out their part. Neither assigned teaching nor proper directions were followed by this senior teacher, who also doubled as the building Union representative.

Taking Students to the Park for Gym

A new gym teacher took his students to the park across the street. Stragglers developed in his line. He yelled at the students to move it. Two park workers at the foothill of the park watched this interaction. One said to the other: "Do you see how mean those teachers treat these students?" Noddingly, the two strangers watching the school children concurred. The novice teacher, just three months in the school, by roughly handling the students tarnished the school's image for passersby at a heavily trafficked school corner bus stop.

Coordination: Processes and Scenarios

Without priority emphasis Table 59 ordered the coordinating events which are placed into categories and types of coordination.

Tacitly teacher self managers limited their need for coordination and constant supervision. More and more, operational rules were rules of voluntary association rather than those of a rationalized bureaucracy. More importantly, these daily informal arrangements, essentially changed job descriptions. These rewritten rules reduced emphasis on instructional preparation at assigned in-school and after-school times. Perennial confusion inside one upstairs classroom; constant screaming by three teachers sharing the same corner; lax receiving teachers at the art and library rooms on the second floor; loud moving lines disrupting a third grade class, all interrupted instruction. Even special projects--that of a teacher hammering during the first period--bruised orderly instruction. Noise and traffic disorder merely piled up, went unattended and forced everyone to adjust to unwelcomed intrusions.

TABLE 59

Incidents and Types of Coordination Problems

Category	Model or Type of Coordination
Information Distribution	Communication
Substitute Unavailable	Communication
Lunchroom Absence	Communication
Reading Text Distribution Inventory and Control	Textbook Assignment
Excess Book Distribution	Textbook Usage
Uncontrolled Entry into Classrooms During Instruction	Instructional Efficiency
Principal Open Availability	Consultation
Flexible Preparation Time Usages	Instructional Efficiency; Changing Fixed Time Allocations
Fluid Essential Education Service Time Usage	Instructional Efficiency; Changing Fixed Time Allocations
Noise Control	Noise and Traffic Management
Older Siblings Picking Up Younger Siblings	Noise and Traffic Management

TABLE 59

Incidents and Types of Coordination Problems

Category	Model or Type of Coordination
Where Do We Get Project '81 Time	Curriculum Accretion; Scheduling and Coordinating External Projects
Imaginarium	Scheduling and Coordinating External Projects
Student Teachers	Scheduling and Coordinating External Projects
Nurses Visits	Scheduling and Coordinating External Projects
Teacher-Teacher Corps Arrangements	Scheduling and Coordinating External Projects
Bulletin Board Changes	Scheduling and Coordinating External Projects
Visiting Teachers by Principal	Scheduling and Coordinating External Projects
Sick Students in School	Contingency Scheduling and Coordination
Initiating Unapproved Tutorial Project	Submission and Approval of New Programs; Cooperation Across Teachers
Leaving Library Books in Class on Library Day	Cooperation Across Teachers

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TABLE 59

Incidents and Types of Coordination Problems

Category	Model or Type of Coordination
Making Monthly Calendars for Three Special Teachers	Unapproved Cooperation Across Staff and Teachers
Raise Your Hands Before You Ask A Question	Student Conduct Formation; Classroom Management
Bathroom Breaks	Student Conduct Formation; Classroom Management
It's "Puzzel" Day	Teacher Supervision
Substitute and Lost Toys	Teacher Supervision
Lunches Are Cold	Staff Supervision
Building Is Too Hot	Staff Supervision
Leaving Classrooms To Make a Telephone Call	Staff Supervision
Going Over a Lesson a Student Teacher Already Taught	Instructional Supervision
Doing Records During Instructional Time	Instructional Supervision
Park Conduct by Gym Teacher	Instructional Supervision

Hallway bulletin boards irregularly changed but the office changed on a monthly schedule by each classroom. Where public impressions registered on entering the school, a bulletin board was meticulously kept. Where student trafficked daily, the board deteriorated with passing weeks. Similarly, coordinating instructional cooperation and integration across subjects and programs accidentally occurred. The rich learning experiences of the Imaginarium had little class follow-up. (Immediate complaints involved a day's changed schedule and resentment against the originator.) Peer tutoring began among a group of teachers but only later was the entire school notified. Even the principal didn't know this unauthorized positive program was in effect.

Personalizing cooperation abruptly terminated when classroom priorities--e.g., getting a line--contradicted supporting another teacher in another subject--e.g., having students bring their library books to the library from their classrooms. Habitual sharing supported by personal friendships and bonds, could not solve cross-classroom coordinations continuously and undermined, for most special subject teachers, interdependent instructional supports from regular teachers. Library and art felt these strongly. All three new teachers in the first, second, and third insisted on their students learning classroom roles and rules. Incoming itinerants supported their work. However, newcomers persuaded by veterans as the year moved along, increasingly dropped emphasis on classroom roles and rules.

The misspelling of "puzzel," happened in a veteran's room. Two veterans finished their math books and dragged out the last few chapters. A veteran's unsupervised student teacher's actions led to mishandlings. (That same veteran later was not aware of what student teaching lessons were taught. Her students stopped her from reteaching it.) Veteran teachers boldly performed outside-classroom tasks during instruction, and infrequently used preparation periods to prepare instructional materials. This stable long term group undermined coordinated interactions by indifference, preference and permitted individual license.

Together, powerful cooperating forces obstructed coordination efforts at School B. These forces formed the following routines:

(1) strong resistances to principal directives and communication by immediate formulations of counter lines to meet mandates minimally, especially by disciplined, supportive friendship networks;

(2) poor information acquisitions on evolving instructional demands, routine teacher disruptions of instruction, excessive spontaneous movement in hallways and stairways, free individual bathroom movements;
(3) poor information retrieval and evaluation on ordinary instructional practices which robbed, wasted, and diverted scarce instructional time allocations for other purposes;
(4) unsystematic information distributions to teachers on scheduled changes created by involuntary conditions, i.e., teacher absences;
(5) very little control and regulation of substitute conduct and task performance;
(6) formal displacement of instruction as the center place of the school by negligent essential texts stockpiling of swiftly changing texts in reading and easily exhausted texts in math, and by constantly changing fixed instructional preparation time for non-instructional needs;
(7) teaching staff polarizations on roles and rules of classroom conduct;
(8) principal's formal alienation from detailed instructional management in classrooms;
(9) non-existent noise and traffic controls in hallways;
(10) excessive management time absorption by external program coordination;
(11) poorly internally coordinated school building projects and routine bulletin board changes;
(12) veterans initiation that suppressed traditional classroom management of deviant new teachers.

Collectively these routines undermined elementary order and coordinated interactions. Consequently, reaching formal targets, i.e., meaningful shared goals, worked through individual preferences and closed supportive friendship networks. Coordination occurred only when personal assent, especially by the most disciplined friendship networks, facilitated pooling resources and sharing directed behavior. This was the exception rather than the rule. Around teacher priorities coordination and cooperation evolved mostly from internal bargaining among factions and partly by formal resistances and tightly organized voluntary collective behaviors. A fluid open interaction system in this setting disguised the intent of the intimate clique to make or break coordinated efforts and interactions.

These routines developed as a consequence of the principal's soft, quiet, polite, diplomatic style which ruffled few and encouraged self-management. Her delegation of her authority to teachers stimulated the belief that authoritarian force would not be used to quell insubordination and the disobedience of principal directives unless an outside force (actor) exerted pressure. Coordination proved troublesome because no single center balanced the interacting units around essentials like the core instructional components. Resultingly, the principal reacted to others who brought information about her own unit to her. When this person was the School Board Member, she was pushed into using her authority. Too often, the Principal was the last to know what was going on.

Instruction: Routines, Scenarios and Processes

The Organization for Instruction

Students went to rooms by negotiations between sending and receiving teachers, by lore on student reputations, by strict student limits in classrooms and by mechanical rules for taking transfers--in conjunction with performance groupings. Teachers organized classrooms for instruction. A student and teacher stayed together for the entire year in an annual unit of promotion. Inflexible final assignments--unless strong compelling reasons recommended a reconsideration--and a single promotional period made sending and receiving teachers' conferences critical, especially for recommending changes from existing student alignments. This act firmly fixed yearly teaching contexts.

Instructional Strategy

Minor instructional problems, when discovered, caused swift principal supervision and correction. Often accidental rather than systematic discovery prompted these interventions into classroom instructional practices which violated teaching freedom and her own rule of non-interference in classroom instruction.

Ordinarily, routine October achievement testings had no uniform place in assisting instructional planning. Individual teachers predispositions sanctioned occasional use. Furthermore, conceptualizing teaching as art more than craft merely reinforced "hands-off" instruction. This sustained indifference toward the analytical use of testing produced a passive supervision of reading primarily. In many ways, curricular materials bypassed teachers who failed to use them to their total potential and who showed little familiarity with how to integrate them into the reading program.

More importantly, curricula accretions, diverted attention away from the principal instructional problem: monitoring reading by direct observations, sharing reading instructional practices across rooms and evaluating reading instruction for proper material usage. (For example, the principal claimed the Ginn series came with supplementary materials for reading. On a request to show these materials, the principal could not find them in classrooms.) Curricula accretions consumed excessive time and obscured goal clarification, often resulting in more alienation and conflict.

Instructional Efficiency

Crudely, instructional efficiency resulted in a large amount of unfettered time available for formal instruction, supportive exercise assignment and completion, and reinforcement for skill mastery. On a daily basis, this boiled down to knowing whether you can meet your lesson plan and generally finish your planned lessons. Within classrooms, student discipline problems increased uncertainty about the amount of formal instructional time actually available. The higher your grade level, with greater certainty, the less time.

Constant outside interventions reduced instructional time. Especially on the second floor three to four times a day, solid instructional planning and predictability was reduced. First floor lower grades experienced lower intensities of these interruptions. Uncertain instructional time reduced material coverage, severely weakened strength and direct control over coverage and at the same time, diluted instructional quality. Even in reading, where instruction was stricter in small groupings, outside and inside classroom interruptions continuously robbed, wasted, or diverted time allocations for one fixed purpose.

Routine Ways Of Reducing Instructional Efficiency At School B

Stopping the Period

(1) Disciplining students
(2) Cross-classroom conversations between teachers
(3) Parent classroom visitation
(4) Itinerant teacher classroom visitation
(5) Teachers running in the hallway to catch an unauthorized classroom leaver
(6) Teachers leaving classrooms to fetch a student in the bathroom
(7) Teacher Corps' intern visits to arrange an appointment
(8) Kin picking up students before school ends

Shortening Instructional Period

(1) All of Section A
(2) Teachers tardiness after special subjects or lunch
(3) Excessively long student bathroom break

Re-doing an Instructional Period

(1) Reason: hurried coverage
(2) Reason: poor student performances

Coverning Less than Mandated Curriculum or Possible

(1) Covering less than assigned curriculum (e.g., math word problem cut-out)
(2) Dragging-out materials to avoid early termination
(3) Not moving ahead after students finished textbook early
(4) Not moving ahead after teacher-tests show higher capabilities

Coping with Outside Demands

(1) Teacher Corps visitations for an appointment
(2) Imaginarium

Occasional teacher tardiness, late notifications of lost preparation periods, and growing curricula accretions fed and lowered morale. Not surprisingly, often materials received hurried coverage. Conscientious teachers corrected prior poor instruction. Repetition occurred in similarly distracting environments with improved instruction not assured after lengthening it. A positive goal (instructional repetition) was offset by a negative context (external disruption, internal classroom disorders and lowered teacher morales). A school-wide problem, instructional efficiency was left to the individual judgement and maturity of teachers. This facilitated its continuation.

Supplementary Instructional Training

In-service meetings provided rich supplementary instructional training but few occurred in reading. Elaborate demonstration and discussion on language arts strategies (not reading exclusively) occasionally entered into the training repertoire. Known problems, moreover, --e.g., homophones and homonyms conflicts between the reader and speller--received little attention for systematic practice and coherent teaching across grades. In classrooms the teaching supervisor occasionally demonstrated a project. Swift and bright, quick to quiet down disorderly conduct and constantly holding students' attention and efforts to their tasks, the supervisor efficiently used all instructional time a produced order, i.e., she was opposite to ordinary practices. Ordinarily, teachers did not integrate these special student projects in their classrooms work.

Taken together, supplimentary training options from Teacher Corps and the teaching supervisor provided opportunities for accelerated teacher development and modernizing existing skills. Role modeling by the teacher supervisor did not fit personal predispositions and was ignored. Individual preferences determined the effective internalization and use of these superior training opportunities. Providing these opportunities, the principal suggested, was part of her way of giving instructional leadership even though the routine proved dysfunctional.

Instructional Counseling and Consultations

Ordinarily, systematic instructional counseling came from the teaching supervisor or, by request conference, from the principal. Both counseled after observing classes and then provided recommendations. On pacing, technical test counseling and personal teacher conduct, the principal formally held conferences with teachers. As her observations increased after January, these conferences grew. Constantly, the principal and teaching supervisor shared observations on teachers experiencing instructional difficulty. Befor starting her day's work, the teaching supervisor visited the principal's office for these chats.

Teachers' consultations came by voluntary requests. Availability was generally open and immediate. Novices felt more comfortable than veterans in using this instantaneous service. However, veterans having some alliance with the teaching supervisor, occasionally skipped the principal. This happened when a teacher felt the principal did not rapidly expediate supply demands. Leaving school, the irritated teacher requested the supervisor's intervention. She received it. This practice did not appear widespread.

Counseling and consultations depended on voluntary initiatives to bring the principal into classroom matters. Involuntary counselings and consultations occurred without formal embarrassment to the teacher. However, some teachers broadcast to others that private counseling or consultation was occurring and rumored suspected misdemeanor, when none may have occurred. Localized to the same few, this invasion of other teachers' privacy produced verbal reprimands by the principal to cut-out gossiping and speculations about conferences and counselings.

Instructional Preparation Time

Formally, five periods during the school week and four additional periods after school from Tuesday to Friday were for instructional preparation. About half the staff-mostly younger teachers--systematically prepared lessons or corrected school work faithfully. They stayed in their rooms and did their work. Undivided preparation during the school hours was not practiced by veteran staff who were persistent lounge visitors. Distressingly, most veteran teachers paid little attention to planning instruction and taught sequential units from habit and prior experiences.

Even with regular lesson plan collection, supervisors did not systematically check to see if planning and performance matched or lesson plans occurred before instruction. In a few occasions, after school, we saw the day's plans being made. Transforming instructional time undermined instructional planning as a major priority; rules for collecting lesson plans produced pro-forma compliance.with little effect on instructional efficiency among veterans.

Evolving Instructional Issues in the Setting

Two instructional issues surfaced this year: attending accelerated students and moving ahead after finishing assigned texts. This matter came to a head after the School Board Member complained that his son who was in the Scholars' Program, was advancing too slowly in reading and math. The principal after observing classrooms, felt that instruction concentrated on the middle and bottom students. The top received little attention. To focus on them, she encouraged"alternative, stimulating, and challenging work" from in-service by the Scholars Program teachers on techniques and available resources for pushing brighter students. Also, the teaching supervisor targeted students whose talents required accelerated development with special projects. Partly, these exercises challenged teachers to think more differentially about their students. Ordinary practice failed to stimulate sufficiently high talent within classrooms. The teaching supervisor and principal gently nudged gifted education.

Apparently, teachers felt satisfied with finishing assigned texts. This was customary. When one class broke tradition, the teacher stalled. Fortunately, the principal caught this. The principal insisted on moving the children. The teacher further resisted by saying she had no text to move ahead. The principal got old stored, higher texts to move this class ahead. These dynamics occurred in math (where Teacher Corps, the assigned improvement agency, remained removed from on-going realistic problems).

Instructional Supervision

From the principal, direct classroom observations occurred sparingly on a daily basis. Formal visitations were announced. Casual surprise visits for short periods occurred. But mainly, the principal stayed in her office. The teaching supervisor conducted formal observations, concentrated on instructional practices and problems, counseled on both, and often devised instructional strategies for teachers and with teachers. In many instances, the teaching supervisor was instructional manager rather than the principal. All recommended changes for teachers received her imprimatur. She also doubled-checked teacher improvements and changes for troubled teachers.

With both the teaching supervisor and the principal, instructional supervision occurred between long intervals, attended the most pressing and obvious problems and left classroom practices and management untouched. For example, the deleterious practices of constant teacher peer interventions in classrooms stopped during their visitations and resumed afterwards. Sustained observations to uncover it, especially the worst cases, did not happen. By attending the obvious, intermittent visits missed the underlying dynamics destroying instructional efficiency and effectiveness.

Instruction: The Underlying Scenario

Instructional assignments, strategies, efficiency, training, counseling, consultations, preparation, and evolving issues displayed a lack of a coordinated responsibility for instruction. Teacher's command included classroom assignments, student selections and setting up reading groups. Ordinary instruction disregarded testing results, periodically and consistently, from oridnary school operations. Refining and improving instruction rested with teachers' initiative. Through the head of the school, opportunities for instructional advancement and improvement were ample. Their uses were voluntary. At any time, instructional counseling and consultations were possible. These were sparingly used. Transforming instructional preparation time for non-instructional uses was commonly permitted. Teaching supervision was casual, intermittent, and uncertain. Left to themselves, unless they invited special attention, teachers strongly influenced the direction of their daily instructional contexts. (With this, they also had all disciplinary woes.) Minimum central intervention stimulated instructional specializations, sensitivity to gifted students, and continuing instruction beyond required textbooks. Mostly, though, voluntary initiative, particular resource strength and competences of individual teachers, and preferred individual instructional tastes of teachers governed instructional practices.

The centrality of human relations problems again surfaced in instruction. Teachers ignored instructional training offered by the teaching supervisor because they didn't like her. Conferences between the principal and teachers on instructional matters often poisoned the school with rumors and gossip about possible sanctions and speculative reprimands. (Of course, everyone knew a teacher would convey back to the entire faculty what was said in a private teacher-principal conference in the teachers' lounge or by phone that night.)

Curriculum Under the Principal: Routines, Processes and Scenario

For the principal, the curriculum meant this:

> I feel that curriculum is the total experience that the student has and this is under the guidance and direction of the school, the total experience as a student.
>
> I feel that the formal curriculum is the development of objectives and the implementation of those objectives in each subject area in the school. These objectives are under the direction, the guidance and supervision of the staff in this school.

If this were substantive, then disciplinary management would be more highly prized by the central office. As students moved up in years and grades, they discovered waning adult control over personal behavior and group interactions. What is "..under the guidance and direction of the school," more often than not, was prescribed instruction rather than "the total experience as a student."

Formal Curriculum: What is to be Taught

Mid-year curriculum mandates (nutrition and testing); continuing irregular programs (Teacher Corps); projects of the Superintendent (Project '81); in-service modifications of math and language arts instruction; periodic classroom projects of the teaching supervisor; special February focus on Black History; annual school programs on safety and fire prevention: these sprawling instructional requests, in addition to scheduled subjects, kept curriculum in open flux. Impositions constantly enlarged assigned instruction.

Covering only the textbook and literally following teaching manuals institutionalized instructional styles. Moreover, reading occurred only in the assigned basal reading series. Teachers refused to give level tests and skip capable students. Teachers aimed only to finish assigned texts. These teachers' standards capped coverage.

Not surprisingly, teachers edited the curriculum. To get some skills covered, teachers traded-off what will be stressed for mastery constantly. For example, the lower relegation of science and social studies cut-down their annual coverage. Skipping certain math chapters and exercises casually watered-down math. Fitting-in programs and projects reduced instructional time in scheduled subjects. Also reteaching lessons because of class chaos and unpredictable instructional time cutback curriculum. Involuntary and voluntary editing went on. What will be annually taught and how it will be taught were not uniformally enforced.

Partly, outside impositions constantly rearranged curriculum; partly, teachers license edited and changed limited curriculum coverage. As teachers took in streams of unpredictable add-ons, core curriculum--reading, math, spelling, language arts, social studies and science--constantly underwent unpredictable coverage, changing emphasis and continuous fluctuations.

Informal Curriculum: The Unstated Agenda of Instruction, Interactions and Groups

Informal curriculum may refer to unintentional serendipitous events formally conveying rich information, insights and instruction by the normal operation of school life. The principal defined it this way:

> I feel the informal curriculum would be such activities as you have other than prescribed subject matter; such as the lunchroom program, any outside activities that you might have that don't take place exactly in the classroom under the supervison of the teacher, anything that's learned outside the actual instruction in the classroom would be the informal curriculum.

Four clear informal items dominated the principal's informal agenda. The first involved communication within and between the school and the community.

> The most frustrating thing, I think, is when you have a lack of communication between the staff and myself; parents and myself;....when outsiders don't really come in to find out what is being said but you don't feel that they really come in to see some of the really good things that are going on. We try very, very hard to publicize the good things that are going on in this school and I don't feel that many times people come whenever you have something positive going on--or just visit the school enough to find out what is actually going on--it's much easier to sit back and criticize without really coming in to see what's happening. That is very frustrating to me.

The second surrounded ever present personal insecurity, increasing frustrations and political life and issues.

> The most threatening thing to me are the political games that are played with the Board Members, politicians and the central staff.

The third attempted to maximize the preferred role of instructional leader.

> I would like to have more time to just be the instructional leader of the school. We have been hearing this more...

The fourth searched for ways of attacking low teacher expectations, her most pressing problem.

> Anything that was blocked (in reaching curriculum goals) would have been by, more or less, expectations, that teachers may have had, maybe in a given classroom...

At the community level, improving communication produced a newsletter and emphasis on periodic community programs at night. To the principal they were important. To her staff, they interfered with instruction. Instructional leadership provided opportunities for teacher skill acquisitions. A passive administrative style had suppressed instructional leadership or strongly decentralized classroom instructional management.

Teachers expressed lowered expectations by putting ceilings on coverage and by teaching the bottom and middle students at the expense of the top students. These teachers posed a challenge for the principal to correct. Generally, the less open the testing of authority, the more teachers had their way and weakened central authority.

In upper grade rooms, students bargained with teachers over the rules for classroom conduct. Just as teachers voluntarily cooperated with the school authority, students voluntarily cooperated with teachers at the mercy of students who, by seeking their attention and creating distracting, disrupting or disturbing interactions, stopped scheduled activity. In a sense, students controlled when and if the curriculum would be taught as they took away a little of the teacher's authority.

Effectively, the unwritten curriculum structured roles teachers, students and principals would have toward each other. At the upper levels, teachers frustrated the superordinate/subordinate organization. Student bargained and negotiated roles and relationships with their teachers; their teachers did the same with the principal. Yet, the negotiations kept continued systems of open interactions and unregulated behaviors until gross incidents forced intervention by the principal's office. Essentially, these rules maintained little accountability for conduct, matched students and teachers as co-equals and fitted the principal with the teachers as a peer.

Community Relations under the Principal: Routines, Processes and Scenario

The formal vehicle for community interactions was parent councils. These had activist parents, usually the officers of the Parent-Teachers Association, who had strong personal and informal relations with the principal. They numbered a few. They met four times throughout the year, the principal disclosed. The most institutionalized presence of parents came with open-school day. There, the formal public relations of the school to the community prevailed. Afterwards, tours and individual conferences showed the schools's best face. This occured early in the Fall term. The principal produced a newsletter for community distribution. This went home with students. It came out about every two months. Past activities and upcoming events received positive discussion. Occasionally, the newspaper covered special events around the school. Winning an art prize in a local contest produced good publicity. Inviting the press to special events--for example, the Imaginarium--kept good interaction with the press, even if they did not cover the story.

While not frowned on, community involvement was kept at a safe, organized distance. The traditional night school programs for parents and PTA fund-raising formed organized parent contacts. Searching for community involvement when crisis hit was present but sparingly pursued. Getting parents individually, not collectively, to work on specific disciplinary matters and organizing school volunteers dominated parent contacts with the school. Leadership in doing this frequently came from parents who volunteered as lunchroom aides and an activist parent cadre formed around the lunchroom manager and the school principal. This cadre later supported the school board member's opponent in the school board elections.

The Invisible Stronghold of Parents on Student Comportment and Achievement

The role of parents in these students' achievement was one of the clearest ideas shared among teachers.

> .....How the parents and what the parents do prior to children entering school, I think, is extremely important. Parents are the first

teachers children are exposed to, and I think in many instances, a student's progress and achievement does reflect what was done prior to the children coming to school in elementary school. .....If the parents ...help the child by reading to him early in his childhood, if the parent...prepares the child for his alphabet and his numbers.

Teacher I

> ---I think this is extremely important with how well the child gets started in school. If the parents do not abandon their children and their education, if they do no leave it all to the teacher, I think the child moves along a lot better. I cannot stress too much the need for parents to keep close tabs on their children and their progress in school. The parents need to supplement what is done in school. They cannot just leave all to what can be done between 8:30 and 2:30 as far as their children's education goes. It has to be followed up during the week.

Teacher G

> I think some of these students aren't motivated and that goes back to the house, I think, simply because parents have to motivate. ....They have to motivate their kids.
>
> The one thing I expect parents to do or would like them to do, is to work more with their children at home. I still think that in learning, it's sort of like a 50-50 thing. They get half of it here and half of it at home. We sort of do the introducing, and I think it's on the parents to do a lot of the reinforcing at home. ....I think achievement at this school is relatively high. I think it could be a lot higher if the students had that opportunity to sit down with their parentsat home and work on the assignments which are given or just go over the material which has been done in class the day before.
>
> ...Unfortunately here a lot of parents have to work. We have a lot of single parent families...children coming from single parent households. Their parents have to work and they can't give them that extra... time which a lot of them need.

Teacher H

> ...(I)f parents could spend more time at home where students didn't have to worry about washing and ironing and cooking and taking care of younger brothers and sisters and the parents took more time to sit down with the students...(carrying over the school to the home) that's half the battle (for achievement) right there.

Special Subject Teacher

> The parents are one of the primary reasons that most of the children here are high achievers because of a secure comfortable home. They motivate most of the children in the home. They see that they come to school regularly. They help with any problems or just school activities. They encourage the child.

Teacher B

Question: How would you summarize then what you expect from the students (for high achievement)?

> Well, I guess the same things I said in the beginning about if the child wants or has some type of self-motivation and the self-motivation, I think, comes from the home environment. The parents play a big role in that. The parents play a big role in that from what the teacher expects.
>
> Well, I think students learn how to be achieving, not necessarily high achieving, but achieving through the kinds of experiences they get at home and through their parents.
>
> I would say that the factor (most responsible for this school's high achievement) is the parents. We have a lot of parents who are concerned about their kids and the home life is---certain things are valued at home like education and this is reflected in the school. This is reflected in the students' achievement.

Question: Is this your experience or guess?

My experience.

Teacher D

Question: That's your experience?

Oh yes! When I had an early grade, the way they came in--it was incredible. I saw the kids come from relatively stable home lives with both parents. They came in knowing the alphabet and knowing the readiness skills for kindergarten. ...(B)efore I even looked at the records, I could say, I bet this kid has a relatively stable home life. Through my experience here (seven years) that, generally, is what I've found.

Question: About the present room you have...I'm sure it's not like your early grade.

No, it's not. Generally the achievement is lower in this room and on the whole, there are more home problems and things that there are next door... ... ...I think the school has a certain amount of influence and the teachers have a certain amount of influence on the kids, but I'm a firm believer in parents as being the most important factor in the child's achievement.

With these expectations, teachers plainly said this organization was not the controller of the academic mastery of these students. Their homes played the crucial and decisive role.

Classrooms: Teachers, Roles and Functions

Stated Goals

The principal and her staff decided on four goals for teachers: (a) providing a responsive learning environment for students; (b) diagnosing student needs; (c) providing instruction to meet those needs; and (d) evaluating student progress.

> I decided on these goals...based on the needs assessment of student achievement and the total school environment.
>
> All right. I felt that, as far as the student achievement is concerned, we look at the test scores from year to year and also throughout the school year to determine what kinds of needs, pupil needs, we've had in the area of math achievement, and reading achievement.

Generally, the principal felt these goals were met.

Interviewer:	How well did you think you reached these goals (for teachers) during the last school year?
Principal:	I felt there was growth in achievement for the students in both reading and mathematics. I feel that we did accomplish that at each grade level.

The fallacy of defined achievement by mere growth acquisitions persisted around teacher's goals.

Unstated Goals

Unstated goals included teacher license over instruction and the substitution of growth for achievement teacher responsibility for discipline and a reliance on parents for student control; teacher autonomy and the use of external resources for instructional supervision, evaluation and in-service. Coordination rested on voluntarism; and control resulted from bargaining. Both scenarios undermined the maintenance of student conduct, the improvement of teacher instruction, the effectiveness of curriculum implementation and the adequacy of role performance. The result was a school hierarchically dependent on external sources (central office) and a principal loosely coupled with her faculty and community.

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Classroom Instructions: Routines and Scenarios

Class 1.1

The teacher of this accelerated first grade was a second year veteran. She was absent 8 days during SY 1979-1980. She taught the same grade last year. Persistently, the instructor lenghtened reading instruction for the slowest and rendered less time to the accelerated. She expected a high mastery level. Constantly she exhorted students to study to make learning easier. This came daily before homework assignments, weekly test "pep talks" and daily spelling lessons.

Opening Ritual

> The class started a few minutes late. The teacher had just arrived from the bus. She just got settled and opened with the pledge and the song," My Country Tis of Thee." Students went through the alphabet and the numbers from one to twenty. They do the numbers over again in Spanish. Attendance is taken. Students take out some paper and begin their seatwork; classroom assignments to be performed while reading instruction in small groups took place. As the first group begins to form, they go to the back of the classroom. There, individual students have drawers. They get whatever supplies they want. Then they assemble into their group.

Like clockwork this occurred daily. During reading, an aide examined seat work. If anyone was out of place, the aide or teacher promptly returned him or her back to work. If anyone slipped out of order throughout the day, the teacher followed this little routine:

Teacher: Why are you here?

Class: To learn.

The teacher used collective group pressure on students getting out of line.

Reading

The class had three groups: two upper level and one slow group. The upper level came first for instruction. The teacher covered selected vocabulary words first. These were not recommended by the teaching manual. These were mimeographed to take home for study. Words not following a rule were to be memorized. After covering new words, silent reading occurred for a few minutes. During silent reading, the teacher checked reading workbooks. After silent reading, oral reading began. An assigned student read. After a page, another read. After a series of paragraphs, the teacher drew students' attention to pictures and invited interpretation. She allowed opinion freely before moving toward details in which the pictures and the story made sense in some exact fashion. Before regaining group attention, the teacher tried to have student discussion to discover the correct answer. She constantly repeated, "Students should use their heads, not their mouths, to figure out what is happening?" Occasionally, the teacher probed student comprehension after each page. A page would be read. Its meaning would be requested. As the story progressed, each element received clear paraphrasing and explanation in the students' words.

After reading, students in this group returned to their seats to do reading, spelling, language arts, and math. Before departing, students received a reminder to study their words. It was often accompanied by a plea to study to make it easy and to get ahead. "If you study, it (lessons) will be easy." This reassurance was repeated constantly throughout the day. The first reading group ordinarily lasted more than the scheduled forty minutes.

The second reading group had slower students from two other rooms. As usual they reviewed vocabulary in the story--new and old. They did more oral exercises and drills before starting to read. To check oral grasp, the teacher wrote oral drills on a protable blackboard at student height. We saw it this way.

> She wrote a big "I". She said the "I" is always big when it stands alone in a sentence. She asked for a sentence with an "i." She promptly corrected it after finishing the sentence. She pointed out to students they have to be alert to details. She changed the small "i" to a big "I," repeating you have to be careful about details.

The lesson stopped for gym. Forty minutes later, after returning from gym, the group reconvened. Extensions of the exercise continued. Every student participated in drills a few times. After drills were over, a workbook assignment was given on the oral lessons. Again, the instruction crossed more than one period. The slower group consistently received about ten to twenty minutes more instructional time per day. Not uncommonly, both groups used up more than one assigned reading period.

Math

Four patterns were followed in math. The first involved demonstration, discussion, and replication of demonstration by students as an exercise. This could be a graphic problem. Take measurement. To convert inches into centimeters, students received two different rulers, a red and a green. The red was in inches; the green in centimeters. Book lengths were measured by both and recorded. At their desks,the students performed the exercise and saw the point for themselves. The same pattern occurred with geometric shape recognitions. Individually, students had peg boards and made the shapes called out by the teacher. To prove congruence, everyone got up and showed their shape. Whether it was measurement or shape recognition, students learned by doing and received confirmation by group affirmation.

The second pattern requested demonstration and explanation. Student went to the board, did a problem, usually the assigned seatwork of the day, turned around, and explained how they arrived at their answers. Doubters could ask why the answer was correct.

A third pattern stressed oral exercises among groups without using fingers to count. For example, students added or subtracted after seeing a flash card. After each problem, student groups with correct answers received a card. A half dozen problems later, the teacher called for sets of cards to be returned. The group with the fewest cards had personal tutoring for the rest of the period. An occasional challenge problem would be posed.

> If you went to the store and had a dollar, you spent
> seventy cents, how much change would you get back?

Students promptly gave answers: fifty cents; twenty cents; etc. patiently the teacher took all answers. Then she deliberately took a wrong answer. She waited for someone to challenge it. Someone did. She asked him to show how he got the correct answers. After the correct subtraction, a moral lesson came. "Put on your thinking caps. Don't follow Ms.W., just because she said this is the answer." Knowing your answer rather than relying on authority was stressed.

Discipline

Order was demanded. Talking students immediately received attention and were asked to cease. Repeatedly, group slogans requested attention and participation. For special subject instruction, students formed straight lines and were expected to know proper conduct. Repeated disrupters received a swift mental recollection of their infractions over the days or days. A word to the wise was said to be sufficient. After (a) too many warnings, (b) verbal reprimands, loud and firm, and (c) seat changes to stop distracting interactions, parents received a call and visited the teacher, usually during class hours. A small parent conference picked up where long warnings left off. The teacher received discipline reports from special subject teachers. Before leaving, a group exhortation reminded students about expected conduct. Disappointed or approved sentiments were expressed after returning.

When students returned to their rooms from special subjects or lunch, the lights were off. Until silence and order were restored, they stayed off. As long as eleven minutes would pass before the class restored itself to order. If they did not, they invited isolation, seat changes, and special attention for parent reports.

Throughout the day, touching, name calling, and playing during instruction were immediately suppressed. Quiet movement to sharpen pencils did occur. Any distraction and disruption invited swift reprimands.

Special Subject Instruction

First graders had art, music, library, and gym. In art, students worked in groups. They received minor art work to do. They even reminded their art teacher when she replicated an exercise with them. Ordinarily, the art teacher gave initial directions for a project--a cut out or drawing, distributed supplies and left students alone to do their assignments. When they returned again, they did another assignment. Rarely did they do the same project over two consecutive periods.

Music involved singing. The instructor introduced songs, mostly popular Sesame Street songs. Students were given a line at a time until they reached a stanza. After committing the line to memory, often without a text, students sang by repeating a teacher lead-line. For the next class, lines often were forgotten.

In library they heard stories. Students sat at tables or on circles on the floor. After getting order, the story began. Two or three stories in a row could be read. Students then browsed or looked at books--essentially at free recess periods.

In gym they played games. Usually competitive teams formed. The teacher explained rules, moderated students and controlled the competitive drive to win. He insisted on strict order.

In art, library, and music, students changed behavior. They acted more freely. Conversations, playing, walking around, and doing non-assigned work often occurred. In music, for example, the teacher stopped many times to scold, reprimand, change seating or remove students for isolation. In gym, opening required some attention and quiet. Until attendance and quiet were met and students moved to two groups by sex, games did not start. Orderly conduct came before games.

Particular Practices

Testing was taught. During level testing, students left the room and went to another room . No class interferences or disruptions would be entertained. Careful teacher direction insured that students understood their directions before taking the test. Careful reminders to take seriously this exercise came before the test and between units of testing. During testing, bathroom breaks waited. Student reminders repeated that they had to learn how to concentrate on the test and not to discontinue concentration.

Black cultural instruction was a special curriculum project for this class. The teacher aide and the teacher set aside two periods on Friday for cultural instruction. These included traditional stories, music, arts and crafts, and common reflections. The room was well decorated with Black cultural symbols. The teaching aide's strong instructional emphasis in this program was unusual.

The teacher and teaching aide belonged to a self segregated fraction of the faculty. They stayed away from the faculty lunchroom. They ate together daily. They pushed for special events together--for example, a day honoring Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday during the normal school day. They helped put it on. They were displeased with the academic leadership of the principal, the teaching supervisor, and many peers. A common complaint centered on kindergarten. This year, they felt, the itinerant teacher provided too much art instruction and too little cognitive development. They expected next year to get a crop of students who were not prepared. They expressed strong disgust about this prospect under the nose of a black principal.

Class 1.2

This class was special, a Title I primary reading readiness class with mostly slower students. For some, kindergarten skills had to be taught. Most learned for the first time how to go to school. Much of the class did kindergarten work mixed with first grade materials. Complicating matters, an over-aged, seven year old was disruptive. He constantly made noise, did little work and frequently engaged students in talk, play, verbal fights, pantomine, or insultive interactions, verbally and symbolically. A teacher aide who could not restrain his behavior all day gave up on him. At intervals no longer than fifteen minutes, his actions, noises or voice grabbed attention. Additionally, three other acitve busy beavers not attending school work persistently roamed the room, constantly defied directions, and interrupted instruction in large and small groups by touching, teasing and furniture moving. To sharpen pencils or pick up seatwork, they tripped passing students or chased students by running from desk to desk. Two adults, a regularly assigned teacher and a teaching aide, constantly struggled to order a highly active, constantly moving and very playful classroom.

The teacher, a substitute and Headstart teacher before, came in October after the regularly assigned teacher left. (Suddenly the veteran teacher of this class took an early retirement.) She was absent 6 days during the year. Soft-spoken, this new teacher found herself in a world which was unresponsive to her constant verbal requests on severe discipline problems.

Opening Rituals

The class opened with the Pledge of Allegiance and a patriotic song. Detailed explanations of the day's seatwork followed. Slowly, each exercise was explained; directions were restated; illustrative examples were done. Then the teacher aide distributed classwork and assignments. Ordinarily, in the first period the class did seatwork before formal instruction began.

The teacher walked around and checked seatwork occasionally. But most of the time, the students brought it to her or the teaching aide after they finished. If the work was correct, they went on to the next assignment. If not, they re-did it.

Daily, the over-aged child had special seatwork. He received personal tutoring under the watchful eye and hand of the aide. On some days, with the greatest patience, she watched and waited until he needed help. On other days, she became impatient and simply stopped trying to get his attention as he became more disruptive. He was isolated in the back of the room with his special aide. This restrained him generally for two or three periods of the morning. By lunchtime, these restraints ended.

Reading

The class had three reading groups--the red, green, and blue. Red and green had three to four consistent members, including one third grade student and a first grade student from another room. (The changing membership came from high absences.) Blue had four to five. The reading schedule started with the highest and ended with the lowest. Three different techniques accompanied each group's instruction.

The first reading group started out with vocabulary. Word meanings were disclosed and discussed. Ordinarily seatwork contained these vocabulary words. A comprehension exercise came next. Students saw their vocabulary words in a sentence. The teacher wrote them on the board in a sentence. Students were asked to recognize their usage. Then a directed reading exercise from the normal reading series began. The teacher reviewed the last story before beginning the next. This prompted active discussion occasionally. At other times, details had to be carefully extracted. Then the day's reading began. A selected reader read. After this reading, key phrases were repeated by the group. Because of the attention span of the students, formal instruction varied. A timer, ordinarily set at twenty-five minutes, formally set limits on how much formal instruction would take place. Constantly, instruction was stop-and-go. Within the group or in the seat group, the aide and teacher constantly reprimanded students, broke up discussion groups or stopped playful dyads which often expanded if they persisted. Seatwork followed instruction, usually as a timer rang or just before.

The second group repeated some of this format. For vocabulary, flash cards would be used. Then the teacher wrote these words on the board. Students came up and traced over these words afterwards. In their reading exercises, they did a similar routine. After reading words from a sentence, the teacher had them trace over the letters. Words recognition, letter combinations of sound groups and elementary reading were going on. The pace was patient, slow, careful. It was marred by constant scolding, correcting and threatening of a parental call.

For the third group, parts of this format occurred. The vocabulary lesson started with flash cards. A whole reading period, lasting twenty minutes, could be spent on just vocabulary. Meeting just before lunch, the third group convened at the restless movement peak of early morning instruction.

Although the class was behind their grade level, they had no additional reading to bring them quickly to where they should be. Instead, reading pacing slowly moved on its own daily speed. Seatwork distractions reduced half of the formal instructional time. Generally, the seatgroup aggressiveness won the battle for time and attention, regardless of which group met, in any period.

Reading a study after lunch daily supplemented reading. The teacher aide usually read a story, often with good dramatic emphasis. Her style caught the student's attention. It kept calm during the opening of the afternoon's instruction.

Math

Two methods of covering math were used. The first involved a demonstration and then an exercise. Usually after lunch, after story time, the teacher covered a topic and gave workbook assignments. Occasionally assignments came without formal instruction. Additionally, for seatwork, math problems in a lesson sequence were given.

The second method stressed games with educational toys or competitive groups. For example, with educational toys, students learned two digit numbers one day. The game was tens and ones. If a student had three tens and two ones, he made 23--for example. The game engaged the students but its numerical concepts were not stressed. Understanding the mechanical answer received greater attention.

Another game variant used competitive teams who saw a problem on the board and devised a answer. If their answers were right. They received points or could perform a special task---e.g., draw parts of a snowman. Teams pooled effort in winning.

Discipline

It's 12:16 in the afternoon---twenty-one minutes after lunch. The peak restlessness of the day arrived. One observer captured the next 24 minutes until the period ended.

> The story ends. Mrs. A. tells students that she was proud of them for being so quiet. Ms. B. walked to front of classroom. She asked how many students liked the story and asked them to thank Mrs. A. They did so. Ms. B. addresses the class as boys and girls. Ms. B. works with students on the time. Students are called to the board to write the correct time. As Sean leaves the board, Myron engages him in a fight as he passes by. Sean slaps him in the face. Micah and James are also fighting. Students who have to go to the bathroom very badly are asked to raise their hands. Ms. B. called names in the order of which they are to go to the bathroom. When each student returns, they are to tap the next student so that he or she can go. As the girls leave, they take their names out of the slot and put them in the bathroom slot. The boys don't accept Marlon. Mrs. A. stands at the back besides James and Micah. The students work on the problems on page 174. James in a very slow, babyish voice says, "I don't know how." He says this 5 times non-stop. While Mrs. A. helps students in front of the classroom, James and Sean engage in a pencil battle. Micah soon joins them. Mrs. B. pulls Sean's desk forward and puts him to work on the assignment. As Ms. B. turned, James said, "Teacher my stomach hurts" in a babyish tone as he grabbed his stomach. John complains to Ms. B. about Peteno. He said that he was threatening to strike him. Peteno denied it. As Sean tried to work, James moves his desk in until he blocks Sean in. Micah joins in the act. Sean is now completely blocked in. They bump Sean's chair. Marlon tried to push James' desk back with his pencil. He takes a piece of paper that he chewed up, out of his mouth and throws it at James. Ms. B. saw this and spoke to Marlon telling him that he will have to stay after school. Marlon and James continue to throw chewed paper at each other. This continues. Periodically Sean would turn around and do some work for a brief period of time before being interrupted by James and Micah. Ms. B. gave them detention points which she writes on the board. James starts complaining. He said

> that he did not do anything and accused the other two-Micah and Sean. Tamara puts lipstick all over her face. Students start laughing at her. She begins to cry. Ms. B took her out, and told her to go to the bathroom and wash the lipstick off. She told the class that they should not have laughed at Tamara. Period ends.

Fights, altercations, threats, teasing, physical separations, furniture movement, verbal disruptions, laughter, playing in and out: this traffic all happened often together or minutes apart. In its midst, attempted instruction started and stopped. Suddenly, teachers became referees, sheriffs, parents and peace makers. They needed help. Alone, they scolded, screamed, threatened, detained and isolated students. In spite of everything, they failed to restore order consistently.

Essentially the same discipline tactics, in a less super active setting as these moments, were used all day. First, scoldings and reprimands came out. One-on-one, it stopped disruptive or distractive interactions, temporarily. But it did not halt the conduct which was not treated. Rules for not teasing, threatening, touching, tripping and trapping were not there. Just a strong request to stop constantly came. A procedure for each infraction and infractor and for precipitating environmental factors had not been worked out. Either the teacher surrendered the instructive role and became full time disciplinarian or these interactions constantly tore apart predictable interactions. Varied simultaneous events pushed the teacher's hands into discipline full time, completing instruction as best she could. Stop-gap measures, scolding and reprimands could not handle strong, forceful collective behavior or children. The second disciplinary arsenal stopped everything. Until order came back, the lights were off. This consumed time but rarely returned order completely. The third arsenal detained or denied privilege. After school, detention occurred for fifteen to twenty minutes. Students resisted it. Since parents picked them up before the detention was dished out, they could avoid getting it. A fourth weapon was discreet counseling. Taken aside, students received warning and moral suasions. Ordinarily, they would also get a parent call. By all indications, this worked only for a few days.

The centerpiece of disorganization was one student. Often he triggered interactions which ordinarily would not be active and assertive. His educational requirements, his social and emotional developmental stages and his incorrect placement in this grade ignited this volatile context. Without immediately strong parental involvement with this child, the teacher was at a loss. Hesitantly, that involvement was secured. Everyone waited, for the social worker to get around to it. She did. The parent report suggested a strong supportive context rather than removal from his present classes. The parent refused to send him to special education classes. He was going to be in that school. As is, he was ripe to be passed to the next classroom teacher to tackle. In the meantime, other students paid for this irremovable reality.

This teacher constantly called out for help. Physically, she dragged her major disciplinary problem to the principal's office. She sat him down there. She told the principal about a day's disruption. He sat in the outer office before lunch. By the end of lunch, he slipped out of sight from the clerk and principal. Every call for help received a returned request to try harder and more. "It was her problem. She would have to deal with it." This was the attitude conveyed.

Full matured variants of this class will reappear later in other classes. Their incubation period started in the first grade. Transmission, maintenance and maturation reproduced multi-problem rooms. As is, this class embarked on a path that reduced instructional time, diminished opportunities to get back on grade level and rewarded unreadiness for schooling.

Special Subject Instruction

The classroom dynamics of this group carried over to special subjects. Teachers there tried little to change behavior or improve learning contexts. In one instance the library instructor punished a student in this class with the closest legal approximation to corporal punishment.

Particular Practices

On Friday,students brought in toys to share and exchange. "Show and Tell" attempted to teach cooperation by having a time for everything (playing and toys) and a place for everything (a particular time on a particular day in school). The format was used also in the kindergarten.

Readers leave this room to attend another reading group. In this room and that of the receiving room celebrations followed a finished reading unit. Praise and an occasional small prize went to the finishing student.

Double teaching also occurred. Reteaching math lessons in more than one period of the day compensated for instructional inefficiencies. In this school, this was the only teacher who systematically used two non-consecutive periods to teach the same subject matter formally.

Class 2.1

This second grade teacher had been at School B for three consecutive years. She had taught different classes in the school. Last year, she had a split third/fourth class. This year she received her reward an accelerated self-contained classroom.

An older person, this teacher was changing careers and had taught less than five years. Methodical, exact, a meticulous record keeper, and an accounting task master, the teacher filled instruction with copious exercises and held some strong notions about students and their capabilities.

Class Opening

Homework collected; board work explained and assigned; outside class reading students sent off and first reading group separated from the remaining seatgroup: within five minutes, these perfunctory chores were performed. The day's work began. For the next three periods, reading moved from the slowest to the fastest, three groups consecutively. Two groups started Level 6, the "slip-reader"* between the first and second. One group, the fastest, covered Levels 7 and 8, the true second grade readers. As with all classes, math instruction remained ungrouped.

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*A "slip-reader" can be used by anyone of two adjacent grades. At the lower grade, it is an accelerated reader. At the higher grade, it started off the year. Rarely did first graders enter the "slip-reader" before second grade, although the materials negligibly differed for the first couple of units.

Reading

Each group had a different approach, strictly taught with the reading manual. The first period group had continuous and intermittent reading. Continuous reading students read a paragraph until the story is finished. Each of the six in this group had a turn. From the teacher's manual, all comprehension questions followed completed reading. In intermittent reading one student read a paragraph. A few questions were asked. Then reading was resumed by another student. After the second paragraph, questions were again asked. This format repeated itself until reading was finished. Customarily, reading was conducted only once. Reading vocabulary came before reading. Splitting a story over two days was common.

Next, workbook exercises were distributed. Since reading consumed about fifteen minutes, the remaining twenty-five minutes with the group was spent on exercises. A student read the exercise directions. After oral assurances that everyone understood, individually students did their exercises. Then the teacher patrolled the aisles to check seatwork or keep a close eye on reading assignments. Afterwards, the teacher decided when everyone should be finished to check answers orally with students. When all were corrected, another mandatory and optional exercise followed before students moved to the next study in the unit. Most teachers gave mandatory exercises and left the optional ones for busy work among early seatwork finishers. This teacher insisted on both. Every assignment she corrected and returned, and prized this methodical style. She resented additional work and exercises which could not be corrected and returned. This she proclaimed loudly.

The first reading group started behind the second in reading level. By mid-year, it moved faster than the second. By year's end, they were ahead. The middle group, the teacher felt, was the slowest and in three quarters of the school year, covered five out of six units. Ordinarily twelve units would be covered annually. Chronic absentees in this group often came after a story was read and could not do assigned workbooks because they had not read the story. These students read the story alone without private tutoring and prodding oral coaching and oral comprehension checks. After silent reading, absentees alone figured out workbook direction and did assigned workbook exercises.

The second group's reading like top first graders, stressed initially vocabulary for the lesson. They did not do workbook examples orally. They rewrote the examples. Then they proceeded to their workbook exercises. Automatically, after they finished one exercise, they got another.

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The third group actively and spontaneously discussed vocabulary. After initial pronounciation they orally deduced word meanings by prefix and suffix meaning before going to the dictionary for confirmation. Oral reading generally was continuous. Then comprehension questions came--all from the manual. Unlike other students, before disbanding they again reviewed the day's vocabulary words orally. Everyone was checked for recognition and pronounciation orally; then drilling exercises started.

All groups received exactly 40 minutes instruction. Only a small five minutes difference occurred for the first group. To assist reading, seatwork was directly correlated with assigned group reading. This reinforcement, this teacher felt, was absent for students traveling between rooms for reading. She disliked this practice.

The reasoning behind the optional and mandatory exercises stressed that students did not have the background to read their stories. For example, before reading Johnny Appleseed, students did not know apple blossoms, the teacher said. Pacing slowly and giving all exercises, she felt, insured students mastered everything and had full preparation for the next reading. This practice displayed lowered expectations and needlessly delayed moving through the reading series. This had some merits. While all exercises were checked for right or wrong answers, sheer volume record keeping replaced analytical emphasis on whether more optional exercises produced any tangible benefits. This was presumed.

Mid-year, after this slow coverage was brought to the principals attention by displeased parents she produced a correction.

Math

Math was taught during the first afternoon period. Before instruction, morning seatwork was checked. When math began a few minutes later, assigned workbook exercises would be checked. This exchange and dialogue typically represented what happened.

> Slowly and deliberately Mrs. C. walked back to her desk. A minute passed before she said anything. "Take out your math book. Turn to page 260 and 261." She went to yesterday's benchwork after the usual student exercises. She asked a pair of students to do each problem--two for inequalities and two for subtraction. Each student read his problem orally before he did it. If the problem had steps, the student showed them, Irma had a little problem with her example, 89 x 4. She had 9 x 4 = 36. She placed the 6 and carried the 3. But she couldn't figure out 8 x 4 + ? Mrs. C. tried to help. She wrote on the board: 8 4 = , 9 x 4 + 36. Irma was left to discover that the former is four less than the latter. After some hesitation, she finger-counted the correct answer, although initially she guessed 40 before she realized it was 32.

Elements of this event were standard. Students corrected homework, the continuation of unfinished classroom work which required student explanation for everyone to see. Steps had to be explained. Class methods, on multiplication, for example, superceded textbook suggestions. Old fashioned tables committed to memory, for instance, were more important than having students work out the sequential development of a table by logical sequential expansions as the text often did. "The new math stressed too much vocabulary at the expense of doing problems," she remarked in an in-service. "Doing problems" by-passed essential math processes.

Another assignment followed a completed one checked on the board. Next day, students did the same board exercises again. Again students received incessant exercises. The teacher felt that the MAT scores overstated her students'ability.

"If you gave them word problems, which the Metropolitan doesn't do, they would not get those (high) scores," Asking the test to do what it did not do just invalidated its results. Three months before school termination, she said, "I'm dragging it (math) out to reinforce skills before going to the third grade book." Optimum math coverage, in effect, was cutback by teacher predilections and expectations in reading and math.

Discipline

Active but orderly, students knew their daily work routine and hopped to it. They walked around, talked softly to each other and occasionally played small unauthorized games quietly and carefully during seatwork while small group reading instructions took place. Collective instruction on comportment restrained noise or disorder. A few exceptions got reprimanded immediately. If they disturbed the whole class, everything stopped. When order returned, class resumed. Keeping students behind from gym or other subjects punished incorrigible behavior for not finishing their seatwork. Rules and their consequences were explicit. With little deviations, they were executed. "This was an easy and good year," the teacher said.

Special Subjects

Behavior changed in special subjects. Music and art had order before starting. Getting it often took ten out of forty minutes. Art and music changed routines from first grade. Music did dance; mechanical singing without text continued. On a visit, we saw:

> He (the music teacher) asked for quiet. He got it. He then instructed everyone to form a circle. He then demonstrated how to do a square dance step and break up into pairs. He physically showed the dance. Then he drew the dance steps on the board. He again returned to show how to do the steps alone and then with a couple. Twice without music, he went through the square dance sequences with five different couples. Then he played a record repeating his directions and the square dance steps. Twice the record is played. Since the teacher initially only worked with five couples, he had other class members sit and watch. Then the seated group exchanged places with the demonstrating group. The new dancers got no practice. By watching, they are expected to pick up on the dance. They get two dance trials and two playings of the record with thise trials. The period closed by singing Sammy Davis Jr.'s song "Candy Man." That was the last song they learned. From memory they were expected to remember the words and sing.

Show, see, do: the textless and oral approach retained its step as the class moved from vocal to dance lessons. The highly intricate choreography of the dance was not recorded by students who ordinarily came to music without paper and pencil.

Art, less extremely extemporaneous than in prior visits, had planned activities with clay. The clay rules were firmly taught. Instruction and demonstration preceded students' personalized exercises. Warnings went out on throwing clay around the room. The kiln had been down all year.

Library and gym showed no change from first grade. Library had story time. Gym had play and games, mechanically. Teachers remained invariant in style and technique in gym and library.

Particular Practices

Without deviation, every subject was taught. Every period was exactly the same length. The clock ruled. Strict record keeping persisted across other subjects. Unlike other classes, this group integrated science demonstrations from the math/science center into its classroom work. Every week a bar graph listed spelling champs' frequency. A prize--a badge and candy--provided recognition and reward. For occasional math contests, similar rewards were given out.

In December, the teacher was hospitalized for three weeks. The class had a substitute. Throughout the school year, the teacher was under medical treatment and observation. This year, the teacher was not in her best health. Occasional fatique and difficult days showed. Upon leaving the room, the teacher locked up to prevent theft which happened before to her. She secured her teaching materials, including a closetful of physical displays she collected to illustrate stories during reading.

Class 2.2

A full-time substitute, this teacher had less than two years teaching experience and left in mid-March. Her departure saddened the faculty. This class had two different full-time teachers this year.

Opening

Roll call, homework collection, seatwork directions, and warnings threats and interrogations for students without homework opened the day on this note. Three reading groups followed immediately Before they assembled, three isolated students received individual work assignments and counseling for correct behavior, actually a short sermon on why they should behave.

Reading

The first group included students from the first and second grade. Students read silently. After finishing, the teacher quizzed swifitly and shortly for comprehension. Answers had to be pulled out. Immediately, workbook tasks came. For the remaining period, individually, students finished exercises; she checked them and told students to go to the next one. While checking or teaching, the teacher constantly talked to one main disrupter. She watched every move he made. Along with two other isolated students, this student took up her time constantly. After the group finished an exercise, students stopped and reconvened. Collectively, the group checked papers again. Individually, each student read an answer until all answers were checked. This redundant correction occurred with her best readers.

The second group did little reading during our visit. Their time was spent in correcting and doing seatwork. They were in the middle of the process that group one did in a period. What took one day for the first group happened over a few days for the second group.

The third group had reading. Before beginning a new story, the teacher reviewed the old story. Her worse behavioral problem and the smallest reading group--three students--came last.

During the story review, actively excited students were calmed down by discussion around the story and off of the study. After sharing experiences, vocabulary was short, swift and perfunctory. Students saw new words, pronounced them and committed them to memory for recognition. Seatwork was the new reading vocabulary. An assignment followed the vocabulary lesson. Individual correction was not practiced as in group one. The teacher waited until all three students had finished. Then group corrections came by students' reading their answers. While the worst group, behaviorally and academically, met, constant exhortations controlled classroom conduct. Consequently, reading stopped and started which was this way for all three groups.

Math

The scenario included three routines: exercises, group correction, the next exercise. Students could bring up individual problems to the teacher for clarification or correction. Most waited for the group answers. These came without demonstration or illustration. They were generally oral answers.

Discipline

A field visit captured these events like this:

> Ms. D taught long and short O. As she did, Roy interrupted. Roy from the preceding reading group came to have his work corrected. He stopped the present group's lesson. The teacher prolonged his interruption. 'You must be Speedy Gonzales,' Ms. D said. While Ms. D formally gave instruction, he did the workbook exercises. As he leaves, Tina, an isolated classroom student, came up. She wanted to get her special work. Ms. D looked at Tina's work. She looked up. She eyed the class and yelled out:
>
>> "Mark, you did a really good job. Take this home and let your mother see it." Mark didn't answer. He sat with his two feet on the chair.
>>
>> "Anthony, are you done?" Tony turned around. He shook his head; no, he was not finished.
>>
>> "Ms. D, are you too old to get a baby?" Mark blurted out. "No," the stunned teacher quipped. "My mother is too old to get a baby," Mark continued. "Why?" the teacher asked. "Do you want a brother?" Mark moved his head from side to side. It's not clear if his answer is yes or no.

Stern and rigid, the teacher always meandered into different groups during small group reading. That encouraged small talk among students and kept her off teaching. Keeping track of students also chopped up the flow of teaching. Discipline shifted teaching to a secondary activity.

Students who were disrupting others were asked to change seats. Not doing seatwork produced detention during special subjects or the lunch period to do it. At every turn, reprimands, insults, scoldings and individual private conferences handled individual behavioral infractions. Every individual got attention for his particular part in disorder.

Punishment did not work. Detained students did not change their behavior. A student denied gym one day and asked to do his seatwork instead, showed up the next day without homework. Verbally forceful at every itch and twitch, the teacher spent sizeable instructional time in getting and keeping order and enforcing rules.

The most forceful disciplinary strategy, isolation, had mixed results. Isolated students inched their way toward regular students over the day. They engaged regular students in conversation. Their remote positions, physically close to both doors, often led to bumping and teasing while they returned to their seat. Their movements went undetected in some instances. Their isolated positions magnetically drew others ot them or pulled them to others. With three in the same room, one at a time, one got away with drifting and disturbing ordinary students.

Special Subjects

Classroom conduct carried over to the special subject teachers who just gave up on improving behavior. While giving them the same materials as the other second grade, special subject teachers abandoned discipline for most students and concentrated on cooling down the three big behaviorial problems.

Particular Practices

The room exhibited very decorative calendars and ornaments. With care, the teacher posted good work and examples. A reward board for "Top Cats" announced weekly spelling champions.

Class 3.1

This third grade teacher who preferred teaching reading, got her preference. Her math was handled by the next third grade teacher, 3.2, whose class she received for reading instruction. She also taught Level 11 to the top fourth graders in the split classroom.

Reading scores for these three classrooms and two grades plus those of selected students in second and the slower fourth grade, hinged on her teaching. This pivotal teacher saw basic materials for reading instruction this way:

> I'm impressed with the Ginn 360 readers more than the series of readers we're using...I wasn't so at the beginning...But...I think it's an extremely good program--much better than the Scott Foresman reading series that we had because it gives a lot of diagnostic work. It assesses the decoding skills that children are still having problems with. Certain skills it gives extra work for the children to do. If they've already mastered it, you could must move on.
>
> The only area...that I don't like is the switch when they move from Level 10 into Level 11. Level 10 is extremely easy and Level 11 is extremely difficult. It takes a full year to get through Level 11 if you're going to do it properly...You can't take a story one day, do the skills the next day, check the skillbooks the following day like I do with every level up to 11. On 11, you may be on a story two weeks if you do everything you're supposed to do with that story. The thing with that is that the children get bored and if the reading is difficult, they have a hard time with the reading. I've mentioned it to the supervisor and I understand, I guess, they're aware of it because they changed in the Ginn 720 series the Level 11. It's not the difficulty they have with the Ginn 360 series. So they did tone it down a little. But the Level 11 we're using, that is extremely hard for fourth graders and fifth graders to get. It takes a lot of time and a lot of patience and after so long, children start getting bored. It's hard to keep them interested. But otherwise, I think on the whole, the Ginn 360 reading series is a good program to use. I've seen a lot of good results since we have used it.

To her, where students stood farthest behind grade level, present instructional materials compounded reading instruction, distracted attention, held back comprehension and spawned poor student cooperation by accelerating boredom.

A prototype of school norms, a role model for new faculty, an influential elite, and a discussion leader at lunch, she also was an opinion leader, an important teachers' union official.

Teachers went to her first rather than the principal on minor matters. Besides her awesome reading influence, she exercised social influence in a very casual convivial manner. She was absent 15 days during SY 1979-1980.

Opening

Her room started classes formally with the Pledge of Allegiance and a poem. Because her class left for math during the next two periods, she issued directions about seatwork and led them upstairs for one math period and one period of seatwork. She, in turn, marched the other third graders for the first two periods of reading instruction downstairs.

Reading

Reading moved from the lowest to the highest. Some periods were lengthened for slower readers and shortened for faster readers. Lessons came directly from the well-worn teaching manual always opened at the present lesson.

The slow group received inconsistent treatment. They read orally and continuously one paragraph per student. Only difficult pronounciations brought an intervention. On other occasions, students silently read. Whether silent or continuous reading occurred, comprehension questions followed and a vocabulary lesson preceded a reading. In the lower grades vocabulary emphasis declined.

Exercises followed reading. Routines of two prior years continued: vocabulary; one reading; oral comprehension quizzing; workbook exercises. Like the lower second grade (2.2), students corrected exercises collectively. Ordinarily, the teacher cursorily examined these exercises and did not know how well mastery took hold. The unit test formally disclosed poor mastery, not daily school work sheets. Hence, reinstruction to correct happened only after unit testing. Daily instructional gains slipped through this student self-correction method which often went without review by the instructor. Daily student mastery rested with students.

The slow reading group of 3.1 silently read when they returned during the third period. They also could get further work in reading during the fourth period, usually a special subject time. Among the four classrooms covered so far, this one was taught without consulting preparations. For example, incorrect page assignments for seatwork repeatedly occurred. Commonly, memory and habits of long experience (over 15 years at this school) guided instruction.

For Level 11, the top fourth graders, from 4.1/5.2, the format was: give work, check work, do both again. Most students came and did seatwork. Directed instruction was limited. Recommended silent reading for this level was pursued. During Level 11 instruction, one teacher constantly visited and interrupted instruction. At any time, also, reading or other instruction could be interrupted by the office to get a messenger. A few problem students were in the 4th grade classroom. They received swift reprimands or private counseling outside the room on any infractions. These student discipline cases, though, disrupted class less than adult interventions from teachers and the office.

Math

Faster third graders did math upstairs with the 3.2 teacher during the first two morning periods. Copious problems and exercises were drilled. Ordinarily, the math specialist assigned a student to a problem and the seatgroup did the same problem. After an answer, he asked for validation. If it was right and someone disagreed, an argument had to be settled. Usually the student with the right answer explained how he got it. Then the teacher disclosed the answer. After introducing problems in an exercise in this fashion, the teacher, parading up and down aisles, checked student's work. Technically very accomplished, this instructor had one single method of instruction: exercises which students then publicly defended.

Discipline

In 3.1 class talkers, movers or distractors received immediate attention. Individually and collectively, calls for order continually came. If these failed to produced results, a direct confrontation happened. Individually, students would be pulled out or scolded before peers. Collectively, the class stopped all activities. The lights would go off. After a few minutes without a teacher comment, order was expected. If it was not there, the meaning of the signal was explained and produced compliance.

A strong disciplinary force was parents. Persistently, families received calls. This threat hung over students' heads. Parents felt it. One parent remarked as follows about the 3.1 teacher, "My son, Jerry, must be the worst student in the whole school because I get so many calls..." Because of them, her son later received professional psychological counseling to correct his behavior. Not all parents did this. But most received sustained calls. This teacher produced strong parental concern. Threatening a parent call suppressed further disruption for most students.

Special Subjects

Earlier practices remained. Reading stories continued. Formal book loan and reading encouragement began. Library card catalogs and resources were taught. Yet library work stayed detached from classrooms.

Particular Practices

The slower grade during the fourth period of a special subject could have reading again. This placed greater emphasis on reading than special subjects; this opportunity was infrequently used.

The 3.1 teacher, highly affectionate in hallway interactions, hugged and cuddled students. A friendly disposition constantly prevailed during hallway walks between floors daily.

This teacher noted consistently conflicts between spellers and readers in grammar and rules. She also distinguished them in language arts too. She kept students on consistent usage for the same concepts across subjects.

Class 3.2

A first year full-year teacher, this teacher's class was shared by three teachers: reading by 3.1; spelling by 4.2; and himself for math, science, social studies, and language arts. With one of four itinerants--music, art, library and gym--daily, the class experienced four different faces and teaching styles everyday. This teacher was absent 11 days during SY 1979-1980.

The 3.2 teacher insisted on order before instruction. He had procedures for asking and answering questions. He promptly broke up interactions, movement or play during instructional time. The reading teacher (3.1) on the other hand, conducted the class highly informally. She allowed fewer formal rules and more self-assertiveness, if this did not disrupt anyone or stop classes and seatwork. The spelling teacher (4.2) though, presumed disorder and precipitated some. Her constant teasing, threatening and laughing at small and big events, kept students on edge. She belittled and undermined the 3.2 teacher deliberately by informing students, "Who do you think I am, Mr. E?" The inference generally was: Mr. E permitted disorder, I don't. In returning spelling papers, mild and severe derision spouted out to students:

> "Shaky, not bad. You didn't look at them, did you?"
>
> "You've made such a big improvement, your mother will be very proud of you."
>
> "Look, when she doesn't have anyone to talk to, she talks to herself" (as she drew the class' attention to a student talking to herself).

Persistently they were said jovially--but with indifference. Daily these three different styles forced students to cope and adapt to three different learning environments, in addition to special subject instructional tacts.

Opening

The class opened by leaving. The 3.1 teacher escorted her students upstairs. She took the 3.2 students downstairs. Roll call was taken in the third period, when they returned.

Reading

After returning from reading in 3.1, the class had silent reading during the afternoon. This was negotiated between the teacher and the students.

Math

Across both third grades, math was constant. No special treatment occurred. This class just covered the same book at a slower pace. Students here asked questions more quickly and constantly, and crowded around the teacher for individual correction and affection. The reading and spelling teachers' styles carried over slightly here.

Discipline

In the beginning the students were orderly. A few disrupters and withdrawals did not block sustained classroom activities. Wherever they tried, scoldings and demands for change would be made.

Without hesitation, the 3.2 teacher refused to teach without order. He detained students regularly after school where they wrote out a punishment. Then he would tear it up in front of their faces. This symbolic harrassment occurred without comment by anyone.

Parents would be called, but threatening to call a parent to keep order did not occur as frequently with him as with the 4.2 and 3.1 teachers who constantly threatened their groups. The 3.2 teacher relied on roles--I am a teacher; you are a student. Both of us have roles which really meant students should follow the teacher. As the school year progressed, this broke down with a few who could not be handled and who tested his accountability for their conduct. This angered the teacher so much that he had to go to the lounge and let out his anger occasionally. Especially when the teaching supervisors came, warnings and verbal commands did not keep things quiet. Needling students visibly angered this teacher. He tried to handle discipline all alone. When mere role assignment failed to produce compliance, this frustrated the ineffective disciplinarian. When students got his number, the teacher was in trouble with those pushing the wrong levers on his temperament. As the school year progressed, his control over students declined and his temper outbursts increased. This dangerous combination led to an unsatisfactory rating.

Special Subjects

Special subjects teachers treated both third grades alike. Although they were both equally active in special subjects, the 3.2 class contained worse behavioral problems.

Particular Practices

Even so this class had more science projects and instruction than most, used the newly developed science center, and encouraged class experimentations. Among all primary grades, science consistency, and demonstrations were highest here.

Class 4.2

A veteran teacher of eight years taught this class. She labeled them "ding-a-lings" because they were not the top crop. Scheduled to get the split 4.1/5.1 class since her lower seniority forced her into that assignment, by negotiation, she got only a fourth grade.

The split teacher bargained for the better fourth graders from this room. She was absent only twice.

This teacher said her setting was a semi-structured open classroom atmosphere. Two scenes, one from the morning and the other from the afternoon, pictured daily classroom life.

Morning Scene

The kids in Group 9 worked on the assignment in the back of the room. Miss G corrected papers. Of the 3 students in Group 9 Jami was the one most called on to answer questions. He seemed most enthused. Ramon did not seem very interested. He pouted. The other girl was rather quiet. Ms. G called on her once. She was one of the students in the class who was not called on often. Ms. G moved around. Ms. G sat on the floor in front of the classroom and worked with a student. When students want to ask Ms. G a question some simply started talking. Others walked up and touched her. For the most part, however, students raised their hands, until she saw them. Sometimes it took a while before she did. Margie raised her hand frequently and Ms. G constantly came to her. Bathroom patterns were very inconsistent. Students asked sometimes. At other times they walked out without asking. Throughout all of this, Kamony was not doing his seatwork. He spent most of the time looking around. Ramon was finished with his reading assignment. He put his paper on Ms. G's desk. She eventally picked it up, corrected it, returned it, and eventually told him to do another exercise. Meanwhile, he sat idle and waited. Students who have questions for Ms. G went up to her. They may sit on her or they may sit on the floor and talk to her.

Afternoon Scene

John stretched to read Marla's book. Ms. G was sitting in front of the class. Students stood up to read. Kamony was not paying attention. He was laying on his desk. After each student read, Ms. G asked questions. Mark was talking. Ms. G said, 'Mark, I don't want to hear it.' She got up and went to the back of the classroom and sat with him. Marla went back to sit beside John and shared her book with him. Kevin was not paying attention.

Constant movement, chatter, distraction, occasional fights, physical and verbal, high noise level and most students off-task: these events commonly happened together or separately no less than once every fifteen minutes. Fifteen undistracted minutes would be an usually orderly event--in this classroom.

In reading, students averaged a year and a half year behind their proper grade reader, Level 11. Three reading groups--Level 8 (lower third grade), Level 9 (upper third grade) and Level 10 (early fourth grade) resided in the room near year's end. Only one math group, the class as a whole, received instruction from the third grade math teacher two periods after lunch, the high points for highly active student behavior. The differences in the teaching styles of these two teachers persisted. A lax teacher commanded one room. A formal traditionalist taught the other. The combination was not very compatible.

Opening

The day opened with instruction.

Reading

No more than twenty minutes of formal reading instruction occurred whenever levels met and actually read. On most days, groups corrected exercises. From an assigned exercise, a student read an answer. The teacher interjected if it was not right. The next student read an answer if no teacher intervention happened. As soon as group correction finished, another exercise was given. The teacher would probe students after reading exercise instruction to be sure they understood what to do. Occasionally, time was spent on directions. Students could sit, stand, use blackboards or rest on the floor to do their reading work. Working with second and third grade materials, the teacher replicated steps commonly seen in the two lower grades. Partly this resulted from exact replication of the teacher's manual. Partly it displayed strong indifference to adapted materials for older children from younger children's books. Teacher style, material adaptations, student assignment patterns and group correction practices worked as mechanical gears fitted together.

The principal or teaching supervisor recommended more oral reading for this class. The teacher blurted out in class one day that she was forced to do this. If she had it her way, she implied, she would cut this out.

> Look, I was told to do this. I was told to read aloud since some students understand faster than others. Now if you want to read this by yourself, I can give it to you.

Having students read replaced showing them how to read. Assessments of students' reading occurred occasionally in assigned exercises. Student diligence and their own initiative, commitments, and standards determined reading mastery.

Spelling rather than reading received serious instruction in this class. Spelling, the first subject taught, prompted encouraging verbal support, challenges and competitive games. Seriousness was attached to doing spelling, taking spelling tests, and getting a personal pep talk for good weekly spelling tests. In taking reading tests or doing reading drills, no such rallying calls came. Spelling and language arts were the first two subjects generally taught in the morning. Reading started in the second or third period, depending on the day. The order of instruction conformed to personal priority. The instructor replaced reading stress with spelling and language arts, and correcting massive reading worksheets by-passed serious instruction in reading.

Math

Math was straight and conventional. We saw it this way in the field.

> The period began. The class waited for Mr. F. He waited for silence. It took three minutes for the class to settle down. Mr. F starts. He reviewed measurement units in meters, centimeters and kilometers. The class from memory recalled these conversions. After these assurances, he explained area and perimeter in meter enclosures. Lecturing, while graphically drawing articulated shapes., Mr. F explained 1 square centimeter from a rectangle of 15 centimeters. He drew both areas and showed composite fractions of the total area. To illustrate perimeter, he added both sizes of the shape He discussed how a big word, perimeter, really asked for adding line lengths. The work and corresponding operations were stressed. As the lecture moved on, the noise molume rose. Student interests waned among some who decided to rest their heads on their desks--

> a permitted practice by the main classroom teacher. Throughout the lesson, Mr. F constantly called for attention. Some students just simply ignored the request. He picked on defiant students and insisted that they follow. To keep everyone awake, he randomly called students to restate elements of area and perimeter. One in two said they were not following. Openly, earlier, one student said they liked their homeroom teacher but didn't like him. She was nice. He was strict.

The main teacher often made stern mathematics unattractive and soured receptivity for math in the afternoon.

This took another form, too. Often students during seatwork asked about math problems. The main teacher rebuffed them. She said she didn't teach math but for seatwork, she said, she gave more math in the last three weeks, for example, than their assigned teacher. She often claimed his work was easy. Her seatwork in math was harder. Both teachers worked at cross purposes.

Math demonstration, exercises, and corrections were routinely followed. Every exercise problem in the book was assigned. When these were exhausted, additional problems were handed out. Math homework was collected. Students not doing it received a hard time from this teacher. These practices were not sustained by the regular teacher.

Discipline

Screams, threats, and peer pressure: these three items constantly surfaced in the discipline arsenal. Screams (the first response to aggravation or a call for order or breaking up loud chatter) came on and off throughout the day. Mixed with them were sarcasm, derision, humor, shame. Combined and apart, these came constantly as the teacher insisted on having the last word. In one incident, after screaming and its accompanying flippant acid commentaries failed, she walked up to a student, physically pushed him around a couple of times and dared him to hit her. The students encouraged him to do so. This hot fuse nearly ignited. The point--a declaration of who is the master of this territory--would have been lost if it went to court. The entertainment stopped class. Both screams and bold inflamatory tactics, verbally and physically, persistently halted class.

Flagrantly, parental threats were hurled around the room. Students were constantly told they could receive a call. Separating major and minor violations requiring a call rarely occurred. Threats were powerful enough to control some. Apparently, good parent cultivation had occurred. Peer pressure invited classmates to put down a student. This could be a call for students to tell another student to be quiet, stop talking or turning their attention to a disrupter. What was done in the third grade by peer attention to a deviant was often replicated here again.

Special Subjects

Library changed for fourth graders. They were regular seatwork. They came and did assignments, although these did not overlap with classroom work presently under instruction. Discipline and work performance patterns replicated themselves in the library.

Particular Practices

Students could do anything as long as they got their work done and didn't disturb anyone. This produced many small groups of two's and three's working together on assignments. It worked well for the main teacher. For the math teacher, it was counterproductive. He disallowed it. While he was there, everyone did their assignments alone.

Persistently, this teacher played games with other teachers by sending messages back and forth by a student. Then coming to their respective doors, the sender and receiver conducted a hallway exchange for a few seconds. Additionally for small minor matters, teachers walked in freely. Between classes as students moved in lines, these upstairs teachers teased, praised, and downed students not in their class. Occasionally, this merely reinforced the bad reputation and image of the worst discipline cases.

Physically hugging students, showing strong emotional affection and approval for some students' work, and freely displaying these interactions inside and outside the room, occurred. The teacher's style resembled 3.1. A similar but somewhat reserved variant of these occurred next door in 4.1/5.1.

Class 4.1/5.1 The Split Class

This teacher was a School B veteran who was absent 10 days during SY 1979-1980 because of surgery. This class had the top fourth graders and some of everything from the fifth grade. His own fifth grade repeaters from last year were also in his class. Everything had to be double-taught, except the upper level fourth grade reading. That happened in 3.1. Spelling for the upper fourth graders went to 4.2. Social studies for the fourth graders moved to 5.2 In turn, this class took in science for 4.2 and 5.2 These were all negotiated settlements with the exception of reading which was arranged from the beginning. During the middle of the school year, these specializations and exchanges fully flourished. Like 2.1, the teacher was a copious record keeper. Both classes had children of a board member. (In classes without them, the record keeping was not as intense.)

Highly interactive student-to-student contacts covered everything: talking; collaboration in pairs or triples; loud outbursts; teasing; name calling; furniture pushing and moving; moving from one seat to another; opening and closing desks disruptively during instruction; mild classroom courtship; leaving and returning without permission and detection; moving from a bathroom break by breaking through a seated instructional group. Students did get their work done. But their highly active interactions got the teacher's attention every now and then in three to five minute intervals. That meant instruction stopped and started. throughout a period. As he turned to the seatgroup to keep order--he always has a seatgroup since he either teaches a fourth grade or a fifth grade separately--the instructed group lost time and attention or the point being made. This made a highly distractive room. But it was less disordered than 4.2, where distraction, disruption and disorder tightly twisted and tangled teaching, i.,e., they confused rather than clarified lessons. With the exception of fist fights, most infractions were attended and mildly controlled.

Compounding the super charged student interactiveness were highly open exchanges throughout the day on anything between adults. From 4.2 to this room, messengers can go back and forth and this happened anytime. Repressing impulsive communication was just out. Class 5.2 and this room freely exchanged anything. Mutual screaming, disciplining and fights could be heard across all three rooms in the eastern corner of the second floor. In fact, given the aimless, super active interaction inside, all three rooms kept their doors open and mutually exchanged audial scenery. Moreover, adults teasing each other, impersonating each other and constantly sharing jokes at the doorways entertained students as much as the hallway disciplinary air waves which doubled as an alarm system to get help if an unmanageable situation developed in anyone of the three rooms. On a few occasions, the alarm was used, although teacher provocations poured oil over fire in some cases.

Opening

The class came to order as the lower grades. This class continued habitual patterns. Around the room was a display of American presidents. No other room had such a display.

Reading

The left-over readers were those of Level 8 and 9 (third grade readers). Working literally from the manual, the teacher replicated lessons which could be seen in the second grade and in the slower third and fourth grades in form and actions. The show-vocabulary and tell-me its meaning were standard. The continuous reading format without stress on badly pronounced words persisted. The one reading and exercise-after-exercise duplicated themselves.

Math

Math textbook examples were replicated during introductory instruction. This class had more discussion than most about its math topic. All exercises were assigned. Correcting patterns were similar to 1.1, 2.1, 3.1, and 3.2. A student merely came to the board, did a problem, explained its steps and was seconded or challenged. Math instructional techniques for student involvement stayed constant.

Discipline

A carbon copy of 4.2, the disciplinary strategies were nearly exact. The only one difference was disciplining by playing with fire. No such incidents occurred. The parent threat, the constant scolding, the immediate response to infraction--all at the expense of instruction--emerged. Overtly, this teacher refused to send anyone down to the office. Good evidence came from his class. An active child from here often went to the office and on his own, wandered back upstairs without the clerk or principal knowing his movement. This happened a few times. Publicly a student also challenged him to send him to the principal. Everyone watched this teacher back down from the challenge by ripping up a note to the principal.

Special Subjects

The discussion in 4.2 is essentially the same for this class.

Special Practices

The record keeping was overt and obvious for homework and seatwork. However, homework was often not graded and seatwork was often just checked. Doing your assignment rather than being evaluated for its merits persisted in the fashion of 2.1, 2.2, and 3.1.

Students could get private tutoring on request in the class. Just by asking, the teacher often showed students by personal instruction, a left over baggage from prior experience with special education. Although he joked too much as he tutored, he never repressed curiosity as 4.2 did in rejecting greater involvement with math tutoring.

Class 5.2

The oldest faculty member at the school had the only straight class of fifth graders. He also was the major manual labor source for small projects and big projects. He monitored student entry into the building in the morning. He straightened out the excessive informal comedy of 4.2 and 4.1/5.1. He supervised the building whenever the principal left. Often when bells malfunctioned, he stayed on the schedule and manually rang them. He was never absent during SY 1979-1980.

A traditional opening was standard practice. Because his students often moved to special subjects during the first period, they hurriedly left after opening exercises.

The class was interactive like 4.2 and 4.1/5.1 It had a new variant. One single student was everywhere and did everything like that in 1.2., by disrupting any class activity, by attracting other student's attention, and by constantly getting teachers reprimands. His effective control of others in the room resembled that of class 1.2. A similar all encompassing disrupter, distractor, and disorder generator were wrapped up in one. As in class 1.2, he was not controlled or neutralized.

Reading

Reading is continuous and oral. It stopped to handle pronounciation and vocabulary, which is taught ex-post facto. Often annoyance showed when word meanings were asked. "Look at the sentence. The meaning is right there." In loud exaggerated exasperation, these were said constantly. Maturity was expected rather than developed. A strategy to discover meaning in context did not develop. Only rejection of the question constantly persisted. The comprehension format was sparing. A few questions here and there were asked. They were not always straight out of the manual. The preferred instructional pattern was to be extemporaneous, partly because so much energy went to just watching students. The constant watching of students to keep order in a highly disorderly context competed with instruction.

After reading came workbooks. Unlike other teachers, this teacher systematically visited every aisle and checked who worked or who did not. He kept students doing something in the morning. By afternoon, this wore him down. Then he often became indifferent. From highly involved with pushing students to highly indifferent prevailed within a day.

Consequently, three types of students formed and forced themselves on the class. Perfect withdraws tried to just attend. They did as little as possible. With the pressure off for working, they did little. Active participants were the second group. A third strata floated between both and drew from both ends. On most occasions, this strong dichotomy of sustained withdrawals (tune-outs) and active participants prevailed. This extended over other subjects.

Math

More math than reading was taught. Students did exercise after exercise. The student explanation format for correcting exercises repeated itself. (See class 3.1., 3.2, and 4.1/5.1 on math.) When necessary, instructor intervention re-explained a problem.

However, this instructor forcefully disclosed reluctance to give word problems. He stayed away from them. He felt he got less trouble this way. The editing of curriculum steadily continued.

Discipline

Discipline was more absent than present. The standard methods were used. But the same scenario of 3.2 happened here. Both teachers tried to be their own total disciplinarians. That were often frustrated because they got few results. In turn, they allowed students to test the limits of towing the line. Students dragged these teachers and their distempers into discipline and weakened their controls over their classes. Two males fell into this trap when their disciplinarian drives failed to reach total command.

Special Subjects

We saw them do nothing different for this group that they did not do for fourth graders.

Special Practices

The most frequently heard hallway voice was this teacher. His classroom discipline roared throughout the building. This notoriety drew mild disapproval among his peers.

MAC/RAC

The Reading Achievement Center (RAC)

Teachers switched in mid-stream. For the year, the program had two teachers but the same aide. Regardless of teacher, the work stayed the same: the teacher babysat while students individually attended to assignments. Very little clinical corrections occurred. Students came, did an assignment and left. The place and purpose of the assignment in a treatment process was ignored although this was formally declared.

The Mathematics Achievement Center (MAC)

The instructor drilled, individually tutored and constantly kept order before instruction. With some replication of the assignment and collection pattern of RAC, this program directly instructed rather than had passive student activity without adult guidance of skills. A watchful hand often surfaced.

Discipline

MAC had more order than RAC. The teacher insisted on teaching students their role and place. She reminded them that schooling required their cooperation and participation. Mildly, the same message was registered by the RAC teacher. It often came as a fruitless plea after too much disorder.

The Kindergarten

There is one half day kindergarten at School B. The teacher is substituting for the regular teacher who is out on maternity leave at School B. She has another half day assignment in another school in Lower Hayti. There were 20 students in the class when it was observed in early February, 1980. The teacher is a first year teacher newly assigned. She arrives at School B around 11:00 a.m. and eats lunch with the early lunchers in the Teachers' Lounge. She shares the teachers' aide with the 1.1 teacher. Both the 1.1 teacher and this aide produce and proselytize Black History and Culture in School B.

The Kindergarten teacher uses games, arts and crafts to teach number concepts and word meanings. Her students are divided in groups with the slower students working with the teacher's aide. She opens her class with the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag and the calendar exercises. After this, she usually plays a record instructing the students to participate in some kind of word or number game. Discipline problems are attended immediately with reprimands. She also denies privileges such as going on trips or taking special subjects. This teacher gives rewards such as stars and stickers for good work and conduct. From time to time students work with the tape recorder. The teacher's aide tells them to talk about something such as three wishes they might make, plays it back to the students and corrects undesirable speech habits. Phonics is also taught this way. The children are taught their names and addresses daily and generally hear stories read by the teacher or the aide once a day. There is a snack break in the middle of the session usually consisting of cookies and an orange drink.

During the observation period the principal made a formal visit in this classroom. The teacher staged the lesson and reprimanded students who forgot to be on their best behavior. This teacher and the 1.1 teacher maintain a close relationship during class periods although they differ on the thrust the kindergarten curriculum should take and do not eat lunch together. The 1.1 teacher desires more stress on reading and language skills in formal written exercises.

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Summary:

The Teaching of Reading and Math

Reading instruction varied in emphasis and intensity across all grades although all teachers leaned on teaching manuals. Class 1.1 stressed coverage, pacing and mastery exercise completion. The lower first grade, Class 1.2, emphasized vocabulary, word knowledge and word creation--the reading tasks associated with pre-primers and initial primers--without aiming at getting students on track within the reading series. In Class 2.1, doing exercise after exercise was the modus operandi. In Class 2.2, getting work took effort, while minding who played, talked or did not work in seatgroups took time from teaching reading. Although both second grades had different ability groupings, both had the same reading format: oral reading without interruption until misrecognitions or incorrect decoding required, usually, a one-time, single word or phrase correction by the teachers. Whether students read orally clear or fast--or with first grade word-for-word through a sentence or ordinary second grade longer continuous phrase reading--instruction was the same for these two different ability groups because the teachers did just what the manual said to do.

However, in the third grade, reading changed. It became more mechanical. One day, a group read and received a workbook exercise for the next day. On the second day, they did the exercise. On the third day, they came back together to have a group correction of their exercise usually with each student correcting his own work and the teacher not looking at troublespots. (The teacher didn't collect workbook exercises after correction.) Rarely the teacher examined analytically individual work. (Only at the end of a unit, diagnostic testing would be looked at--after correctable damage, if any, had been done). Ordinarily students alone figured out how to correct their mistakes. For both third grades and the upper fourth grade readers under this teacher, less and less direct instruction occurred. Progressively, reading instructional oversight deteriorated and habitual mass corrections of student reading exercises continued growing into the fourth and fifth grades. Beginning in third grade reading, professional teacher corrections of daily reading exercises, the everyday link to final mastery, especially in comprehension (the school troublespot), swiftly slipped downhill. Many "instructional fillers," i.e., worksheet, mass correction, then another worksheet and more corrections changed the intended strategy of accompanying reading exercises (i.e., to reinforce and check skill acquisition) and mechanically used up time. Simultaneously, with these practices, students moved farther behind grade schedules in reading.

Class 4.2 virtually copied the style of the third grade. The split fourth/fifth grade kept students moving but retained the mass correction format. Finally, taciturn reading instruction occurred in Class 5.2 Students opened their readers, read aloud, or silently and did accompanying assignments. Minimal intervention occurred. When it did, the teacher asked students to figure out word meanings or inferences by the context of the study. Often he overlooked the obvious: students were disengaged from the story reading and missed comprehension by not paying attention to the story development which took too long to unfold. Frequent dramatic gestures--e.g., frowning or slurping sounds between his teeth followed by a stare of disgust--were liberally interspersed in the reading lessons. These varied practices substituted for teaching. Increasingly, left alone to do exercise after exercise corrected in a group, students at the third grade and afterwards were left alone to reach mastery.

Teachers' discretion diluted or dismissed full math curriculum implementation by avoiding word problem mastery; an issue connected to reading but overlooked as such by the staff in this context, and by stalling maximum annual coverage for students who could do more than their year's textbook. In two rooms, teachers knew students could do more than their assigned annual math textbook but refused to go ahead.

Nevertheless, math displayed greater continuity than reading over five grades. After initial instruction, students received and did exercises--usually all in the book on a topic--publicly explained their answers during correction and received the next set of exercises until a topic was exhausted. (Rarely students received handouts when textbook problems ran out. Practice was limited to the number of the programs available in a book.) Even with skilled math trainers available once a week, teachers still persisted in suppressing an achievement path in math word problems and remained true to their conceptions of how much and what these students should learn.

Undirected coordination and controls, mechanical use of curricula repertoire and fluidly variable instructional delivery systems, all packaged tightly together, fragmented consciously managed instruction, reduced its systematical execution and sparingly used corrective feedbacks on successes and failures. Consequently, students lived with unpredictable and unmanaged instruction, further compromised by the indiscretions of teachers during instruction and many unresolved disciplinary problems. Reading and math was taught in a context undermining, what the principal called, "a healthy, positive instruction environment" --an unmet goal for this year.

The Elementary Scholars' Program (ESP)

The ESP is housed on the third floor of School B. There are two teachers for this CCSS program, one black male and one white female. The students in the program come from a wider school district than School B's. The program is predominantly white and is supervised by a central office director who visits the program without always notifying the principal. Students are judged to be gifted and/or talented by several criteria, the main one being an IQ of 131 or above, although this requirement is not ironclad. ESP is separate from School B. Even at lunch the ESP students are segregated from the rest of the school and eat at the same table. Students arrive for the program by bus around 9:00 a.m. and leave promptly at 2:00 p.m. ESP teachers take turns waiting with the lines for the bus and generally have a preparation period from 2:05 to 3:05 p.m. For the most part ESP is an orderly but busy academic environment.

The teachers have an alternating plan for teaching, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. On January 31, 1980, the student group examined a series of rocks. Ms. R explained about fossils and rock markings. She explored the rock formations and their uses for dating the earth for determination of its history and origin after which she read an article from a picture book. Students are in Grades 1 through 5. The story was about a well-preserved man found in Denmark. He was buried in peat which served as a preservative. When this story was finished, the students were given large pieces of construction paper for an exercise on what makes a good principal of an elementary school. This lesson seemed extemporaneous and out of place in the schedule. The general plan seems to be to provide enrichment exercises and advanced skills for these children. There is a strong elitist theme to the program and its motto is, "There is nothing more unequal than equal education."

Both teachers look to their director rather than the principal for supervision and support although the black male teacher is a friend of the School B principal and has strong feelings about the perceived interference of the School Board Member in School B affairs. Additionally, The ESP director from central office is also the relative of an influential politician, the first elected woman to the city council. She was thought to have informal influence at the district level by her very position, which in addition to being viewed as "political" since others had credentials superior to hers, was seen to place her in contact with privileged persons and families. Consequently, the principal played her role with the ESP director cautiously not wishing to test the modus operandi of district officials.

Conspicuously, the ESP director was also on the City Council Planning Advisory Board, usually considered by School B actors as a good machine reward in the one-party county. Again, routines were anticipating irregular forces and factors within the school hierarchy to affect educational decision-making.

Headstart

When observations were begun with the Headstart Program at School , the teacher refused admittance saying that the program had nothing to do with School B except that it was located on its premises.

> I will have to contact my supervisor at central office.
> Only she can give me permission to let you observe.
> Dr. James can not give you permission to come here.

When Dr. James was informed of this problem, she called the teacher, Ms. Lee, immediately. She concluded the telephone conversation by telling Ms. Lee that she should refer her supervisors to Dr. James.

The four year olds came in the morning from 9:00 a.m. until 11:15 a.m. The three year olds were accepted in the afternoon, from noon until 2:30 p.m. The four year olds began the day with a meal, breakfast, after which they heard a short story. When the story was finished, they were divided into groups and worked on different tasks. Some pushed vehicles around on the floor. Others worked at one table with pink play dough, pans, cutters, and rolling pins. Each one wore a colorful apron. Ms. Lee worked with one student at a table on a particular task. When she had finished, it was calendar time. The students cleaned up their tables, put their books away and sat on the floor facing Ms. Lee. She reviewed the day, month and year with the students and put the date on the calendar.

Students are taught vocabulary, phonics and comprehension skills. They are also taught safety rules, to take turns and to respect the right of others to speak and be heard. Students are also taught numbers, shapes, sizes and colors. They string beads, sing songs and make designs. After eating, the children are given toothbrushes to wash their teeth. Other cleanliness rules are followed also. Students wash their hands before eating, clean up after themselves when using paints, play dough and other materials. On the whole there were no discipline problems which provided unmanageable. The teacher was in control of the class at all times.

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Headstart prepares the students for reading and mathematics skills scheduled for teaching in Kindergarten, but there seems to be little coordination between the two programs at School B. Headstart and Daycare are housed in the same mobile unit on the School B playground. The two programs share a common hallway and bath. Both groups have separate cooking and separate directors. The Daycare program emphasized play more than Headstart but was not observed. Its services are available before and after school hours. Neither program in tightly coupled with School B.

Lunchroom: Para-Professionals and Students

Students were escorted to and from the lunchroom by their teachers. Elementary students lined up and promptly got to lunch. Intermediate students wiggled in and out of various pairs and triplets and arrived two to three minutes later than elementary students. At the door, four people, including the head of the lunchroom, met and took over students, served food and controlled students for the next thirty minutes.

Students eating reduced or free lunch, lined up to receive a cold and hot pack. These were handed to them by one aide while another checked off the receiver. Cash paying students usually received their lunch the same way. After receiving lunches in one of two converted classrooms, students marched to their tables and sat for the next fifteen minutes. They joined a third of their class, ordinarily, who brought lunches and left from class lines to lunch tables.

As students ate, the check-off aide patrolled aisles, checked on students and urged carton disposal after finishing. Sitting, eating, and throwing away disposals took ten to fifteen minutes. That left fifteen minutes idle.

On good weather days, students played outside in the yard, with their lunch-aides acting as watchful supervisors. Whether in or outside, these aides insisted on students following rules, keeping the loud noise down to moderate, even if slightly high pitches and controlled courteous student interactions. Even among intermediate students, they exerted compliance by shouts, forceful reprimands, and sustained reminders of expected conduct.

Their successes, however, drastically dropped when cold days forced students indoors and left them with fifteen minutes of confinement. The noise loudly deafened.

Touch-push-tag games mounted. Continuously, slight running around began. As long as students stayed in the lunchroom and did not fight, these restless acts were watched but not stopped. They ceased when elementary teachers returned promptly at the ending of lunch. They resumed up stairwells for two of the three intermediate classes, whose teachers generally managed to be slightly late in picking up charged-up students.

Corridors, Toliets, and School Grounds

Corridors

On the east end of the second floor, from 4.2, students flowed into hallways to do work. From 4.1/5.1, kids moved in and out of rooms. Between classrooms 4.2, 5.1, and 4.1/5.1, teachers' voices carried disciplinary sessions and calls for help (if anyone needed it to restrain a student). At the west end of this floor, constant loud traffic noise disturbed RAC, MAC and classroom 3.2. On the other hand, these rarely occurred on the first floor. Even dismissal moved quietly on the first floor. On the second floor, dismissal released bedlam.

Toliets

The second floor regulated students in the boy's bathroom by keeping windows wide open, even on the coldest days. A drafty room discouraged stalling, the teacher who devised this felt. This draft in a highly overheated building contributed to catching colds. To this trade-off, building management paid little attention.

School Grounds

Two headstart portable classrooms took up most of the useable school playground. This left little room for playing on the south and west play spaces during the Fall and Spring, when students left the building for lunchtime play. During good weather, lunchtime recess wasted the lovely park across the street. Lunchroom mothers who monitored students would have to carry the students there. They nor school leadership were inclined to do so.

Teachers' Rooms

Three Factions

The first lunch period segregated primary teachers by race. All black teachers went to a classroom for lunch. All white teachers ate in the teachers' lounge. Both places had similar interactions. Gossip and complaints provided the daily news. Next, personal and family matters received attention and ranged from death to weddings, intimate dyads or old romances. Continuously, conversations generated lines (i.e., collective feelings and dispositions for compliance) toward new directives or impositions.

During the first lunch, itinerants for the afternoon from kindergarten and RAC joined white teachers in the lounge. The male black music teacher ate alone in his room and joined no group--before, during or after school.

Intermediate teachers formed the third group and ate during the second lunch period. This group more strictly discussed school matters. Teachers in rooms with the worst disciplinary problems, who were highly suspicious of outsiders, were guarded.

The Effects of Desegregation

Partial desegregation of the district was pending during the study. During the highly publicized public discussion of the final plan formulation, gossip displayed dispositions. A Scholars' program teacher thought the "Board of Education should stew in its own mess." A community advisory group had no business in educational planning, he felt. Other first period lunchers shared the same sentiment during his lunchroom conversation. At this white lunch grouping, others used community protests and rumors to express their own personal fears. Teacher C noted that her neighborhood school would "cross the rivers," the catchword for staying segregated. An art itinerant indicated that at her brother's school (white segregated) rumors ran high and most people disliked any plan of desegregation.

During this period, students asked innocent questions--for example, "Will it (desegregation) mean that white children will attend this school?" Teachers returned hesitant answers after a group of white parents visitation prompted this question. For teachers, the real issue was school closings, and potential job losses. With city losses in school population, desegregation further consolidated schools and promised to release teachers with less seniority. Teachers worried over job security.

Desegregation showed small glimpses of the peer network of the principal. School C was to receive students from the school where School B principal's best friend was principal. The head at School C publicly suggested that the scores from the sending school were highly likely to be unreliable. Hence, to insure proper student placement, incoming students needed retesting before proper classroom assignment. The public questioning of the valid reading of these school scores occurred before a larger body of principal peers.

School B's close colleague was angered. She demanded that School C drop the use of a supplementary reading program, for the district required only one basal reading series. The irate colleague spearheaded informal consultations and inquiry of the legality of using supplementary reading series after the basals. Arguing that all schools should have uniformity, the close colleague of the principal of School B stressed uniform commonalities in CCSS' schools and, thereby, attempted to blunt comparisons of organizational performances and outcomes.

This reduced accountability for organizational performances in a system sharing common books, curriculum, teaching standards, and management commands. By inference, students performances especially poorly performing students, stemmed from their ability and that of teachers as the principal of School B already suggested. The best friend of the principal of School B had parallel arguments by insisting that schools not be measured by reading or achievement scores.

Simultaneously, measuring output by achievement scores is generally viewed as a form of implicit evaluation of the school and their personnel. Because teaching talent, capability, and efficacy varied across schools, this argument continued, exact matchings for comparisons are needed but would be near impossible to devise. So school outputs cannot be traced backwards to differential outcome after comparable instructional inputs. School management and personnel were blameless in generating student outcomes. Or whatever "blame" they have, cannot be pinpointed.

Conclusion

School B data show an organization which is hierarchically dependent on central office for direction and supervision. School B operates on two main principles: (1) collegiality, and (2) specialization. The spirit of collegiality is demonstrated by the high degree of teacher autonomy manifested in the various routines which operate, the delegation of the principal's authority to teachers, the sharing of the principal's prerogatives with the Union representative and the concurrence of the principal with the displacement of the achievement goal by growth gains. Specialization is revealed by the dependence on outside sources for assistance in curricular reforms, evaluation and in-service; and on teacher determination of their teaching schedules and subjects based on their individual preferences. The consequence of the operationalization of these two principles is a principal who is loosely coupled with her faculty and community and tightly coupled with the central office on which she depends for instructional leadership and programs.

The observations and interviews reveal a school in flux characterized more by its informal structure than its weakly working formal structure. Achievement goals were displaced by growth norms. The teachers' highest priority was the resolution of the discipline problem, and an undercover war was carried on against the principal in an effort to force her to assume the responsibility for it. Moreover, organizational fluctuations came from heavy staffing changes before and during the school year; and, more important were the overwhelming first year assignments, six out of ten classroom teachers and four out of six special subject teachers (10 out of 16). Also, over half of the student body moved around during the school year (57 percent). Lastly, teachers attempted to recruit parents to assume the responsibility for the discipline in School B once it was clear that the principal was not going to do it.

Given her devotion to professionalism and collegiality, the principal was faced with the constant observation of a School Board member whose three children were students at School B, a teacher who was an official in the FOT, and a teacher who was the relative of a senior administrator in central office with whom the principal had a previous unfavorable experience in this transitional organization where she was a new principal with only three years experience and where the data indicate a stronger authority was needed for coordination and control. In this setting, the principal represented reluctant leadership in spite of her desires to be an instructional leader. Her invitation and/or acceptance of external programs overtaxed and overburdened her administration and kept her working under stressful circumstances while failing to resolve the achievement and discipline problems facing her daily.

Control, communication and coordination were greatly affected by the principal's principles. She was rarely informed about what was going on inside the school forcing her to rely on external sources for information. Controlling student and faculty conduct for ordinary classroom time without interventions, interruptions and sustained stoppages just proved non-existent in most rooms. While student conduct received modest restraint from parental contracts, faculty disruptions received little attention. Some teachers came late habitually. Often the principal, herself, was late. Some teachers left early at ESEP time. Others left early on paydays (Fridays). Teachers who wanted control became frustrated and their morale declined. Overloaded by new curriculum introductions and program accretions while unsupported in the execution of the regular basic skills program in reading and mathematics, these teachers watched their effectiveness and efficiency lessening. Their feelings about this condition further reduced their enthusiasm and led toward human relations conflicts manifested by gossip, back-biting, inter-personal animosities and hatred which produced a poor learning environment.

Since School B was only 56 percent poor, our expectations were that the students would achieve higher as an effect of their SES. This proved false. The biggest organizational factors, instruction, curriculum, coordination, control and discipline worked against the highest possible achievement. Incorrect goal statements, unclear goal problems, low expectations and ineffective routines diminished effectively sustained contributions of organizational dynamics to student achievement. The refusal of the principal to use her authority to direct teachers and to monitor their behavior unless forced to by external sources denied her the means to develop a consensus among the faculty around her goals. Moreover, her unwillingness to assume responsibility for student discipline and parent conflict removed a way to obligate her faculty to her for their loyalty.

We conclude, therefore, that somewhere in the interactions of students and parents at home, the children who did achieve at School B acquired what it took to survive strong ceilings on their aspirations and unregulated classrooms responding to individual teachers' values and moderate technical instructional skills. Their highest priority, reading and math on grade level over every grade for all students, was rarely tackled by organized school effort. Under the present operating conditions of School B, the strongest factor for achievement centered on the child solipsistically learning from copious school exercises and home interactions.

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Chapter VI

School C: Loose Coupling and Hierarchical Independence in a Divided Community

Introduction

"Don't tell me anything about Mrs. V," the young woman screamed when asked what she thought about the Principal of School C. The following rushed out of her like a roaring cataract of water:

> She made an example of me because she was angry with my mother who wouldn't support her dress code. I wrote an editorial about the policy for the school newsletter and she had an assembly and called me a bad girl and asked me to come before the students and apologize for criticizing her and the school. I shall never forget it. And I was an "A" student. The reason the school is a good school is because there are good teachers up there and not because of anything she has done . . . NO! NO! NO! That woman is MEAN!

The young woman's mother confirmed what was said, but added:

> Now she is a twin and my other twin had no trouble up there. I took them out of School M because they weren't learning and my friend told me how well her children were doing at School C so I transferred my children to another address and used it to get them in. School C was definitely superior to School M.

This ambivalence flows through the School C community dividing it in its loyalty to the School C Principal.

The School C Principal views herself as a "disciplinarian, a curriculum specialist, the one who more or less assesses whether or not the school has achieved. . ." She also believes that the principal is a nurse, doctor, minister . . . "you name it." She sees herself as high in authoritarianism, saying:

> Well, since I am reponsible for whatever happens in this school, I do think I must have the final say. I mean, you must have somebody in charge. So, if I'm that person, I make the final decision.

She is willing to make those decisions and to take the consequences.

People in the School C community have mixed opinions about her authoritarian style. One parent states that her son had been designated a science winner at one time but the Principal had kept him from winning because she was angry with the parent. Another parent described one of the teachers as incompetent, accused her of pulling her child's ears and calling him a "sloppy bum" in front of the class. As a result a petition was circulated in the community calling for the Principal's removal. This effort failed because other parents supported the Principal and campaigned for her support.

The leader of these parents said that the School C Principal was the victim of a lot of parents who don't discipline their children at home and resent the fact that she can do it even though she has never had any children or they are parents who want their children to be smarter than they really are and don't want the Principal to work with them on the level where they really function. She says that if the parents don't like what the Principal does, then they should step in and discipline their own children. She says that she knows what is happening in the neighborhood around Steep Road and she knows that the children don't behave at home and suspects that they are not doing right in school. Furthermore, she is certain that some of the parents whose children are so bright at home need to be spending more time under adult supervision doing homework instead of looking at television while their parents run around to meetings. She admires the School C Principal and says that she will work against any petition that comes around her house against her.

The Principal is a conservative well-dressed woman who walks with a very slight limp, the only effect of a bout with polio in her youth. She is known for her frank and candid remarks about her views on the CCSS, the instructional program and her colleagues. She is not well-liked by some of them, but she is well respected. Some of her fellow principals complain that she is too blunt and caustic. Others say that she is too authoritarian and too strict. Some say that she is not flexible enough to entertain different opinions.

Others cannot praise her too much for what she has done for them and their children. They say that she makes the teachers tow the line as well as the children and that incompetent teachers cannot land at School C. They like the discipline at the school and testify to the relief that they feel because they know that their children are safe in the school at all times. In the wider black community feelings aobut this principal range also. One well known, highly respected black community leader said:

> ______is a fine person. I have known her since she was a little girl. She has always been smart, dedicated, committed and highly motivated. I am not at all surprised that she has a fine school. I would not expect otherwise. For her, excellence is a must . . She must be the best . . . I am rather surprised that no one has noticed this before. . .

One professional who had two children to graduate from School C said that the Principal expressed no sympathy with the Civil Rights Revolution during the 1960's. Children who were proud of their blackness were forced to adhere to the rigid dress code and behavior codes. Some animosities generated by the Principal's opposition linger. This professional said that his first child was academically accelerated but persecuted because of his activism. The second child was not taught properly and he removed his third child because of his dissatisfaction with the schools' curriculum, the poor teaching and the hostility of the Principal.

Observations confirm that both sides in this controversy are correct. For parents who prefer more flexible school environments the School C Principal is an anathema. For those who prefer highly structured educational sets, she is a miracle worker. The School C Principal feels that most of her parents are so consumed with the daily problems of making a living and fighting racism that she must assume total responsibility for educating her nearly 100 percent black poor student body. She has made this decision. In order to do that, she has established some routines, scenarios and processes which she feels are effective.

While she considers herself a highly authoritarian principal, strongly emphasizing the needs of the children are the first priority in her programming. Although she is perceived by both teachers and parents as taking the side of the teacher whether right or wrong, she will not tolerate any teacher who fails to teach the children. In her own description of learning, she wrote the following:

> The philosophy of the school dictates the expectations of the staff. A principal, having strong positive expectations about the learning potential of all children, will influence teachers' expectations. The principal must identify mechanisms and processes that effectively convey these expectations to the teachers. The faculty must be convinced that their students can learn. The principal must have control of the school to eliminate the possibility of the fears of teaching minority children being translated into reality. Everyone is accountable. There is no

> excuse for children not learning. Poor health habits and apathetic parents can also be alleviated. The expectations of success must be built into the structure of the school's philosophy.

More than a bit this Principal acts and preaches the doctrine that being treated as a slow learner is a greater tragedy than being labeled as one.

School C Goals

During the study year the goals of School C were adaptations of the Superintendent's goals presented earlier. School C goals were negotiated in a private meeting with the Assistant Superintendent in charge of Elementary Schools with whom the Principal has a good relationship. During SY 1979-1980 the Superintendent indicated a familiarity with School C through his disapproval of the schools' parent and community relations. He seemed to feel that the Principal protected and isolated the school from the community instead of expanding it into the community. He seemed to dislike the rigid, regimented learning environment at the school and felt that this consequence of the alternative chosen to elevate achievement was worse than low scores in reading and mathematics on the MAT. Especially for schools like School C, did the Assistant Superintendent add her two additional system goals: a positive warm teaching climate and the creation of a positive relationship between home and school. Consequently, the goal of highest priority for School C was to improve communications with parents. The second highest priority goal was to elevate achievement in reading. Finally, School C intended to improve the conduct of the lunchroom and to adjust the curriculum to suit the needs of the children. One additional goal which the Principal had was to keep the teachers' expectations high.

> . . . I didn't want them to drop or to become discouraged. That's the main thing. I continually encouraged them in every way that I could. . . .

She had no special goals for her temporary professionals, special subject teachers, support service staff or others. Lunchroom aides were an exception. She did have special thoughts about changes in the behavior of these aides. These changes were under discussion and no final decisions had been made about them. The School C Principal felt that she had the consensus of parents, teachers, students and staff around the goals of School C. She did not feel that either discipline or attendance or tardiness were problems in the study year.

Observations indicate that the Principal ignored the orders of the superintendent to make parent -school relationships the highest priority and did not allow him to set the priority goals at School C. Although the Principal and the faculty were unhappy with their efforts to improve communications with parents, they continued to give the elevation of achievement the highest priority in SY 1979-1980 that it had always received and tried to improve school community relations as best they could after that.

One observer noted that School C was an anachronism, a throwback to the 19th century, the preservation of a form that was outdated and no longer useful. Another resented the designation of School C as a high achieving school to be used as a model for other schools because of its emphasis on regimentation and regulation. Yet, School C accomplished what every school in the city wanted, high scores on the standardized tests. The Principal stood like a rock in this tempest. She calmly responded when queried about her reactions to the divided community and opposing central office:" If someone knows how to do it better, let them show me." To date, no one has.

Like the School A Principal, the School C Principal believes that the Superintendent does not know what is good for School C students. To accept the status quo is to fail for the needs of her students are unique. Over the period of 1976-1980 School C was the highest achieving predominantly black elementary school and the highest achieving in every year except 1980. The School C Principal is absolutely adamant about the achievement of School C students. She knows that they can learn and she is thoroughly convinced that the routines ordinarily used to educate them are inefficient, ineffective and underfunded. She also believes that the larger social order perpetuates the imputation of black inferiority through its value system and education, but she thinks that those who simply sit around engaging in rhetoric are useless. She has managed to create a body of high achieving students whose parents are grateful to her and who vigorously support her. With these parents and her teachers she has developed a consensus powerful enough to protect her from the vengeance of the central office and dissenting parents. Her authority rests on her competent and consistent delivery of services to the majority of her constituency and the willing compliance of her teachers who feel an obligation to her for her fearless management of student discipline and parental conflict, and, consequently, permit her constant observation and monitoring of their observance of School C's routines.

Moreover, this ethnography shows that loose coupling between the Superintendent and the Principal of School C and the tight coupling between the Principal of School C, her teachers and a majority of her community facilitate high achievement as it is defined in this study. However, because the community is divided in this case, there appears to be a greater need for structure and regimentation than was found at School A, in order to build and maintain goal consensus.

School C: History and Characteristics

One of the first functions of the BPE after its creation by the 1911 School Code was the selection of the Superintendent of Schools appointed in 1912. After he had accepted the appointment, he visited many schools and examined them closely to determine their past use and fitness. The city at that time covered 100 square miles of territory and had 126 buildings located according to wards. Some wards were wealthy and others poor. In the poor districts where the population was largest, the school accommodations were inadequate, often unsafe and lacking in sanitation and modern improvements. A survey of existing conditions made in 1912 showed that in some wards, empty rooms and even empty buildings, were found while in others buildings were overcrowded. The most seriously crowded area was in the Trinidad and Panama districts in Lower and Middle Hayti. Under a new distribution of teacher-pupil load, 40 rooms were placed on half-day sessions. The Superintendent recommended the erection of two new buildings each to contain 16 rooms. School C was one of these. On April 14, 1915 the new school opened, greatly relieving the congestion in Upper Hayti

On February 22, 1916, School C was placed on the Platoon Plan which increased the capacity of the school and claimed to increase the efficiency of work. The Platoon Plan required a longer teaching day and on October 24, 1916 the teachers at School C and two other schools requested an increase in salaries for the longer day which was denied. School C was designed for 700 pupils and under the Platoon Plan it carried 1,100. Although it was among the best buildings in the city, the educational efficiency rating was impaired by a lack of play space and the cluttering of space available by excessive apparatus.

School C has always been a focal point in the community which surrounds it. The 1913 Board minutes show a recommendation that preliminary plans be approved for the building of School C and that an auditorium be included in the building on account of the special needs of the neighborhood and that provisions be made for it in the next budget. Requests appear in the Board minutes for the use of this auditorium for recitals, revivals and lectures. On July 1, 1941 the school was named for a renowned black city civic leader. Until 1968 it was the only city public school named for a black person.

In the 1960's Centre City was one of seven major cities in the United States that received Ford Foundation grants under a project called "Great Cities School Improvement Programs." The Ford Foundation was funding projects to improve education in depressed urban neighborhoods located in the "grey areas" of the city. The superintendent chose five elementary schools in which to experiment with team teaching "designed to teach every child, regardless of background, the intellectual competencies needed in today's world." School C was one of the five schools. The team teaching project started in September, 1960 and lasted through 1968. As defined by the Superintendent, "team teaching exists when students are instructed in groups of varying sizes according to their nature by teams of teachers for appropriate lengths of time." A team often consisted of a team leader, four regular teachers, a teacher intern and a team mother or aide.

As early as 1916 School C had more black students than any other city school. Of the 1,091 students in School C in 1916, 364 were black or 33 percent. By 1920 of the 1130 students enrolled in School C, 588 were black or 52 percent. Since that time School C has been a predominantly black school; and by 1925 there were 1177 in attendance, and 981 were black or 83.3 percent. Like both Schools A and B, School C has experienced a continuous decline in enrollment. See Table 60. In 1973 the 7th grade was added and removed in 1976. In 1980 School C received black students from a predominantly black elementary school changed to a middle school for desegregation. Demolished housing created the exodus in 1970.

Table 60

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOL C: 1967-1980

Year	Enrollment	Loss
1967	607	-25
1968	552	-55
1969	545	- 7
1970	467	-78
1971	436	-31
1972	402	-34
1973	426	+24
1974	445	+19
1975	446	+ 1
1976	347	-99
1977	340	- 7
1978	320	-20
1979	303	-17
1980	380	+77

Centre City Schools attempted to desegregate in the usual way by closing black schools and using one way busing but the black community resisted. Consequently, School C has managed to remain open in spite of these attempts.

Site Description

School C is a two story blond brick facility with a basement, two kindergarten rooms, 23 classrooms, a cafeteria, a gymnasium, a library and an auditorium on the first floor. It is located on the top of a hill on a steep incline which is difficult to negotiate in a car in the icy winter. The school yard is small and fenced. Teachers have a parking lot at one end of the half block on which the school stands and there is a small and inadequate play yard on the side and in the rear of the building. The yard and grounds, as well as the building itself, are clean and well kept in spite of the community traffic on the parking lot especially. During SY1979-1980 School C's capacity was 424. Classrooms have wood floors and the washrooms are tiled. Teachers have a teacher's room on both floors and there is a room for the teachers' assistants in the basement.

Classrooms are brightly painted and the school is kept as clean as a whistle by a school engineer and his maintenance staff. The school engineer and the principal work together to handle all building and ground requests from central office and to decide on needed mechanical plan maintenance services. The engineer takes care of routine outside clean-ups, overnight mishaps, boiler and furnace operations, daytime restroom supply shortages; and after-lunch refuse removals. Like School A, he has a night-time service operation immediately after dismissal which removes all daytime refuse, but he found it difficult to get help to repair the leaking roof which damaged the walls and ceiling in the music room. School yards are kept clean from refuse and garbage although daily sweeping of the parking lot is often necessary to remove broken glass and beverage containers. The school building is close to the sidewalk providing little space for children to form lines for entrance into the building.

School Organization

During SY1979-1980 School C had two half-day kindergartens, an Early Learning Skills Division, two first grades, two second grades, two third grades, two fourth grades and two fifth grades. The fourth and fifth grades were departmentalized. In a departmentalized program the students pass to different teachers for different subjects. Additionally, it had a half-day Headstart Division, a Learning Disabilities class, an EMR Division (Grades 4-5), a physical education teacher, a part-time librarian, a music and art division, two and one half days a week, and a half-day RAC. It did not have a MAC because there were not enough children with mathematics scores a year or more below the norm for a class. There were five educational assistants in the primary program, Title I and Special Education, six lunch room aides, one principal, no assistant principal and one lunchroom manager.

Table 61

SCHOOL C: ORGANIZATION DURING SY 1979-1980

Room	Grade	Number of Students
114	Kgn	44
110	ELS	16
112	1	24
111	1	25
101	2	21
102	2	21
103	3	22
104	3	23
201	4	33
215	4	27
204	5	23
212	5	23
Annex	Headstart	7
B17	LD	9
214	EMR	9
	TOTAL	327

There were eleven classes and one kindergarten in School C during SY1979-1980. The pupil-teacher ratio was 18.8:1 and the average class size was 22.3. The total per pupil cost at School C was $1974.09. The general fund expenditure was $1284.47. The mean absence for the pupils was 6.88 days per school year for the regular absentees and 24.7 for the extremes. There were 75 of these extreme absentees in School C averaging seven per classroom.

Students report to school at 8:30 in the morning for an eight period day with one half hour for lunch. There are two half-day kindergartens, one from 9:30 to 11:50; the other from noon until 2:35. The first, second and third grades are dismissed at 2:35 p.m. The others leave at 2:40 p.m. Teachers remain at school from 2:35 until 3:05 for ESEP. There are two lunch periods, one at 11:30 a.m. for the primary divisions and the other from noon to 12:30 p.m. for the upper divisions. There is also a five munute home room period in the afternoon, after lunch for the fourth and fifth grades. School C students in the Scholars' Program are bussed to the School B Center. Teachers use their ESEP Period for preparation or tutoring. Sometimes the Principal calls meetings at this time, but this is not done on a regular or frequent basis. Teachers are tardy at 8:30 a.m. and students at 8:35 a.m. Teachers may not leave the building during the ESEP period without the permission of the Principal.

School C classrooms for Kindergarten and Grades 1 through 3 are self-contained; however, the students do pass to special subject teachers for library, art, vocal and instrumental music, physical education and health. The instrumental music teacher was at School A on one day a week, Mondays, and the others, except for physical education, were there 2½ days a week. There is some exchange of students in Grades 1 through 3 among teachers for reading and mathematics. In Grade 3 there is considerable subject exchange where third graders pass to a different teacher for English or mathematics. These arrangements are teacher negotiated and principal approved. They seem to be vestiges of the team teaching project in which these teachers engaged in the 1960's.

The horizontal organization of this school is based on reading achievement. Three basal reading series are used in School C, Ginn 360 (1978), Ginn 720 (1978) and Lippincott (1969). School C is the only school in the CCSS using Lippincott. School C used Ginn 720 for the slow fourth graders on Level 10 in the Ginn 360 when several students in the fourth exhibited skill deficiencies on the Ginn 360 Level 10 mastery test. They requested to use it on other levels but were denied permission to order the necessary materials. School C did finally get permission to use the Lippincott readers for the accelerated readers. However, during the study year, the School C Principal told the investigator that she had been instructed by the Director of the Division of Instruction of the Elementary Schools that she must discontinue the use of Lippincott during the 1979-1980 school year. The Principal activated her Lippincott parents and appealed to school board members for their support of Lippincott. When the Assistant Superintendent was approached by the board representative of School C, she indicated that there had been some misinterpretation and denied the order for discontinuation. During SY1982-1983 CCSS piloted several reading series after a heated dispute among school board members over look-say and phonics methods. The Lippincott series was one of those piloted. Strangely, the long experience with the use of this series at School C was ignored.

The Principal of School C discourages more than three reading levels in each class; therefore, teachers exchange students in levels not available in the class where students are placed. The kindergarten students at School C are assessed on a checklist of skills which must be mastered prior to their entry into first grade.

Their horizontal placement depends upon the degree of skill mastery. Students at School C are closely examined for skill mastery. A new student's record received from a sending school is carefully checked. Students are given a unit or level mastery test to determine whether or not the sending school's placement is accurate. Then the new transfer-in is placed in a classroom where that level is taught and where there is not overcrowding.

Except for Grades 2 and 3, teachers at School C have permanent assignments with low and accelerated readers. In Grades 2 and 3 the teachers have a mini-team teaching set-up. The Grade 2 teachers rotate the low and accelerated readers; the Grade 3 teachers have permanent student assignments with the same teacher instructing accelerated readers each year. Grades 4 and 5 are departmentalized with teachers having permanent subject assignments such as Reading, Social Studies, Science, Mathematics, Language Arts, Spelling, Library and Art. Homeroom student placement is determined by reading skill mastery and these are rotated among the teachers. EMR and LD Teachers have permanent assignment also.

Each teacher administers his/her own mastery level and unit level reading tests whenever the student completes a unit or level. Students who show acceleration in the mastery of Ginn 360 and 720 are placed in Lippincott. Those who show a lack of mastery in Lippincott are placed in Ginn 720 or 360 when 720 is available. The Principal carefully monitors this progress through conferences with teachers and the RAC teacher who serves as a reading clinician, a position which used to exist in theCCSS and which she used to occupy at School C. Any child who exhibits a change in pace or progress must be discussed in a conference. Students who fail to master a unit or level must be retaught.

Mainstreamed children with handicaps or learning problems received special services from speech and hearing therapists, psychologists, social workers, visual therapists and other intinerant staff. Additionally, there is a part-time nurse in the school and vision and hearing were checked for some individuals during the study year. Students have art, music and physical education twice a week. Students in Grades 4 and 5 have one period of health a week from the gym teacher.

RAC students receive this service daily in the morning. They must be scheduled for RAC at a period other than their reading period since Title I is supplementary and must not supplant regular school service. Sometimes this is unavoidable and teachers must reteach skills which are missed.

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Student Characteristics

On October 1, 1979 School C had a student body which was 100 percent black. The enrollment on that date was 303. During SY1979-1980 57 students transferred into the school and 40 transferred out, or a total of 97 or 29.6 percent of the total enrollment of 327 at the end of the school year. On October 1, 1979 the students were distributed in the grades according to Table 62.

Table 62

SCHOOL C: STUDENT POPULATION: SY 1979-1980

Number of Students

Grade	K	1	2	3	4	5	EXC	HS	Total
October 1, 1979									
	40	63	39	41	59	43	18	*	303
June 1, 1980									
	44	65	42	45	60	46	18	7	327
Student Gain									
	4	2	3	4	1	3	0	7	24

EXC = Special education students
HS = Headstart
* = Unavailable

Table 63

Transfers In and Out
School C SY 1979-1980

Grade	K	1	2	3	4	5	Total
IN Number of Students	8	23	3	7	10	6	57
OUT NUMBER of Students	4	21	0	3	9	3	40
Total	12	44	3	10	19	9	97

A little less than a half of these transfers occurred in Grade 1 and almost one fifth in Grade 4.

As stated before, School C has at least a five year history of academic success in reading and mathematics in the CCSS using scores on the MAT as the criteria. Testing was not done in the CCSS on a system wide basis until October, 1975. Beginning then with SY1975-1976, School C reflects an outstanding record in both achievement and growth for black poor students. Because the first grade students are assumed to have no reading or mathematics skills, they are not tested in October of each year; consequently, there are no norms for this year in growth. Therefore, growth and achievement are based only on the norms for Grades 2,3,4 and 5 in a K-5 school. During SY 1975-1976 School C was a K-7 school. That school year School C was at or above the growth and achievement norms in reading and mathematics in every grade. It was the highest in the city in growth in 7th grade reading.

For the remaining school years School C was at or above the growth and achievement norms 27 times out of 32, at or above the achievement norm but below the growth norm one time and below the achievement norms but at or above the growth norms four times. Over the five year period achievement has lagged in 5th grade reading and growth and has not occurred in Grade 3 reading. The total five year average for nine months Growth Per Year (GPY) for School C is .7843. The five year average for nine months SPY in Reading is .7250. The five year average for nine months GPY in Mathematics is .84375.

For all practical purposes instruction occurs in School C from mid-September until mid-May or during an eight month school year. Given all other facilitators for instructional growth in reading and mathematics, School C students can be expected to grow eight months in eight months.

School C students achieve scores on standardized tests at or above the national and/or city norms on the MAT. At the Grade 1 level, 49 percent finished the first grade reader; 75 percent were at grade level in reading and 98 percent in math. Twenty-six percent of the second graders finished the second grade reader; 93 percent were at grade level in reading and 93 percent in math. In the third grade, 22 percent finished the third grade reader; 63 percent were at grade level in reading and 83 percent in math. At the fourth grade level 16 percent finished the fourth grade reader; 38 percent were at grade level in reading and 63 percent in math. Only 11 percent of the fifth graders finished the fifth grade reader while 48 percent were at grade level in reading and 70 percent in math. See Table 64.

Table 64

School C: Achievement and Basal Reader Progress, May, 1980

Grade	N	Percent at Grade Level Reading-MAT	Percent Completing Basal Reader	Mean Reading Score	Percent at Grade Level Math-MAT	Mean Math Score	National Norm Reading/Math	Local Norm Reading/Math
1	49	75	49	2.2	98	2.5	1.9/1.8	2.0/2.2
2	42	93	26	3.4	93	3.4	2.6/2.7	3.0/3.0
3	45	63	22	3.7	83	4.5	3.5/3.8	3.6/4.0
4	60	38	16	4.3*	63	4.9	4.6/4.9	4.5/4.8
5	46	48	11	5.5	70	5.9	5.6/5.7	5.5/5.7

*Failed to meet either norm.

Losses in achievement in reading begin in the third grade and continue throughout Grades 4 and 5. The severest loss is at the third grade level with the decline from 93 percent grade level achievement to 63 percent. A reversal does not commence until fifth grade with the slight increase to 48 percent of students at grade level in reading from 38 percent. Since grade level achievement on comparable tests is not kept in School C for mathematics, similar analyses could not be made. School C students' scores on the MAT in mathematics have reached the national or city norms in every grade every year since SY1975-1976.

There does not seem to be a high correlation between skill mastery in the basal reader and achievement on the MAT in reading. This substantiates the claim of the CCSS that the MAT is not highly correlated with what is being taught. This is the reason for changing the standardized test in SY1980-1981.

IQ Testing

Of the 41 students taking the Otis-Lennon Mental Abilities IQ Test in Grade 2 in School C during SY1979-1980 the range of scores was from 112 to 76. The mean IQ score for Grade 2 was 93.7. The mean IQ for the 45 fifth graders taking the test was 97.1. The range of IQ scores was from 121 to 76 in Grade 5.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

During the study year 66 percent of School C's students lived in Hayti Dwellings. The income requirement can be found in Table 65 . The remaining students lived in the area described in the U.S. Census as low income increasing in poverty as one descends into Lower Hayti. This area was described earlier.

Poverty is also assessed by the number of students who apply for and receive free and reduced priced lunches. For SY1979-1980 School C provided free lunches for 91.7 percent of the students attending the school. Although the criterion for free lunch is not always dependable, this factor coupled with the large percentage in public housing and the nature of the depressed area in which the school is located supports the high poverty level of the student body.

Table 65

OCCUPANCY, INCOME LIMITS FOR CITY PUBLIC HOUSING

Dwelling	Gross Income Not to Exceed	Monthly Rent Not to Exceed
Efficiency - 1 Bedroom	$10,650	$220
2 bedroom	12,150	242
3 bedroom	13,700 - 17,100*	259
4 bedroom	16,150 - 17,100*	275
5 bedroom	18,050	292
6 bedroom	19,000	308

*Income ceilings vary depending on household size. Federal housing laws allow two persons per bedroom. The larger the household, the higher the allowable income. Rent is 25 percent of a family's gross income, after adjustments have been made for the elderly, 10 percent; families, 5 percent; $300 per minor per year; also, several other discounts for special circumstances.

Table 66

PROMOTION AND RETENTION PROCEDURES: School C

School C's promotion and retention policy used the followings as a guideline:

Grade	Reading Level Range	Retention Any Student Below
1	1-6	Level 5
2	5-8	Level 6
3	7-10	Level 7
4	8-11	Level 8
5	9-12	Level 9

The Principal does not use the concept "failure" to indicate non-promotion. She uses postponement. Students in the first grade must reach Level 5 before going on to the next grade. This reinforces her belief that postponement in the later grades as non-productive. At all other grade levels the retention criteria for School C is below the BPE's policy. See Table 67 for the number of students postponed and the grades where they were placed. This number is 3 percent of the student body at School C.

Table 67

SCHOOL C: POSTPONEMENT DURING SY 1979-1980

Grade	Number of Students Postponed
K	3
1	2
2	2
3	0
4	4
5	0

It must be remembered, however, that this number does not include the students placed in ELS because their kindergarten skills are deficient which is a kind of postponement but is not classified as such. Their inclusion boosts the percentage of those postponed to 8 percent.

At the end of the school year in June, 1980 the students in Grade 1 through 5 had completed the reading levels shown in Table 68. Using the School C promotion and retention schedule only 7 students should have been postponed, the 7 first graders who had completed Level 3. These children were ready to commence Level 4 in the Fall, 1980. However, Table 67 reflects that this indeed did not happen. Eleven students were postponed excluding the 16 Kindergarteners who were placed in ELS. Only two first graders were postponed. Other criteria, therefore, must account for the difference such as teachers' expectations, motivations, intelligence, absences and other incidents.

On March 20, 1980 during a school visit, the Principal of School C said to the project consultant, "I may have to postpone several youngsters in ELS this year and in Grade 1. We try to resolve learning problems in the primary divisions since it does not seem to work in Grades 3,4, and 5." She then recounted a story of a high advisory black male student whose passing had been postponed in Grade 4 because he was not completing his work. She said that he started skipping school and became a problem beyond the school's scope of influence (running away from home). She told us that the child had good test scores but poor work habits. Her conclusion from her experiences was that postponement ceases to be productive after second grade yet four children have postponed in fourth grade during the study year. Obviously, this is not a well kept policy. Moreover, the School C's decisions were just the opposite of those made by the School A Principal under similar circumstances.

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Table 68

SCHOOL C READING LEVELS COMPLETED BY JUNE, 1980

Grades	Numbers of Students* Completing Level										Totals
1	7	8	10	24							49
2				15	16	11					42
3				2	22	11	0	10			45
4						14	23	13	10		60
5							12	12	17	5	46
Levels	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	

* ELS, EMR, LD and HS not included.

Student Absences and Tardinesses

The range of student absences in School C during SY1979-1980 was from no days absent to 62.5 days. Table 69 gives the distribution. The mean regular absence for School C was around 6.88 days per school year. There were 183 days in SY1979-1980. There are approximately 20 school days per month. Nearly 23 percent of the students in Grades 1 through 5 including ELS have excessive absence rates, missing a month or more of school. Of the 75 students absent from school between 15 and 42 days, 28 of them are in Grade 1 or 37 percent. Tardiness does not appear to be a problem at School C. See Tables 69 and 70 .

Table 69

SCHOOL C REGULAR AND EXTREME ABSENCES SY 1979-1980*

		Regular		Extreme	
Room	Grade	# of Students	Mean	# of Students	Mean
110	ELS	8	7.12	8	31.93
112	1	14	6.10	10	24.65
111	1	15	8.06	10	32.7
101	2	17	5.11	4	21.75
102	2	18	7.58	3	21
103	3	18	6	4	21.62
104	3	11	7.25	12	28.04
201	4	26	7.28	7	23.78
215	4	22	6.72	5	18.8
204	5	17	8.79	6	27
212	5	18	5.75	5	20.5

*Does not include Kindergarten, Special Education or Headstart.

The range of student tardinesses was from none to 55 times during the school year. The mean regular tardiness was 2.94 times for School C and the extreme mean was 21.85. Of the 44 extreme cases, 40 percent came from the first grade. No students were expelled or suspended during SY 1979-1980 although students were sent home for their parents at the end of the school day with understanding that they could not return until their parents could accompany them to school the next day. There were no cases where parents failed to respond.

Table 70

SCHOOL C: REGULAR AND EXTREME TARDINESSES SY 1979-1980*

		Regular		Extreme	
Room	Grade	# of Students	Mean	# of Students	Mean
110	ELS	15	1.4	1	17
112	1	15	2.2	9	23.66
111	1	24	2	1	23
101	2	19	2.42	2	32
102	2	17	3.70	4	18.5
103	3	20	3.25	2	26.5
104	3	22	1.4	1	24
201	4	31	2.74	2	18.5
215	4	20	3.86	7	21.28
204	5	20	4.85	3	18.3
212	5	19	4.52	4	17.7

*Does not include Kindergarten, Special Education or Headstart

Excessive absences and tardinesses occur in both divisions of Grade 1, in the low achieving second and third grade classes, and in the accelerated fifth grade. There seems to be a relationship between absences and tardinesses and achievement in the second and third grade group. The lower achieving fourth and fifth grade classes have slightly better attendance than the high achieving classes. An improvement in attendance could contribute to the elevation of achievement in these grades.

Teachers at School C

In the minutes of the BPE, September 23, 1919, there is a report that a Committee of the Urban League appeared before the Board and asked whether colored teachers would be appointed in the public school system. The request was referred to the Committee on Instruction but there is no mention of a response thereafter. No mention of the matter appears in the Board minutes until July 17, 1936 when the Board received a communication from the American Party requesting that colored teachers under a colored principal be placed at School C. They received no response and on September 22, 1936, they requested one. There is no record in the Board minutes that it was sent. Although there was consensus in the black community on the hiring of black teachers, there was clear disagreement on how this was to be accomplished.

Some people felt that black teachers were not the peers of their white counterparts. In 1925 one influential Negro of that day told a University Researcher that he did not believe training in the city Normal School would qualify Negro girls to teach because "somehow it just was not in them." Some blacks were not anxious to see black teachers in the City Public Schools because they feared complete segregation. They had been informed by the BPE that they would be given a Negro school with Negro teachers which they regarded as only a step in the direction of completely segregated schools. Other blacks and some whites with whom the 1925 researcher talked felt that racial prejudice was the reason for the Board's maintaining an all white staff of teachers. In spite of the 83.3 percent of black pupils at School C in the year of the study (1925) the Board felt that it had to look out for the prejudices of the parents of the 16.7 percent of white pupils.

This controversy continued until 1937 when a black state legislator, introduced a resolution in February of that year to investigate alleged discriminatory hiring practices of the BPE. This resolution passed and hearings were held. The School Solicitor said that the Board had considered at one time in 1914 devoting one all black school to black students with an all black faculty. It was reported on April 30, 1937 that that school was School C. The President of the Board argued that the Board had never denied anyone recommended by the Superintendent, but no blacks had been recommended since he became a member of the Board in 1911. He denied that he had any knowledge, between 1915 and 1922, of black women qualified for teaching positions who had been refused and told to "go South" for positions. He accused the committee of "creating a public issue where none existed." He admitted that he had never raised the issue of hiring blacks before the Board because he was sure it would have "created more enemies than friends for the colored people." When asked if blacks should be more concerned about friends than securing teaching positions, he replied, "Yes, I think there are a lot more important questions for them to discuss..." During the hearings, it was learned that the first black teacher assigned in the public school system after 1881 was appointed as a part-time music teacher in the evening instruction program of School C in the 1933-1934 school year.

In 1941 the second black teacher was sent to School C. She was hired to work the playgrounds during the summer months in an experiment in gang control. In 1943, a black male became the first black permanent substitute at School C working in the area of physical education and hygiene. In 1944 he became a permanent full time teacher. In 1945 he was joined by two black females who became permanent in 1946. More black teachers followed them, and in 1962 a black woman became the first black principal in the history of School C. The present principal is the second black appointed in 1969.

During the study year, School C had 18 teachers, 12 classroom and six special subject. There are nine white teachers and nine black teachers. All except two are female. One male teacher is black; the other is white. Eight of the 12 classroom teachers are white. Of the six special subject teachers, five are black. The white male is a classroom teacher. The black male teaches a special subject. There is one principal and five teachers' aides or educational assistants. There is no assistant or vice principal. There is one clerk, one lunchroom supervisor, three janitors, one custodian and four lunchroom aides. The mean years total experience of the 17 reporting teachers is 16 years and the range of experience is from six years to 30+. The two teachers who did not respond to the questionnaire were both black, one male and one female, and both teachers of special subjects. Tables 71 and 72 show the mean years of experience at School C for all teachers is 13.9 years. Over half of the reporting teachers acquired their bachelor's degrees during the five year period commencing with 1965. Over three-fourths acquired these degrees from institutions of higher education in the state, half of them in public institutions. For SY 1979-1980 the mean absence from school for all teachers was 12.5 days per month with three unusual absence cases: (1) serious surgery; (2) the death of a father; and (3) sickness from influenza. Fifty-eight percent of the reporting teachers were absent less than four days for the school year, 78 percent less than seven days. Thirty-six percent were absent none to two days. See Tables 74 and 75.

One teacher has her doctorate, six have master's degrees, five have 30+ hours beyond the bachelor's or master's equivalency. The Principal has a master's degree.

Table 71

Actual Teaching Experience at School C Among All Teachers

Category	Number	Mean Years	Range
Regular: K-5	12	15.2	10 - 30.5
Special Subject	5	10.4	6 - 20
Primary	8	15.1	10 - 30.5
Intermediate	4	15.0	10 - 24
All	17	13.9	10 - 30.5

Table 72

Average Total Teaching Experience of School C Teachers

Category		Number	Mean Years	Range (yrs.)
Regular Teachers:	K-5	12	17	10.5 - 30+
Primary:	K-3	8	16.9	10 - 30+
Int.:	4-5	4	17.4	10.5 - 27
Special Subjects		5	13.2	6 - 20
All teachers		17	16	6 - 30+

Table 73

School C Teachers: Total Teaching Experience

Category	Total Number of Teachers	K - 5	Special Subject	Pri.	Int.
Less than 3 years	0	0	0	0	0
3 but less than 5 years	0	0	0	0	0
5 to 9 years	2	0	2	0	0
10+ years	15	12	3	8	4
Total	17	12	5	8	4

Table 74

Place and Source of College Training Among Teachers in School C

	Pittsburgh		PA outside Pittsburgh		Outside PA	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
Primary: K-3	2	1	2	1	2	0
Int.: 4-5	2	0	1	0	0	1
Special Subject	0	1	3	0	0	1
Total	4	2	6	1	2	2

Table 75

Year Completed Initial Teacher Training
(B.A/B.S. in Education)

Group	Number	Grades K-3	Grades 4-5	Special Subject	Percent of Total
1945-49	3	1	1	1	19
1950-54	2	0	1	1	06
1955-59	1	1	0	0	06
1960-64	1	1	0	0	06
1965-69	9	5	2	2	56
1970-74	1	0	0	1	06
1975-80	0	0	0	0	00
Total	17	8	4	5	

Teacher Consensus

These data take on new meaning when we begin to look at our findings from the study of teachers' perceptions of their goals, their importance and priorities. As reported earlier, two studies of these teachers were administered. School C teachers showed more consensus around the 310 goal statements on the PSQ than did the teachers of other schools. In the cluster analysis of these responses, School C teachers also showed the most consensus.

School C teachers demonstrated more stability than the other schools with a 13.9 mean years actual teaching experience at School C for all teachers and a 15.2 mean years experience for the classroom teachers. This means these teachers have been working together for a long time. The principal of School C was a member of this group prior to her principalship. Over half of these teachers graduated from school during the five year period between 1965 through 1969 when renewed effort on the education of black and poor children was being made by the City Public Schools. A kind of camaraderie and consensus would be expected from such a common shared experience.

Teaching and Teacher Autonomy

Indeed, these teachers do agree on many items. Because the principal is highly authoritarian, a high consensus was not predicted for School C in Teaching and Teacher Autonomy (TTA). This proved to be incorrect. In response to the following statement: "In my school except for minor matters, the Principal is in charge of all discipline," only 43.8 percent of the teachers were in agreement and 50 percent disagreed. Observations clearly establish the truth of the statement. Again in the same subscale in response to "The Principal is in charge of parent/school relations in my school and teachers work under his/her directions," only 68.8 percent of School C teachers responded in agreement. As previously stated, School C teachers were upset by the story which was printed in the daily newspaper on March 16, 1981. Several commented that the news story attributed the high achievement of the students at School C to the principal and made little mention of the teachers' performances. As a result, one explanation of the surprise ranking could be that attempts were made by the teachers to set this record straight in the PSQ. This concern was not strong enough to eliminate consensus among the teachers since every scales' average consensus was in the middle range between 70 and 89 percent, but only served to emphasize the importance of the TTA scale in contrast to the importance of Administration and Supervisions (AS). The Discipline (DIS) scale was affected by this teacher reaction too, since responses diminished the role of the principal at School C in this domain in contrast to the observations and the ethnographic record.

In School C there was no agreement around the belief that the Principal was in charge of discipline. Nearly 40 percent of the teachers responding believed they had complete discretion in a school where most decisions were made by the principal. Eighty-one percent of the 16 School C respondents said that they made decisions on important matters. Yet, 81.3 percent stated that they participated in decision-making by submitting recommendations to the Principal who made the final decision. A closer inspection shows that this apparent contradiction may not be real. Teachers at School C probably consider decisions made about the classroom routines as the most important. Eighty-seven and five-tenths percent of the School C teachers said that they made adjustments for special students' needs even when the Central Office specified the amount of time which should be spent on a skill or subject. Additionally, 75 percent felt that they determined the materials to be used in teaching but did not select the textbooks. Also, 93.8 percent said they decided how much time to spend on each skill subject and believed that they were the best judges of student performances in skill acquisition and mastered materials. The teachers' input into decision-making is considerably greater at the classroom level at School C according to these responses and this is compatible with the ethnographic record.

Seventy-five percent of the teachers at School C believe that some teachers have more influence in decision-making than do others and that there are cliques of teachers in the school, but they do not perceive the Union Representative as more influential than others in the decision-making process. This belief converges with the observations of teacher lunch groups and conference patterns.

There was a middle range consensus level around teacher evaluation on a regular basis in School C. Yet, 37.3 percent disagreed that the principal visits classrooms daily in complete contradiction to the ethnographic record. While 66.7 percent agreed that the principal had criteria for evaluating teachers' progress in the school, 68.8 percent agreed that the principal makes suggestions for the improvement of teaching performance and 75 percent agreed that evaluation occurs on a regular basis, 87.5 percent agreed that they must keep lesson plans and submit same to the Principal for review once a week.

In School C 93.8 percent of the teachers believe that they contact parents on classroom disciplinary infractions and handle parent complaints referring them to the principal when they become major and that they keep in contact with parents on a regular basis about student progress. One hundred percent see themselves as strict disciplinarians. School C teachers believe that they have high expectations for their students and try to push them to their potential (93.8%); they assume responsibility for teaching reading (81.3%); they give and grade homework (87.5%); they help each other with instructional problems (100%) and with discipline (93.8%). In spite of the belief in the presence of cliques in the school 93.8 percent feel that there is collaboration and feedback among teachers across grades and subjects. Teachers here definitely feel that the teachers contribute as much, if not more than the principal to the high achievement at School C.

Administration and Supervision

In the AS scale, School C teachers believe that the principal studies the reading progress records of each child, but the consensus was lower than predicted (62.5%). School C was the only school where teachers believed that the principal looked at students' writing samples (62.5%); modified the curriculum whenever required (81.3%); provided more time for teaching new subjects or to master new or basic skills by shortening or eliminating science or social studies (81.3%); and allowed the use of music, art and physical education for providing more time to finish basic skills (87.5%). Sixty-two and five-tenths percent of the teachers believed that the principal studied the students' report card grades.

School C teachers believe that the principal has the final say in decision-making (81.3%), coordinates school routines generally through bulletins and memoranda (87.5%); coordinates school activities through meetings and conferences (81.3%); coordinates school routines by both methods equally (81.3%); communicates with teachers individually most of the time (62.5%); communicates with teachers in groups (75%). Yet, School C teachers felt that communication between teachers and the principal took place generally speaking by bulletin and memoranda (81.3%) and this was the highest level of consensus on this issue in this school.

School C teachers felt that other criteria than age and reading skill mastery were used to place students in classrooms (62.5%); that teachers were assigned to teach these classes according to their expertise (62.5%); that they determined teachers' classroom assignments (68.8%). Yet these teachers generally agreed that the principal developed methods for generating positive interactions between teachers and students (87.5%) and emphasized the need for the teachers to be aware of the social lives of their students (81.3%).

Achievement

Most teacher respondents agreed that reading is the most important skill (93.8%); yet they also consider reading and mathematics of equal importance (87.5%). Teachers group their students for reading according to the basal reader (87.5%) but only School C teachers grouped for the teaching of mathematics (68.8%). Teachers generally believed that grouping maximized learning for all students in reading (93.8%). There is agreement that the principals emphasize the basal reader unit tests (75%). Mathematics is taught according to the textbook (87.5%) and the chapter tests at the end of the units measure student skill mastery (75%). There is a higher consensus among teachers at School C regarding the reteaching of unmastered skills than at the other two schools although there is agreement with the statement that when students received a Probably Ready on a skill in the basal reader, the skills are retaught (93.8%). In response to the statement, "In my school when students do not master mathematics skills, the classroom teacher reteaches them," 93.8 percent of School C teachers agreed. A high mid-range of agreement occurred among the teachers regarding the importance of skill reinforcement. Ninety-three and eight-tenths percent agreed that reinforcement is the key to high achievement.

Teachers generally believe that they provide supplementary reading material for students who learn to read faster (87.5%) and that a student could learn mathematics skills fast and move ahead to learn as much as he was able to do (87.5%). Teachers disagreed that the Scholars' Program or Triple E provided the only outlet for gifted or talented children (87.5%). Most teachers felt that good study skills were the means to high achievement (93.8%) and that they taught them to their students (81.3%). Other required courses were clearly second to reading and mathematics. Writing was important, however (87.5%).

School C teachers had a higher level of consensus around Black History and Culture throughout the school year (87.5%) than the other two schools. Generally, teachers agreed that some teachers emphasized Black History and Culture throughout the school year (87.5%), but only in School C did the teachers feel that the history, culture and life of Black people was a part of the regular curriculum (62.5%). However, in practice there was more integration of Black History and Culture in the curriculum at School A. School C teachers felt that they emphasized Black History and Culture throughout the school year.

Teachers at School C did not feel that the MAT was the best indicator of high achievement (75%). Only in School C did teachers think that the teachers' tests were the most accurate indicator of high achievement (81.3%).

Discipline

There is a high level of agreement with the statement that a discipline code of rules and regulations is well known to students, teachers and parents (100%). School C teachers agree that discipline problems are handled by the classroom teacher most of the time (87.5%) and that teachers refer discipline problems to the principal whenever they think it is necessary (100%). Only in School C do teachers believe there are written rules indicating when students should be referred to the principal (87.5%). Teachers generally believe that discipline problems are often handled by the principal (87.5%).

Physical harassment is not considered effective by most teachers (62.5%). The highest level of consensus on means for gaining compliance and obedience was at School C. Teachers agree that denial of privileges, Music, Art, Library and Physical Education bring about compliance and obedience (93.8%). The same percentage, however, believes that ignoring student behavior is effective sometimes. They also believe that work assignments during lunch and other programs bring about compliance (68.8%) and that parent intervention is necessary to gain compliance sometimes (68.8%). School C teachers believe that their students are punished in some way whenever they do not complete their seatwork (87.5%) and are referred to the Principal if they do not complete their seatwork or homework (93.8%). School C teachers believe that most of their children are well behaved (100%), complete their seatwork and homework most of the time (100%) and are polite and courteous for the most part (81.3%). There is consensus around informing parents about homework assignments when they are due (75%) and homework covers work already taught (81.3%).

Only in School C did the teachers believe that disciplinary problems increased after lunch (68.8%); and that it would be a good idea for the children to go home for lunch (62.5%). Teachers felt that inappropriate behavior was not tolerated in the lunch room, hall and bathrooms (100%) and that students who misbehaved in them would be sent to the principal for discipline (93.8%). Reporting teachers felt that the climate of the school was conducive to learning (100%) and that there was little screaming in the halls by teachers (87.5%). Most School C teachers felt that they could leave their rooms and the children would remain quiet and orderly (81.3%); that students monitor and correct their own behavior in school most of the time (62.5%); and that school jobs were used to reward students who were well behaved (75%). Tardiness was not thought to be tolerated (68.8%) teacher attendance was thought to be good (93.8%); and teachers thought their students came to school on time most of the time (81.3%).

Parent and Community Relations

School C garnered a much higher level of consensus on the Parent and Community Relations Scale than predicted. The teachers thought that they tried many ways to get parents to come to school (87.9%); that parents generally attended PTA meetings in their school (81.3%); that parents attended special events (87.5%); that parents were free to call the principal at home (75%); that parents generally supported teachers' decisions (93.8%). School C teachers showed no consensus on the following statements: (1) At any time in the school day, parents are welcome to come to my school to see the teacher; (2) At my school teachers visit parents at home; and (3) Parents in my school are involved in the school and participate in school affairs.

Only School C teachers exhibited consensus on the statement that teachers generally work hard to get parents to attend PTA meetings by telephone and letters (68.8% agreed); that teachers see parents from 2:35 p.m. until 3:05 p.m. (62.5%); and that teachers give parents information about the basal reader mastery level tests (87.5%). School C teachers believed that they gave parents information about the MAT tests scores (81.3%), that parents were concerned about their children but not cooperative (75%) and that parents in the school were concerned about their children but did not visit school unless called (68.8%). They believed that parents' ideas were worth considering (100%); that teachers and parents shared information about their students (81.3%); that teachers respected parents' ideas and suggestions (100%); that teachers spoke to parents about their childrens' work before it contributed to failure (100%); and that teachers believed that parent awareness and input were assets to the school (93.8%). The School C teachers believed further that they kept the community informed about what was going on in the school (68.8%); that the principal had good relations with the community (81.3%), but there was little consensus on other items about joint-community projects.

However, only in School C did the teachers feel that the Principal had a good relationship with the School Board Representative (81.3%) and that every success of past students was publicized to show what their students had done and could do (62.5%) and that the Principal was on good terms with central office (87.5%). School C teachers believed that they tried to create a feeling of family where each person felt like he/she belonged (93.8%); that everybody helped everybody else (87.5%); and that the Principal was responsible for the feeling of family in the school (62.5%). School C teachers also felt that this feeling of family extended to the teachers' lounge which was not a place of gossip and hard feelings (62.5%).

The Cluster Analysis

In the cluster analysis made to identify homogeneous groupings within the individual school samples and to determine the factions formed around responses to the 310 statements on the PSQ two concepts were used for the study: (1) the tightest grouping; and (2) the largest and best representative single grouping.

Goal Importance Within the Tightest Groupings

At the upper limit for tight clustering, two groups formed. The largest cluster had seven members or 43 percent of the sample and represented the dominant grouping which consistently integrated like members. The second cluster had only two members and remained that way, alone and isolated from any major configurations up to the optimum inclusion point. This singular cluster proved to be an idiosyncratic case of two members with very close sentiments which are not shared by their faculty neighbors. The groups were almost inverses. The seven member group had more agreement on achievement and discipline as top priorities while the two member group had less. Both extremes concurred that parent community relations were their last priority but their magnitude for this placement displayed different perceptions, the larger group having stronger feelings about this last placement.

The dominant cluster, which is more representative of the faculty, clumped their goals into three categories: (1) achievement and discipline as their first priority; (2) teaching and teacher autonomy as well as administration/supervision held second priority with equal sentiments towards both; and, (3) parent/community relations occupied the basement. Agreement about the first goal was strong and pronounced. With a little less momentum, agreement prevailed on the second priority. A tight constellation occurred within the consensus on each pair. The pairing of priority is different. Among these five goals, this is the first group to produce a double pair on their priority ranking.

Consensus or the Largest Representative Grouping

At the largest inclusion point, School C formed three distinct clusters. The isolated, tightly knit group of two members noticed in the tightest grouping analysis failed to acquire new members as the basis for consensus leveled off. Joining the firm deviant was another deviant tenuous grouping containing two members formed attracting no new members to it either.

On the other hand, the dominant cluster which had seven members under the tightest grouping rule gained two more members under more relaxed rules for membership. This growth produced the largest group. It represented the strongest consensus in the school, in spite of the two latent factions which held different conceptions about the most important goals. Among this most representative group of nine members or 56 percent of the respondents, agreement,importance and ranking among goals was determined.

The most important agreement was on achievement. This group exhibited strong, clear commitment centered on this goal as their first priority. The next two goals continued the earlier pattern of pairing goals. The second priority paired discipline and administration and supervision. The third priority clumped together teaching and teacher autonomy with parent and community relations. In the real world of making coalitions, the basic cluster of seven members gave up their predilection toward discipline as the highest priority for achievement. This exchange of priority emphasis, favoring achievement goal orientations, while slightly rearranging the emphasis on discipline and recoupling it to administration and supervision, may not be merely a result of democratizing the cluster by making it more inclusive. The exchange points to a tightly knit group sharing strong orientations toward achievement and discipline as pairs which work hand-in-hand. But when forced to include more people into a working consensus, even if it is just a membership of two new individuals, the tightly knit core stressed achievement and reallocated disciplinary expectations to administration and supervision goals. The closeness of the measures around discipline and administration and supervision pointed to shared opinions on the interlocking connections expected from the administrative head in the enforcement of discipline standards. These preferences shaped practices in School C.

The Principal

The Principal of School C is a black female in her early fifties who is committed to the instructional program of her school. We shall call her Mrs. V. She was born in Centre City, educated in the public schools and did her undergraduate work at the local university where she earned a master's degree. She accumulated over 70 credits in graduate work at Columbia University, a local university and Banks Street College. Her field of expertise was science, counseling, library science and elementary education. She entered the public school system as a teacher in 1953, one of the first black teachers appointed in the city public schools. She has been a teacher, librarian, counselor, assistant principal and principal all in the CCSS. She was both a teacher and a librarian at School C. She was a 27 year verteran when we began this study and the principal of School C, her only principalship.

She is a very punctual, reliable person with a near perfect attendance record. She was absent only three days during the study year. She arrives at school almost every day at approximately 8:05 a.m. and begins her work at about 8:15 a.m. She is formal but not distant; reserved but not cold; sensitive but not demonstrative. She believes in tradition, classics, standards, form and regulations, yet she does not rule her school by the "book."

Mrs. V wishes that the central office would give the principal more authority. After the media reported that the new superintendent wanted principals to be in charge of their schools, she said:

> I hope so. I hope they at least give us the opportunity to express ourselves and if something comes up, that we would be asked for our evaluations rather than accepting someone else's.

She provides her office as a resource to teachers and acts out her belief in her daily practice. Children must be obedient, yet they are not abused or mistreated. While the school is highly regimented and controlled, the atmosphere is friendly. The children laugh in school, interact informally with teachers and stop in at the office to say hello to the principal or the clerk.

In return for assistance in discipline and parental conflict, teachers grant the Principal a wide range of discretion in decision-making. They are informed and consulted by the Principal when decisions are necessary. They, in turn, advise and inform the Principal, but the Principal makes the decision. Once that is done the teachers cooperate in the enforcement and implementation.

System Goals, The Principal's Policies, and School C Routines

Mrs. V stated in her interview that the Superintendent's goals were distributed to the teachers who established their own goals for the year. As a group they decided what the goals were going to be for the school and which they thought were the most important. The negotiation over their claims were executed in a faculty meeting. Mrs. V was very unhappy with the results of their efforts to improve communications with parents which was the Superintendent's highest priority for School C.

Improving Communication with Parents

With regards to parent participation, Mrs. V said:

> We tried to increase the parent participation in the schools. That was very difficult because most parents just don't have time to come in at least once a week at each grade level and take a part within the class but it didn't work out.

When she was asked whether or not she had changed policy against night and evening meetings and programs, she said, "We had one parent meeting in the evening hoping to get more parents out but we had the same five who attend in the afternoon."

Mrs. V produced a memorandum from the Speech and Language Specialist to the Principal about a meeting for the parents of students in ELS. It informed Mrs. V that a parent meeting had been scheduled for October 29, 1979 to introduce to parents the language enrichment program. She stated that notices had been sent home to invite the parents to participate in this experimental meeting. The meeting had been scheduled to coincide with Open House Visitation. Eight out of seventeen parents replied that they would attend but on the day no parents came. Two parents came to Open House and they were informed of the program. Mrs. V used this instance to illustrate the failure of their many efforts to improve the communication with parents. Some parents whose children are successful in school say that there is no need to go to school, and some parents whose children are in trouble in school feel that the principal does not listen to their side of the story.

In her response to a question concerning her goals for parents, Mrs. V said:

> We wanted the parents to attend the PTA meetings, the parent representatives' meetings and the parent advisory meetings. But attendance has always been poor...
>
> I feel that if the parents take an interest in the school, the children will appreciate it. I know we have one little boy who was a problem in the past and last year we tried to encourage his mother to take part. She applied as a lunch aide and worked in the school for a little while until she got another job which paid much better. But, just because she had taken an interest in the school, there's an improvement in the child this year. He's doing much better academically and socially.

When Mrs. V was asked what kinds of circumstances prevented her from accomplishing the goal in increased parental involvement in the school, she replied:

> The parents are busy. Many of them are employed. They have younger children at home or obligations at home as far... I mean there's nothing wrong in this building... if the children aren't in trouble, then, they're not that much concerned...
>
> When there's something wrong, then they're here. If we have something special and we ask for their help, then they're cooperative. They're right here. When I call them, they appreciate the phone call and they say they'll come up if we need them, but most of them just don't have time...They just can't do it. They are working or someone at home is sick...

Mrs. V communicates with her parents through her parent representatives, the PTA President and her parent advisory council, all of whom are elected by the parents of School C. Whenever there is a major change taking place such as the desegregation plan, Mrs. V calls a meeting of these people and presents the ideas for their reaction. Sometimes they make suggestions and recommendations to her. But throughout this study, the principal means of communication with parents continued to be the letters sent home with the students.

Parent relations at School C are not as good as the Principal would like them to be. This area is the school's Achilles' heel. One of the few teachers' meetings held at School C during the study concerned one parent who had threatened several teachers because she felt that they were punishing her child for the parent's attitude on discipline. Mrs. V wanted to inform the teachers to send this parent to her and not to talk with the parent.

At the teachers' meeting, Mrs. V said that parents were always told that they were not to disrupt teaching. She said that whenever parents were sent to the teachers in their rooms, the parent had said that the visit was an emergency:

> Now, if the parent has not told the truth, you should send that parent back to me in the office...Any belligerent parent or one who is not cooperative will be shown to the front door. It is your responsibility to notify the office immediately should this case occur.

Most of the negativism which Mrs. V received from parents was categorized around the dress code or the feeling that she was vengeful and punished the children for parent opposition or criticism. However, those who will criticize or oppose Mrs. V are in a minority and generally have no recourse other than the removal of their children from School C. The majority of the parents participate in a client relationship with the school where Mrs. V defines the role of the parent, expects them to behave according to these specifications and, in exchange, teaches their children.

Elevating Achievement

Planning

The Principal's office is the information center of the school. Teachers send their attendance statistics to the office twice a day, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. Conferences with the Principal are held in the office. Records, materials, tests and supplies are procured from there and telephone calls to parents and other staff are made from there. Teachers send their lesson plans to the Principal on Fridays.

She expects to find them available at all times. She says the following about this requirement:

> I want the lesson plan in the room to be used as a guide. Now, the teacher doesn't have to follow it to the letter. But, at least, if I would come into the room and look at the plan, I have some idea as to what she is going to teach. If a substitute is called in, of course, the lesson plan has to be complete to the point where she can follow it and have some idea as to what the children are to be exposed to.

Lesson plans are done weekly and due Friday afternoon, no later than Monday morning.

Mrs V. explains:

> You have to have some guide. . .I mean, you just can't walk into a classroom and especially when you're working with children and say, "Well, I don't know what I am going to do." Or "I'll do whatever comes into my mind and that's going to be my lesson." These children have to have structure. The teachers have to have structure. So you have to have a plan as to what you're going to do. If it's not a good day, if the children are upset, then, of course, you can alter your plans, but you have to have something to go on.

During the study year the art teacher was given an unsatisfactory rating and transferred in the middle of the year. Generally, teachers are not removed until the end of the school year. The Principal of School C said that his planning was insufficient. He showed no organization. He went into everything pell-mell with no apparent thought and continuity. To support her insistency on an early removal, the Principal secured parent assistance in pressing for the art teacher's transfer midyear. The art teacher was a substitute for School C's regular art teacher who was on maternity leave during SY 1979-1980. He was black.

Monitoring Reading

Reading and mathematics records are monitored once a semester in School C. Records are sent to the Principal who scrutinizes them meticulously for accurate recording and maximum student achievement. At a teachers' meeting the Principal discussed an inaccurate record which was sent by a low achieving school to School C. She told her teachers, "If I ever find a folder like this in School C, there'll be you know what to pay!" When asked how she discovered the inaccurate record and why she was such a stickler for this kind of accuracy, she explained:

> Well, when a child comes in we usually examine the record which accompanies him/her. I examine it here in the office and I'll give it to the teacher. Then we go over the record together. The teacher works with that child at the prescribed level. During that process, the teacher realizes whether or not the child is ready. When we discovered that this child was not placed correctly according to the card the other school sent us we decided that this wasn't an accurate evaluation. We then administered a placement test to properly place the child.

She described the process used to determine and assess student progress in reading as follows:

> In the Ginn series, you have two cards that you are required to keep: the result of the unit test and the result of the mastery test. We found that on the mastery tests, any child who is considered probably ready is not ready to move on to the next level. So at this school if I see a "probably ready" on the card, then that means that teacher has to go back and reteach the skills the child had not mastered. Then the teacher will note on that card what skills have been retaught, because, I think, keeping an accurate record is just as important as instructing the child because those records go with that child throughout his entire school life.

Using the discovered record the child was demoted to the third grade and sent to the second grade for reading. In a similar case, the ELS teacher discussed the learning progress of one child who transferred into School C from another low achieving all black school. She told the Principal that her student had not mastered many skills and could not hold a pencil correctly even though he had spent one whole year in kindergarten at his former school. The Principal suggested a return to Kindergarten if improvement did not follow soon. She told the teacher to arrange for a parent conference for the child.

Teachers try to make accurate placements so that they will not be criticized for lack of achievement at the end of the semester. Children are taken methodically, step by step, according to the Ginn or Lippincott Teacher's Guide Book through the skills on which they will be tested. Every unit test is administered before the child advances and every skill mastery test must show 80 percent mastery or ready. Conferences are held with the Principal on every case where the student is not learning. The teacher and the Principal consult before any changes are made in the student's program. Frequently, the student is evaluated by the RAC teacher who used to be a reading clinician.

The RAC teacher confers with Mrs. V whenever she has completed her evaluation of a child. She tells Mrs. V her findings and recommendations. The Principal considers her submission and makes a temporary decision. She then confers with the teacher and discusses her recommendations. The teacher gives the Principal his/her input on the recommendation and Mrs. V makes a final decision.

The Kindergarten teacher discusses her children's learning difficulties often with Mrs. V in an attempt to prevent potential problems, since the school's policy requires postponement (failure) early in the child's school career because the Principal does not believe that postponement in the later grades (4 and 5) is productive. One day she may complain about the attitude of a parent. On another day she may discuss the need to refer a child to Child Guidance.

Teachers are expected to perform and the end result of that performance is student progress, but Mrs. V does not state this in specific terms when asked about the criteria she uses to measure a teacher's performance rating. She says:

> Well, I can't use the student in general, however, I do expect to see some progress made. I'm not going to say that the child should make the year's progress. But I do want to see some progress. I'm concerned about the way the teachers conduct their classes, whether they have discipline. I'm concerned about the way they present various subjects to the children. I'm concerned about their expectations. . .

Discipline Routines

The School C Principal visits her classrooms daily. On her rounds of School C each morning between 9:30 a.m. and the toilet recess breaks, she looks in or enters every classroom. She inspects the toilets during this tour and handles any discipline cases encountered. Routinely, she spends time in rooms where chronic learning or discipline problems exist.

Teachers may refer discipline cases to the office at any time. Every student who is referred to the office must bring a note stating what has happened. If it's an emergency, the teacher may send another child to the office with the child explaining the situation and the note can follow. When Mrs. V is not in the office, Mrs. Lind, the clerk, receives the children and ministers to them until Mrs. V arrives.

A child is outside Room 104 sitting at a table where the teacher who is one of the two temporary professional teachers at School C has deposited him to do his homework. Mrs. V walks up to him and inspects his work. She tells the teacher that this child has hit another child in the bathroom and she takes him with her to the room where the other child is assigned. In the ensuing encounter the child admitted that he committed the offense. Mrs. V then took the child with her to her inner office. The observer was not privy to the punishment.

As she strolls through the quiet and orderly halls of School C, she comes upon a parent-teacher conference in front of a teacher's door. Knowing that the lesson has been interrupted she intervenes to help terminate the conference.

The mother tells the child, "Walk away from this girl if she is getting you into trouble. Tell your teacher when she bothers you, and if the teacher cannot help, then tell me."

After Mrs. V stopped, the mother said to her, "There is more to this lunchroom incident than meets the eye and I would appreciate your help in solving this problem."

Mrs. V assured the mother that she would have any help they could give in making the lunchroom a better place for the children. However, Mrs. V feels that the lunch problem could best be resolved if the children went home in the first place. She is not satisfied with her lunchroom and is in the process of making changes in the present plan.

Teacher Evaluation

The Principal sits down in a classroom only when invited or when something interesting is happening which she wants to observe. Mainly, she looks in and says good morning. She comments on this, saying:

> . . .I think I learn more from that than actually going in and sitting down because, then, of course, everybody is on pins and needles and the children are extremely good. . .
>
> Each day, I think my priority is getting out into the halls so that the children will see me and so that I'm aware of what's going on throughout the entire school. I think if there are any problems that have to be solved I like to solve them in the morning and get them out of the way so that we don't have to worry about that during the day. We don't have too many crises situations, fortunately, to handle or that, of course, would have my priority.

Mini-conferences take place between the Principal and the teachers in the hall, outside of classroom doors and at lunch time in the lounge. Mrs V will approach a teacher about her concerns, and, if necessary, the teacher can arrange to discuss it further in her office. Mrs. V has an open door policy and teachers are always welcome to bring any concern or interest to her attention. Mrs. V states:

> . . .I'm not always right and I'm sure they can do a much better job in that classroom than I can. However, I think if I feel that this or that would improve the situation, I will suggest that the teacher try such-and-such a thing. . .

Several conferences were held with the unsatisfactory art teacher before his release. For 45 minutes one morning he discussed his students' art work and projects with the Principal in her office. He explained to her what his purposes were and why he was teaching the way he had chosen. But Mrs. V defended her unsatisfactory rating to the observer:

> The teacher could not discipline. I didn't like his relationship with the children either. . . His housekeeping was extremely poor. We have to set an example for these children. I think that at all times you should have your room under control and know where your supplies are, that there's some organization as to passing out supplies, there's some organization as to how the children handle the supplies. I didn't find any organization whatsoever in his classroom. I didn't find that the teacher was too well prepared to teach his subject. I didn't like the approach. . . He expected too much of these children without teaching. . . He expected them to be accomplished artists already and they're not. . .
>
> I called the supervisor to come in and help him. We had a teacher who teaches math here and art in the primary rooms, and he tried to work with him. I met with him constantly about his lesson plans and how they should be written, what they should contain. I talked to him constantly about his discipline, trying to show him how they controlled the classroom, how they presented their various subjects. Nothing seemed to register with him. . .

> Finally, I wrote out an unsatisfactory rating for him for the first semester and I told him he would receive an unsatisfactory rating the second semester, but I advised him to transfer. . .and he did.
>
> He is the first teacher to whom I have actually had to give an unsatisfactory rating since I have been here. . . I've threatened some but they have improved. . .

Mrs. V feels that the teachers are in charge of their classrooms in School C. She says, "Whatever he wants to do in that classroom, as long as those children are learning and I feel that they are achieving, fine. I don't interfere with what goes on in the classroom." She also feels that the high achievement in School C is due largely to teacher expectations. Some teachers, however, credit her leadership for the phenomenon.

Adjusting the Curriculum

Teacher and Student Assignments

Transfer students are temporarily placed according to their grade and the number of children already in the class. After this initial grade-room assignment, referrals are made to Dr. Snow, the RAC teacher, for assessment. Dr. Snow has strong feelings about the correct assessment of children at School C. About a School C child who had transferred and then came back because the principal at her new school recommended her for SED, she said:

> I am not certain this child should be in SED. So I will review her record. I tested her when she was here before. In my handwriting I said that she still had the wonder of learning in her eyes. Now, three years later, she is being recommended for SED. I am not surprised that her mother is bringing her back here to School C.

Promotions or postponements determine the placement of other students. Attempts are made to create classes with no more than three reading groups based on the Ginn 360 Mastery Level test scores. Split grades are also avoided and the social maturity of students is considered. Report cards on student achievement and progress are distributed every five weeks in the public school system. Any lack of progress or pattern of unresponsiveness is directly referred to Mrs. V by the teacher. On the right side of the report card there are five grades to show growth in the fundamental skills: A, Outstanding; B, Above Average; C, Average; D, Below Average; and E, Unsatisfactory. The child's Ginn or Lippincott Reading Level is recorded for each of the grading periods. For the public school system there is a promotion schedule for reading.

Students in Grades 1 through 5 also get marks in language, spelling, handwriting, social studies, mathematics, science, music, art, physical education and health. On the left side of the report card is recorded the teachers' assessment of the child's growth in social skills. There are two grades: Satisfactory and Needs Improvement. The child's social habits, work habits and health and safety habits are evaluated here. Chronic cases requiring remediation receive constant monitoring. These children are well known to both Mrs. V and Mrs. Lind. The Ginn 360 Skill Level Mastery Test is used for class placement.

All transfers into School C are given the appropriate Ginn 360 Skill Mastery Level Test. Dr. Snow and Mrs. V discussed the reading record of a child who had transferred to School C from another public school in the city which was a low achieving school. This child's record indicated that she had completed the mastery of skills on Level 7 and Level 8 in the sending school. The teacher's recorded observations in School C reflected that the child's work did not confirm such mastery.

Dr. Snow was asked to test the child to determine proficiencies. Her test results showed that the child scored 70 percent of Level 7 and 56 percent at Level 8 whereas the sending school claimed 86 percent and 72 percent mastery respectively. School C requires 80 percent mastery or more to go on to the next level. Mrs. V said that she had brought this to the attention of the sending school principal and had also notified him that the teacher who had misrepresented this child's achievement had been released from School C for giving children more time and assistance on tests than the rules warranted.

Teachers are assigned to classes according to their expertise and certification and by rotation each school year. Some of these decisions are made by the teachers themselves. Says Mrs. V:

> They have the privilege to select the grade level they want to teach. In the intermediate section if we do not have a certain subject. . .if I have to pull out a certain subject such as social studies, math, or something like that, the teachers have the option. They can select the special assignment if they so wish.
>
> If they feel their strong points are in Lippincott or their strong points are working with the slower children, if that is their choice, fine. In the second grade, however, I do alter the top and the low group between Miss G and Miss F. But Mrs. N always teachers the top third grade group. Mrs. N has been at School C thirty years. Mrs. J has the lower group.

Mrs. J is a temporary professional.

Students are rotated between the reading teachers in the intermediate departmentalized grades (4 and 5). In 1969 School C was one of the pilot schools throughout the city to use Lippincott. The Lippincott series was used throughout the building. The other schools were using Scott-Foresman. The pilot program lasted three years and a decision was made not to accept the Lippincott reading series. It had been most effective at School C. When the Ginn 360 series was adopted, Mrs. V asked if they could continue using the Lippincott series with their more advanced students. This request was honored. Other schools were told to send the Lippincott books to School C when requested.

"It is a difficult series, especially with the fourth grade," she says. "However, we do find that the comprehension using the Lippincott series is much better in comparison to the Ginn." Several School C teachers received training in using the series and want it to be the system series.

In response to queries about the difficulty of the reader in its story content and the introduction of the short vowels first, Mrs. V explains:

> Lippincott depends on the teacher. The teacher had to be able to teach reading. Personally, I feel Lippincott's introduction

> to phonics is superior to any and our first graders have proven that, because at the end of the first grade, they can pick up anything and read it. Their decoding skills are really terrific. I have observed in the classroom when the Lippincott has been used. The children are required to think beyond this immediate community and I can see where many people would feel that it could not be used in this area such as School C where the children's exposure is limited. But I think it adds a lot to the child's experience.

Mrs. D is a veteran teacher and prime advocate for Lippincott in School C. She teaches the Lippincott readers in the first grade. Mrs. A teaches ELS or the slow first graders. Mrs. E teachers the middle range. Their assignments do not vary from year to year. Mrs. V says this is a decision made by the teachers. Mrs. E comments on the arrangement in this way:

> I aways said when Mrs. D retired I would get the smart kids. I have programmed up so I don't want to switch now. There is no problem with placement because we have decided on this arrangement.

Solving a Testy Problem

The fifth grade reading teachers are particularly conscious of the failure of their fifth graders to achieve at the national norm in reading, over the five year period.

"It keeps me awake at night," Mrs. V confided. "I hope your study will give us some clues as to what is wrong and what we should do about this. . ."

Mrs. K and Mrs. P, who are responsible for the fifth grade reading are greatly concerned about the inability to achieve at grade level on the MAT. Mrs. K has been at School C since 1968 and was a reading teacher when seventh grade was in the school. Miss P is a veteran teacher of 27 years and a good friend of Mrs. V. Mrs. V feels that something must be changed in the schedule. She wants to make sure that reading is taught in the morning for all of these children. Mrs. V does not explain why School C is so successful in attaining high achievement in mathematics since mathematics is taught in the afternoon in most classes and to whole groups. Additionally, she thinks that the number of children who transfer in and out during the fourth grade affects the fifth grade scores. The incoming students' scores are always lower than the outgoing students' scores. Moreover, Mrs. V says that some parents remove their children from School C in fourth grade in order to qualify for another middle school placement for their children when they complete fifth grade in the new school. Although fourth grade does show a larger number of transfers than Grades 2, 3 or 5, a slightly greater percentage of fifth graders achieved at the national norm than did fourth graders in 1980. If the highest achievers left, the fifth grade scores should be worse.

Fifth grade scores rose during the study year and reached the city norms in May, 1980. But, the fourth grade declined. This seemed to prove to Mrs. V that morning reading was imperative since the fourth graders who performed less well were programmed for afternoon reading sessions. Yet, she had some uneasiness about her diagnosis when asked to look back on these fourth graders and to indicate some of the things that she felt went wrong. She says:

> ...well, in addition to what I have already said, that group was weak, and they had been in second and third grade together. We more or less expected that they would not achieve as well as we had anticipated. The teachers spent much of their time reviewing and stressing skills and drill and so forth because they felt that's what these children needed. I think as far as maturing is concerned, these children are a little slow along these lines, so they have a difficult time accepting the intermediate plan as far as meeting other teachers, being more or less independent. I think they would have done better if we could have had self-contained through fourth grade for them. . .

This statement contradicts her belief that all children can learn; and, Mrs. V will try to schedule all reading in the morning next year, reluctant to concede that failure may be due to circumstances outside her control. It is this strong cause-effect belief that contributes to the continuous search for routines which solve learning problems at School C, yet the low expectations for this fourth grade group is reflected in their lack of progress.

Teachers' Meetings

Teachers' meetings are not held monthly at School C. Mrs. V calls meetings whenever she feels they are necessary. She says:

> We meet in groups quite often, like the first grade teachers will meet with me. Those that teach math will meet for something. But we seldom, but for three or four times a year, we have our faculty meetings. . .scheduled faculty meetings.

She also says:

> If there is a request from Mrs. _______ (Assistant Superintendent in charge of Elementary Schools) or the supervisor that needs their immediate attention. . . If a situation arises here in the building that I feel we need to get together and discuss, we'll meet. . .

During the study year there were several meetings. One meeting was concerned about an irate parent and parental visitation to classrooms during school hours. Another dealt with the system's Mini-test program, its administration and implementation. It was held on the day reserved for teachers to complete records at School C. The public school system authorizes dismissal of children on this day. Two meetings were held to explain some facets of this study. One meeting concerned desegregation. One was called to inform the teachers about the Title IV program, a state sponsored project around consumer education activities for schools in the Upper Hayti High School Cluster.

At this meeting held at School C during ESEP time, Mrs. V presented the information to her faculty. Title IV curriculum stresses the competencies which the city's public schools were lacking. School C had been selected to participate in numerical operations and personal finance activities for the consumer education program. The program was applicable to Kindergarten through Grade 5. The topics to be taught and discussed were: applied mathematical concepts, the creation and use of budgets, routine banking and goods and services. She gave them the information about the places and time of the meeting and requested that one representative from each grade level attend. Headstart, EMR and LD/BI attendance was optional. Mr. L, Miss K and Miss P were asked to attend, and Miss P was appointed Chairperson.

"The rest of you can select the unlucky person," laughed Mrs. V. "This person will be responsible for reporting to the faculty. Classroom assistants will be involved and asked to provide materials for the concepts to be used. Mr. L will be the resource person for the concepts in Kindergarten through Grade 5. The curriculum is available and each person will have a copy on the day of the workshop. Skills are graded and applicable to the respective topics. Everyone can attend the meeting if you want, but please let me know a week in advance if you are going to attend."

Later, at the meeting held to implement the district's Mini-test program, the teachers complained that the Title IV meeting was boring and not very helpful. The supervisor acknowledged that the meeting was primarily an organizational meeting simply to get people to understand the basic concepts and to assign tasks for the Cluster. The Mini-test is a series of practice tests designed for each grade level from Grade 1 through Grade 5, published by Educational Solutions, Inc., of New York City. It is intended to improve the test-taking skills of the students. Its adoption was based on the assumption that part of the low achievement of public school students on the MAT was due to their poor test-taking ability. The assumption was held that that was believed to be truer for poor and black children. At the meeting held on ESEP time at School C, the supervisor directed the teachers to work on the tests according to the received directions two sessions a week. She then distributed the boxes of the tests and the teachers' instructions. The rest of the meeting was spent discussing the contents of both.

Generally, Mrs. V and her faculty resent these intrusions and do not believe that they help School C to be high achieving. During the observations only teachers of the lower reading groups followed the Mini-test program. Mrs. V has refused to have Teacher Corps or student teachers from the local university at School C because of philosophical and procedural differences between her and the university's routines. For instance, she told the observer that the university's student teachers were not required to keep lesson plans and resisted her demands for them. She felt that Teacher Corps students were not cooperative and that these programs consumed more of her time than their merits warranted. In fact, Mrs. V feels that the more programs she brings into School C, the more time is taken away from her instructional program which she is certain contributes to high achievement.

One teacher put it this way, "We don't like others telling us what is the best for School C children. We like to take care of our own."

This tendency was observed in the graded group meetings which occur almost everyday at noon. The Kindergarten and Grade 1 teachers eat lunch together except for Mrs. D. She is the only black teacher in this group and she eats lunch in her room mostly with Lippincott readers who want to stay and work with her. This is not a compulsory setting. This group is informal and the discussions are usually held around their lunch routine. Discussions with Mrs. D occur during the ESEP time.

The Grade 2 and Grade 3 teachers lunch toghether. Mrs. J was out for 25 days during the study year having surgery and her participation in this group is unclear. But, Mrs. N, who is the senior member, Mrs. G, who is in charge of the school whenever Mrs. V is absent, which happened once during the study period when Mrs. V attended a meeting in San Diego, and Mrs. F eat together everyday in Mrs. N's room. Mrs. F is the only black in this group. No clear pattern occurred among the Grade 4 and Grade 5 teachers. Mrs. K appears to be a loner. Miss P eats lunch in the first floor Teachers' Lounge with Mrs. V everyday. The other teachers had no clear routine. The LD/BI teacher is a member of the Kindergarten and first grade grouping, but the EMR teacher does not appear to belong to the Grade 4 and Grade 5 group.

There are no regular Union meetings in School C either. Mrs. V said that she and Mrs. C had not met in a year. She and Mrs. P both feel that the Union does not deal with the real problems of the school. Mrs. P does not belong to the Union. Mrs. V mentioned a case where the parent had protested the postponement of a child on the grounds that the test scores were inaccurate. The parent had obtained copies of both tests, the Ginn Skill Level Mastery and the MAT and administered them both himself. Mrs. V said that it was apparent that the child had seen the test before and she had been given assistance and more time.

"When I sought assistance from the Union, I received none," she said. "Nothing happened."

Mrs. C said that the Union is primarily concerned with money, getting its members' teeth fixed, securing additional benefits and powers and other welfare programs for teachers. "Its primary goal is not the improvement of instruction."

Most of the teachers at School C belong to the Union, however, they do not look to it for any assistance in improving instruction in their school, nor do they believe that it is an educational organization. "It is a welfare organization," said one teacher who did not want to be identified with the comment, "A teacher's welfare organization. . .we need it."

The Union bulletin board is in the Teachers' Lounge on the first floor which is the most widely used room. It is a pleasant room painted peach and white. The furniture is standard office and old. There is a new stove-refrigerator cabinet and a coke machine with several cases of uncollected empty bottles. Coke is till 25 cents here. The is also a lounge on the second floor. It is a small room and not as carefully kept nor as clean. Mrs. Y, the kindergarten teacher, keeps the keys and coins for the machine and takes the money for the coffee for the first floor lounge. The washroom facilities in the first floor lounge are for women. The second floor facilities are for men.

There are plants on the tables in the first floor lounge and the room is always clean. Mrs. V eats here every day with Mrs. P. They eat the School C Type A lunch which is served to the children. Lunchtime at School C is one of Mrs. V's headaches. She is greatly dissatisfied with her student lunch program.

Improving the Lunch Program

Lunch Routines

"I think that the children should be quiet and courteous. But they feel that the children should be allowed to play and be noisy," said Mrs. P as she sat across from Mrs. V at lunch in the teachers' first floor lounge on a rainy day in February. She was talking about the difference of opinion about the lunch routines at School C which existed between her and the lunch room manager and aides. Mrs. V seemed to concur with this opinion.

"They don't have to take care of them after lunch. . ." said Mrs. V.

"They are taking them outside again, getting them all keyed up. . ." commented Miss P, encouraged by Mrs. V's agreement. "I think this is a mistake to start this up again. . .we're going to have the same trouble. . ." Mrs. V nodded in agreement but did not speak about it any further. The bell rang signalling the end of their lunch period.

Mrs. V would like for the children to go home for lunch. A discussion with the observer on this matter follows.

Mrs. V: If they could have an hour or so that they could go home, get out of the building, different surroundings, you know. . .go home, see mother for a few minutes, sit down for lunch at home and then come back. . .when they come back they've gotten fresh air. . .

Observer: Do you think they need a longer time? If they had a half hour to eat and a half hour to play, they'd get all that energy out? Is that what you mean?

Mrs. V: Well, no because we can't organize the half hour play. It's fine when the weather's nice and they can get out but. . .I think they should not be confined to the building. They should go elswhere for lunch, preferably home.

Observer: Do you feel there is consensus among the parents about your plan?

Mrs. V: No. The parents, of course, are very pleased that their children are confined to school. It prevents freedom. . .

Observer: So your plan would present a kind of conflict then. . .

Mrs. V: Mmmmmmmm. Yes.

Failing her ultimate plan, Mrs. V met with her teachers and lunchroom aides to work out an alternative.

Observer: Did you have any goals set for your lunchroom staff?

Mrs. V: Yes, we did. That's the one period that's disastrous and it ruins our afternoons. We can't get as much accomplished academically in the afternoon as a result of the half hour lunch program. We've tried to work with the aides to help them as far as the discipline is concerned. We've had parents come in and plan game periods, and so forth. But nothing has worked. There has been an improvement in the discipline at lunch. We try various methods of arranging the children as far as their seating patterns were concerned.

Observer: What kinds of things did you want the lunch aides to do down there?

Mrs. V: Well, we wanted them to be able to organize a game. We wanted them to be able to discipline the children and not scream, to be a little bit more lenient. I've noticed, too, that they're very partial with certain children, especially children in their family and they go out of their way to be nice to them and they're quite severe with the other children. So that's a problem.

Observer: How do you get them to be fair with all the children? Have more organized activities?

Mrs. V: Yes. . .as I've said before.

Observer: You feel you've been successful at that?

Mrs. V: To a degree. Everyone says that we have one of the best lunch programs in the city. I haven't visited the others.

Observer: Is there consensus among the aides?

Mrs. V: Yes, and the lunchroom manager.

Observer: How did you arrive at these goals with the lunchroom manager and the aides?

Mrs. V.: Well, I received reports from the teachers and the aides indicating there had to be an improvement. So, we got together and discussed various methods of improving the program. And we talked to the children constantly about the proper lunchroom conduct. Many of the teachers will send with each child to the lunchroom work that has to be done after lunch. That has worked at the primary level but is not too successful at the intermediate. . .

The meetings around discipline in the lunchroom occurred in September and October of 1979 prior to our observation periods and study grant. Observations made in the lunchroom will be given in another section of this report.

Clearly, Mrs. V and her faculty are looking for ways to be more productive in the afternoons. They perceive the performance of the children to be poorer during that part of the school day and are at a loss as to how to be more efficient and effective during that time. Her plan for home lunch does not seem to be consistent, however, with her need for more time since going home will require either a longer school day or the use of instructional periods. Nor is her argument about the ineffectiveness of afternoon instruction compatible with her high achievement in mathematics. As a result of this dilemma, the lunchroom has become School C's nemesis.

Curriculum Adjustments

Social Service and Special Education Referrals

Service staff receive their referrals from the School C Principal who makes the decision to refer based on the recommendation and discussions with teachers.

Mrs. Desoo, the social worker, comes to School C all day on Friday and half day on Thursday. She is black and about 50 years of age. She often chats casually about common interests and the news of the day with Mrs V and Mrs. Lind, the school Clerk, in the school's office. Attendance problems are referred to Mrs. Desoo for resolution. Mrs. Desoo has access to all school records and moves freely behind the counter separating the reception area of the office from Mrs. Lind's section. She has parent meetings, makes home visits and confers with the Principal on her findings. Mrs. Desoo has a close relationship with Mrs. V. She knows most of the problem cases at School C well. Mrs. V hardly ever makes a decision without getting Mrs. Desoo's input on a discipline or attendance case. Mrs. V would like to have Mrs. Desoo more time than she does.

"By the time she checks up on attendance, there is not time for much else. . ."she says.

Mrs. Desoo makes referrals to Child Guidance and she was in charge of getting information about the incoming transfers assigned to School C in the district's desegregation plan. It was her research which formed the rationale for Mrs. V's request for additional psychological and social service staff the next school year.

School C also has children who receive services from the hearing therapist and the speech therapist. The former comes in only by referral; the latter is at School C all day Tuesday and half day Thursday. Mrs. Desoo follows up on Child Guidance referrals. These are usually children who have been referred for psychological evaluations for services other than placement in Special Education divisions.

"Fortunately for us our cases are not severe," says Mrs. V. We have been able to follow up on the Child Guidance referrals. However, I like to keep at least a monthly check and we can't do that because it takes Mrs. Desoo sometimes three and four days to get a call through to Child Guidance."

A psychologist discusses his referrals with her. He also joins parent conferences for the referred children. The school psychologist is shared with the Hilltop Middle School where School C children go for 6th, 7th and 8th grade. During the observation period in the school's office he was conferring with Mrs. V and a parent about a Headstart placement. He told Mrs. V after the parent had left that he had good news.

"Headstart will be evaluated by St. Hubert. It will cover 3,300 cases. This can be useful. It can help kindergarten placement since they will be evaluating Day Care and Kindergarten."

Mrs. V says that she will ask parents to give their permission for the evaluation. Evaluation centers discover developmental lags and pre-school problems before kindergarten placement. She said that she would also notify Day Care that students can be tested and see whether the staff can get permission for them to participate.

The psychologist discusses a discipline case with Mrs. V. He shares his initial findings with her and says that he thinks the student may not need to be placed in SED if the student is returning to School C.

The hearing and speech therapists work with the mainstreamed hard of hearing cases in School C as well as with other referrals. They both report the progress of their students to Mrs. V at the end of the week when they leave. Mrs. V seems to be well informed about the students and has a good rapport with the special services support staff.

A nurse services the school once a week. A dental hygienist also works with School C twice a month. These two persons examine the children by grade periodically and send reports and forms home to the parents. Their recommendations are placed in the child's folder for future reference by school personnel.

The School C Family

School C implements an isolated family composed of the students, faculty, and Principal together with parents of conforming and advanced students, developed to affirm and uphold the values and norms of School C. The Family concept is used to foster solidarity, cohesiveness and loyalty among its members; to encourage compliance and obedience to School C rules; and to avoid uncertainty by increasing predictability through control of student and parent behavior. Each member is responsible for and obligated to the other members.

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A Look Inside the Principal's Office: School C

The School Office

The school office is a wide, spacious room in the front of the school building directly facing the auditorium. The building is named after a leading early 20th century black publisher and politician. It is one of three schools in the city named after black leaders. There is a photograph of the school's namesake and a tribute to him from the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History and the Amoco Foundation on the wall facing the front entrance. The walls of the wide corridors are painted a bright yellow. The school is cheerful and bright. On the walls to the right of the entrance, facing the auditorium and beside the kindergarten hall entrance are papers and pictures produced by the primary children. These pictures are representative of relatives or friends and the messages convey wishes for happiness during the holidays. A bulletin board faces the office entrance. Over it is "International Year of the Child." This bulletin board was prepared by the kindergarten aide, Mrs. X. The bulletin boards are changed each month with the responsibility rotating among the teachers and the aides.

All school personnel sign in in the school's office upon arrival. Teachers come in and out of the office during the preparation periods to use the duplicating machines or the telephone. They enter to check their mailboxes for information and mail. They come to discuss problems or business with the Principal or clerk. Support staff, janitors, the custodian and the lunchroom manager come in and out to take care of their school business, to operate office machines, to get supplies, records and equipment, to use the telephone and to make reports to the Principal. Closed conferences or discussions are carried on in the Principal's adjoining office which is very small with one door exiting into the larger office and another into the closet-like room in which there is a small sink, a mirror and a clothes rack. The "Lost and Found Box" is stored here, also.

On the wall at the entrance to the Principal's office is a note written in primary print by a first grade student. It reads:

> Dear Mrs. V:
>
> I am thankful that you are the best principal
> in the whole wide world.
>
> Maryanna Jaymin

Parents come into the school's office to see the Principal, to get passes to visit classrooms and to talk with teachers, or to see or get their children. Mostly, parents come in response to the Principal's or teacher's request, to enroll their child in school or to transfer him/her out, or to get a sick child.

Students enter to bring or carry messages. When Mrs. V wants a messenger one short ring of the bell summons one. The teacher in charge of messengers sends down previously chosen monitors to serve. Students are sent by teachers with notes or monitors for discipline. Discipline referrals include students who misbehave, fail to complete homework or school work assignments or who seem sullen or belligerent. Sick students are sent to the office, also. Students may come to the office accompanied by their parents or their teacher to be reprimanded, commended or discussed. They come for many reasons ranging from being good performers to slow ones, chronic attendance problems to perfect attendance award winners. They come to see the Principal in her office.

Coordination: Parent Routines

The routine for parent communication and involvement at School C is as follows: All parents come to visit teachers through the school office. Parents are welcome during the time before school until 8:35 a.m. and during the time after school, 2:35 p.m. until 3:05 p.m. When parents come at any other time they may not get to talk with the teacher. They can talk with the Principal, however, at any time other than her lunch period, at which time the office is closed, from noon until 12:30 p.m.

There is no attendance or tardiness problem at School C according to the Principal, but parents are contacted by telephone whenever a child is absent more than three days and after one day if the absence is suspicious. Parents must write excuses for every absence. Parents are also notified about persistent tardiness. Chronic problems, when they occur, are referred to the social worker for resolution.

Parents are sent for when the children present a discipline problem. Generally, this is a repeated action in violation of a school rule or regulation. The child is sent home for the parent with a note at the end of the school day. Rarely are School C children sent home during the school day unless very ill and only when the parent can be located. The parent is requested to return to school the next day with the child and, if this is not possible for the parent, the parent is notified to keep the child home until he/she can accompany him/her.

Many times parents are called beforehand to explain a discipline case or rule violation. In these cases, if and when the parent can be reached, the cooperation of the parent can be acquired prior to the child's departure. Often when this is the situation, no note is sent. Mrs. V merely asks the parent to discipline the child on arrival home.

In September, School C sends home the rules and regulations governing discipline discussed earlier in this report. The parents are asked to discuss these with the children, to post them someplace so they can refer to them throughout the school year and to assist the school in enforcement. There are similar rules for the lunchroom.

Parents arrive in the School C office as early as 8:15 a.m. to transfer their children in or out of the school. Whenever a child transfers out, Mrs. Lind checks in all School C equipment, textbooks and materials. She inquires about musical instruments. After this, she makes up an envelope of the student's work, workbooks and materials so that the receiving school would know where the student was to work. Whether the student is coming in or going out, Mrs. Lind explains the keeping of transfer records. She notes names of entrants and date of transfer on membership and enrollment data. These enrollment data are kept on work sheets which are available.

When children transfer in, Mrs. Lind calls the school, if it is a city school, to get accurate birth data and grade placement. But, when a child comes from another city and/or state, she must wait for confirmation. Parents are told that placements are temporary until tests and other records can be acquired to assure proper placement.

Sometimes children are transferred out of School C without reporting it to Mrs. Lind or Mrs. V. One morning Mrs. Lind made a call to a parent about a child who had been absent for more than three days. The parent said that the child was in school in another big city in the state. Mrs. Lind told the parent that she had not received any correspondence from the school requesting the child's records. She told the parent that she needed them to come in and transfer their child out of School C or to write to the school in which she was now enrolled for them to request her records.

Mrs. Lind has a friendly relation with some of the parents. They exchange informal conversation on mutual friends, grandchildren, vacations, Christmas and other holidays, recipes and other trivia. Some parents depend on Mrs. Lind to see that their children arrive at School C safely or get their lunch money or remember the keys to the house, boots and mittens. Mrs. Lind also knows the parents of the few children who are chronic absentees. She calls them about their children and is well acquainted with their excuses. Mrs. Lind is outgoing. Neighbors call her from the open windows in the school office on sunny days and she chats with them from the window. She is a sympathetic, empathetic, concerned person who is extremely helpful and solicitous.

Control: Parent Routines

Sometimes parents are very angry when they enter the office. Mrs. Lind occasionally must receive them alone. She is the same friendly, smiling person but cautious. A slightly built dark man with few bottom teeth came in extremely upset one afternoon. He hostilely said that he was Nellie's father and had come after her money. Mrs. Lind said that she was unfamiliar with the case and that he would have to wait to talk with Mrs. V. She tried to engage him in some small talk about the weather but he would not be moved. Finally, she said that Mrs. V would be here directly as soon as the halls were clear. It was dismissal time.

Mrs. V entered the office and inquired about the problem. The father charged that the teacher had taken the child's money and kept it. Mrs. V angrily exploded:

> No teacher at School C would do anything like that! Nellie is not telling the truth. She gave the purse to another child to keep for her. The other child got sick in school and went home. She took Nellie's purse with her and sent it back to school the next day. Nellie did not give her money to the teacher, the other child sent it back to her.

At this point Mrs. V handed the parent a small black velvet purse.

The parent challenged Mrs. V. He said, "I know some teachers who would keep a child's money. My sister teaches in the county and she said that she has heard of such cases."

"Well, it does not happen here!" said Mrs. V sternly. "You should not permit your child to bring such large sums of money to school anyway." The parent who had calmed down by now agreed and said that he would attend to Nellie when she got home.

"Tell her that I was here and got the money and she's gonna get it when she gets home tonight."

After he had left, Mrs. V and Mrs. Lind discussed Nellie's behavior. She is a new fourth grader who seems to be having some trouble making friends and getting adjusted to School C. Mrs. V said that she needed to talk with her teacher about Nellie.

At other times, parents call Mrs. Lind to advise her that their children forgot their lunch money and that they will send it by other children who come to afternoon kindergarten. Parents also call about the transportation of the LD/BI children, the only children bussed to School C by the public school system. When the children are late or do not arrive, parents call.

Every once in a while, Mrs. Lind will be suspicious of a person who says that he or she is a parent. Whenever this happens she will escort the person to the room to confirm his or her claim. But before she does this, she will check the child's record for a determination of parental custody and ask the person a question or two in order to confirm her decision.

When parents call to speak directly with the teachers, Mrs. Lind takes the message, informs the parent or caller that the teachers are in class and gives them the time when they can come to visit. She does not call teachers out of class to the telephone except for emergencies.

Summary of Parent Routines

In School C the coordination of parent involvement in school affairs is highly centralized and communication with them is restricted. Moreover, parent participation is strictly controlled. The following routines apply:

Parent Access Routines

1. Parents come before 8:35 a.m. and after 2:35 p.m. to talk with teachers about any and all school matters.

2. Parents come to school any time but may gain access only to the Principal except from Noon to 12:35 p.m.
3. Parents call the school at any time to talk with the clerk or the Principal except from Noon to 12.35 p.m. Teachers cannot come to the telephone at all times.
4. Parents must write excuses for student absences and tardinesses.
5. Parents must come to school with a suspended child when directed by the Principal.
6. Parents are sent information by bulletins or correspondence sent home with their children.
7. Parents come to School C to transfer their children in and out of school.
8. Parents and visitors must always come to the office first. Teachers must not admit parents or visitors without an office pass.

Parent-Conflict-Resolution Scenario

1. Parent confers with the teachers.
2. Teacher confers with the Principal.
3. Parent confers with the Principal, if unresolved.
4. Parent confers with the Assistant Superintendent if unresolved.
5. Assistant Superintendent confers with Principal if unresolved.
6. Principal confers with parent again if unresolved.
7. Parent confers with Superintendent if unresolved.
8. Principal confers with parent again if unresolved.
9. Parent confers with Board Member if unresolved.
10. Board Member refers matter to Superintendent.
11. Routines 5 and 6 are repeated.

Irate Parent Scenario

1. Parent confers with Teacher.
2. Teacher sends for Principal if parent refuses to go to office.
3. Principal confers with parent.
4. Principal demands that the parent leave if too angry.
5. Principal calls police if parent refuses to leave and remains irate.

Parent-Teacher Communication Scenario

1. Parent confers with teacher or vice versa.
2. Teacher confers with Principal.
3. Principal may or may not confer with parent.

Principal-Parent Communication Scenario

1. Parent confers with Principal or vice versa.
2. Principal confers with teachers.
3. Teacher confers with parent.

Student-Parent-Principal Discipline Scenario

1. Student is referred to the office for repeated violations or fighting.
2. Parents are called to notify them of student's suspension. If parent cannot be reached at home, the student is given a suspension notice to take home at the end of the school day.
3. Student is sent home whenever parent can be reached or, if not, at the end of the school day.
4. Student returns the next morning with parent.
5. Follow Principal-Parent Communication Scenario.

Control: Student Routines

School C students line up outside of the school for entry in the morning. Children stream down the side streets from the public housing, up the hill streets from Lee Avenue and, beginning as early as 8:00 a.m., a few parents can be seen dropping their children off in front of the school. By 8:30 a.m. two perpendicular lines have formed leading to the school's front entrance. From 8:30 a.m. to 8:45 a.m. children enter the building. Three monitors stand at the door of the front entrance. All children enter here. The children enter quietly and orderly. There is very little play. Children come in and go directly to their rooms.

Mrs. C, the gym teacher, Student Council and Safety Patrol Sponsor and Union Representative at School C, stands outside daily watching the lines and checking on her monitors and guards. Two student monitors open the doors at 8:30 a.m. and the lines file between them. Inside, hall monitors wait for entering students. Students go to the left or the right in front of these monitors. Mrs. V stands in the front hall. After the 8:35 a.m. bell rings, Mrs. C enters at the head of the line of monitors and the safety patrol guards.

Students come into the office when summoned to carry messages to and from the school office, when called by the Principal, when accompanied by parents and teachers or other children for disciplinary reasons and whenever they desire to speak with Mrs. V or Mrs. Lind. Often students come just to say hell-o to the Principal or to wish her "Happy Birthday." Students sent alone to the office for disciplinary reasons bring a note from the teacher describing the infraction. Mrs. V then judges the case and designates the proper punishment. Tardy students come into the office to gain entrance into their classes.

A counter stands between the clerk's section of the larger office and the waiting room or reception room. There is a small closet-like room off of the reception section. The clerk hangs her coat in here. Also in this room is the box of lost and found garments, a small sink and a mirror. Students coming into the office walk up to the counter and wait until the clerk recognizes them. Wee ones must walk around to the gate because she cannot see them. Children come into the office with upset stomachs and headaches. One time a student was brought to the office and indicated that she was ill.

"Do you feel so bad that you want to go home?" asked Mrs. Lind.

"Yes." was the reply.

Mrs. Lind called the parent and permitted the child to talk with her. The mother asked that she send her child home. Mrs. V wrote a note to the teacher and sent the child back to her room to get her outer garments.

"Be sure and have your mother call us back to let us know that you arrived home safely, hear now?" said Mrs. Lind.

The little girl nodded assent.

Two children were sent to the office from the lunchroom.

"Now, what happened?" Mrs. V asked with a stern face.

"I took his coat by mistake at lunchtime."

"She took it on purpose," the boy interrupted.

"I did not."

"Stop it!" commanded Mrs. V. "It will not be tolerated here." She was visibly angry and her look silenced the two children. "Do you understand?"

The children nodded and sat down as she waved them to the seats. Mrs. V went behind the counter and wrote notes for them to go to their classes.

On another day the gym teacher, Mrs. C, brought in two students who were causing a disturbance by arguing over a pen. One of them said his mother gave him a pen this morning. The other said it was his. Mrs. Lind honored Mrs. C's request to call the mother of the child claiming the pen. The parent was not home. Mrs. V entered during this transaction. She decided since no one could prove who owned the pen that she would keep it until both could get notes from their parents saying who owned the pen.

Sometimes children get into scraps on the way home. One day a little girl's father came in the office about 2:55 p.m. with four children, three girls and one boy. Mrs. Lind asked if she could be of assistance. He said that he wanted to talk with Mrs. V. She was talking with Mrs. B. He said that he would wait. He told Mrs. V that a little boy named Jon chased his little girl, Anna, on her way home. Mrs. V took his name down, the little girl's name and the name of the accused boy. She said that she would call his mother right away. This she did. She complimented the child's past behavior and asked the mother's help and assistance to curb any change in the child's behavior. The mother gave Mrs. V some information which Mrs. V said that she would give to another parent whose child was also involved. The exchange sounded pleasant and amicable. Mrs. V did not seem tense, hostile or upset.

A few minutes later Jon burst into the office out of breath and said, "Mrs. V, did you want to see me?"

Mrs. V nodded and asked him about his problem with Anna.

"I was only playing with her. We wasn't fighting..."

"We weren't fighting."

"No, ma'm."

"Well, all right," said Mrs. V. "I'll talk to your mother tomorrow about it."

Mrs. V often sends for children to come to her at the end of the school day. Usually they respond positively. One day she sent for a child and he did not show. The next day she sent for him at 8:45 a.m.

"Why didn't you come in here yesterday when I told you?" she asked in a cold, icy voice.

"I forgot," the child said repentingly.

"How could you forget that I sent for you?" she asked.

"I dunno," the child shook his head.

"Well, that will not be tolerated here, you know that, don't you?"

"Yes, ma'm."

"You were not a good sport in gym class when Mrs. C was out and you had a substitute. I don't like it when you misbehave for people who do not know what we stand for at School C. You know that is not the way School C people behave, don't you?"

"Yes, ma'm."

"Well, then, I don't expect to see you again in here for that, do I?"

"No, ma'm."

By that time Mrs. C, the gym teacher, came in and continued the castigation for acting out for the substitute and poor sportsmanship. Mrs. V did not permit him to go back to his class. She told him to get a book and read it for a while. The student complied.

Often the afternoon kindergarten children arrive early. They come into the office. Mrs. V takes them back to the foyer entrance of the kindergarten. There are a few chairs there for early arrivals.

Some students who are repeaters get long assignments to do in the library. Occasionally, they bring this work to Mrs. V for her to check and accept. If it is done incorrectly, these students are assigned seats at the public phone desk in order to complete it under Mrs. V's supervision. Incorrect work generally receives more work.

In the afternoon the kindergarten teacher comes in with two charges in tow. "Sit down you two! she says pointing to them in front of Mrs. V. Then she disappears with Mrs. V into the latter's small office. In a few minutes she emerges and says that Mrs. V wants to see the both of them. The little ones come out crying and promising that they will be good. They would not do their classwork. Mrs. Y stated that she had had one under the desk but it didn't seem to do any good.

"Well, we'll see what does some good," said Mrs. V as the two left the office with Mrs. Y. "What does your mother and father do when you don't mind?" asked Mrs. V.

"Spank me," said the two in unison.

"Well, then, maybe I'd better call your parents," she threatened as they disappeared.

Mrs. V knows all of the children in School C, and especially well does she know those who are having trouble adjusting in school. She knows when to give a reprimand, when to give a stronger punishment, when the reprimand is taking and when it is not taking effect. One morning two fourth grade students who had been engaged in a name calling exchange were sent to the office. Mrs. V admonished the students for their behavior and warned them to cease and desist. She chastised them for fighting and queried them about their behavior. She noted that they had not paid attention to their classwork and that the grades of one of them were slipping. She discussed their responsibility and continued the discussion along those same lines until one of them began to cry. She told them that they were not doing their best. The two boys tried to implicate others, but Mrs. V noted that the others had not been referred to her by the teacher. She began to write down information and then she told them to write a 200 sentence theme about George Washington Carver whose picture hangs on the second floor wall. She ordered this work to be done during the students' gym period.

At the end of one day when there were so many problems in the gym because the teacher was absent, Mrs. V conferred with the fifth grade teachers and they agreed to talk with the classes as a whole to review the behavior students should exhibit in classes manned by substitute teachers who are at School C for a short while. This review was couched in terms of School C expectations and standards of behavior, the family concept and common rules of courtesy. The School C Family Concept creates a feeling of belonging for everyone. It makes every teacher responsible for every student. All teachers must know all students by name and by history. Any teacher can command any student and seek obedience. Every student is the brother or sister of every other student. They are expected to know everyone's name. Each person must have a sense of loyalty to the school and a feeling of pride about it. This makes the students want to keep the school clean, to represent it well in contests and programs, to come to school clean and well prepared, to be compliant and obedient.

Children come to the office to look for lost articles and to leave those which they have found. Sometimes Mrs. Lind will help them to look for them when she is not too busy. At other times she waves them to the door of the small room where the "Lost and Found Box" is kept. On occasion, little children from the kindergarten come into the office at dismissal time to wait for older brothers and sisters. When they do not have mittens or hats, Mrs. Lind will loan them items from the "Lost and Found Box" telling them to return them the next day. The school is dismissed on a staggered basis. The first floor empties at 2:25 p.m. and the second at 2:40 p.m.

Safety patrol monitors occasionally accompany violators to the office for reprimanding. These students wear orange school guard belts everyday and yellow raincoats in bad and wet weather. They are assigned to street corners and halls in the school building during entry and dismissal time. Usually the violators are children in the kindergarten or first grade.

Mrs. Lind and Mrs. V discuss the children's problems in empathetic and understanding tones relating their experience with the children to those of the children, but Mrs. Lind does not know all of the children. Mrs. V does. Mrs. Lind has trouble remembering some of the children's names while she knows others very well.

Lucius is a handicapped child who has asthma and who has a deformed left arm from birth. He plays the French horn and takes lessons from the instrumental music teacher who comes to the school one day a week. Mr. Nowlett, the instrumental music teacher, says that blowing the French horn over the years will strengthen Lucius' lungs and chest. Lucius stayed in a cast from his neck to his knees for over a year. He is now in the fifth grade.

"He is a nice little boy," says Mrs. Lind. "But he cries easily. His grandmother is overprotective but very nice. She sometimes calls the school just to talk."

Mr. Nowlett said that the grandmother is very much interested in Lucius' progress and he is going to try to get a French horn for him to have at home. He said that Lucius is a good student. Many of the students had to drop out of instrumental music because they were not doing their homework.

"But, I'm not complaining about school policy," he hastened to add. "I am in accord with it. Children have to learn to read first."

As in School A, discipline techniques in School C are to enforce strict adherence to the command-obedience structure of School C by reinforcing student boundaries and their responsibilities. Teachers, parents and students refer students to the Principal in School C.

Lining Up Scenario

1. Students in classes or groups always form lines for movement from one place to another.
2. Students do not talk, shove, push or behave in a disorderly way in line.
3. Students walk; they do not run.
4. Boys remove their hats upon entering the building.
5. Lines keep to the right in hall movement.
6. Lines are formed inside the classroom and outside of the school except in very inclement weather.
7. Line captains are assigned in each room.
8. Place assignments are common but not mandated.
9. Partner assignments are common but not mandated.
10. Teachers lead the lines when leaving the room or school.
11. Student monitors are assigned to keep order during entry, dismissal and fire drills.

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Tardy Student Scenario

1. Students who come tardy to school come to the office first.
2. The Principal or the clerk confers with the student and gives him/her a pass to the room.

Sick Child Scenario

1. Teachers send or bring sick children to the office.
2. The clerk or Principal calls home to notify the parent.
3. If the parent is home and desires, the child is sent home.
4. If the parent cannot be reached, or does not desire, the child remains at school.
5. If a sick child remains at school, efforts are exerted to make the child as comfortable as possible.
6. In cases where a child is extremely ill and neither the parent or a parent surrogate can be reached, the public emergency squad is called.

Mild Discipline Scenario

1. Students are referred to the Principal for a school rule violation.
2. Each student states his/her case.
3. The Principal makes a decision to reprimand, assign a task or deny a privilege or attendance in a special subject class.
4. The Principal designates the punishment.

Severe Discipline Scenario

1. Students are referred to the Principal for a violation usually fighting.
2. Each student states his/her case.
3. The Principal delivers a mini-lecture on the School C family and its philosophy.
4. Students are suspended from school until their parents can accompany them back to school.
5. Follow Student - Parent - Principal Discipline Scenario.

Incomplete School Work or Homework Scenario

1. Students who repeatedly forget to do their schoolwork or homework are referred to the Principal.
2. The Principal provides a space for the student to complete his/her work.
3. The Principal corrects the work and gives immediate feedback.
4. The student corrects any and all mistakes.
5. The student is then returned to his/her class.

Safety Patrol Referral Scenario

1. Safety patrol monitors bring violators to the school Principal.
2. The school Principal delivers a mini-lecture on the School C Family and its philosophy.
3. The student is asked to repeat the rule he/she violated.
4. First offenders are excused and returned to their rooms.
5. For repeaters follow the Mild Discipline Scenario.

Teacher Routines

Teachers arrive at School C between 7:30 a.m. and 8:25 a.m. Some aggregate in the first floor teachers' lounge to talk, read, smoke or prepare for class. Others work in the office on school records or making school-related calls. Several are working in their classrooms putting work on the chalkboards at 7:55 a.m. Mrs. V arrives between 8:00 a.m. and 8:10 a.m. After removing her outer garments and taking calls, she stands in the hall at the main entrance greeting the children and teachers. Teachers do not sign in by their time of arrival at School C; they merely check themselves present. Children begin entering the school for class at 8:30 a.m. At that time teachers move out of the teachers' lounge and back into their classrooms if they are not in them. Sometimes teachers meet briefly in this period prior to entry in order to plan team efforts such as assemblies, films, large group activities or trips.

Mrs. C, the physical education teacher, who is in charge of the Safety Patrol, comes into the building with the patrol and the monitors after the 8:40 a.m. bell rings. The patrol and the monitors place their papers and books in the auditorium before taking their posts. After entry, they claim these belongings and go to their rooms. Each of these students has an assignment. Each must report daily at 8:10 a.m. They line up outside the building when they have returned to the school from their posts at 8:35 a.m. and enter the building in a long line. Children are recommended to Mrs. C for this service by their teachers and no child can serve without this recommendation which can be withdrawn at any time by the teacher.

Substitute Service Routine

Any teacher at School C who will be absent from school must call Mrs. V at home between 6:00 a.m. and 7:00 a.m. and inform her so that a substitute teacher can be procured. The reason for the absence must be declared and Mrs. V calls the central office for a substitute. Whenever teachers can not reach Mrs. V they call Mrs. Lind at home. Mrs. V said that the study year was the first year when she had had difficulty obtaining substitute service. She said that the person in charge of substitutes had retired the year before and the service was now under a new administrator. She said that this new administrator told her that substitutes did not want to come to schools in the Hayti Districts. Whenever a substitute does not come, children are divided into small groups and sent to different rooms. During the study year this happened only once or twice. School C has a wide reputation for its discipline and has few problems with substitutes.

"This is an oasis," said the long-term substitute for the third grade teacher out having surgery. "I wish I could stay here."

Another substitute had a different feeling about her experience, however. At lunch on her first day she said, "It's hard to sub unless you have a car. A sub gets calls late and the kids are usually horrible. Subs are never treated fairly. For instance, here, I came up to the office for balls and no one knew where they were." She complained about the behavior of two boys in the fifth grade class. She said they had a fight and she thought they were going to hurt each other. In a conversation with Miss P she was asked whether or not she intended to be a full time teacher.

"No," she replied. "I only need to work three days a week. My son is through college now and I don't need to work full time." After the sub had gone, Miss P decried the fact that teachers were not interested in teaching but only money.

"Well, the pay is ridiculous," the long term sub said. "It's $39.50 a day. That's why the city schools can't get any subs."

Substitutes report to the office in School C upon arrival and receive their assignments. Mrs. Lind usually escorts the substitutes to the room and assists them in finding the lesson plans, necessary materials and equipment. On the day the gym teacher was absent, Mrs. Lind had indeed accompanied this sub and settled her in. A few minutes later, she sent a message up to the office for help in finding the balls. Fifteen minutes after receipt of this need, Mrs. Lind asked the observer to answer the telephone for her while she went to assist this gym substitute.

Mrs. V said that on one day there had been 349 calls for service from the Sub Center and 109 refusals for sub service. "It's useless to request a special subject teacher. They will only send someone to hold the class for you."

Mrs. Y complained about the performance of her substitute the day after she was absent. "She completely destroyed my room," she wailed. "She was a disaster." Mrs. Y explained that the substitute had not used her plans, had failed to put away the equipment, supplies and materials, and did not make the children behave. Mrs. V noted that she would not be accepted at School C anymore either.

School C is a highly centralized well-coordinated school. There is high goal consensus and a one party line: The School C Family is committed to its members' welfare. It's unsung motto is: One for all and all for one. School C is a child centered school even though it is highly regimented, strictly controlled and exceedingly formal. Teachers rarely call each other by their first names in the students' presence. The conduct of teachers as well as parents is monitored. Following are some of these scenarios.

Teacher Entry Scenario

1. Teachers enter school between 7:30 a.m. and 8:25 a.m.
2. Teachers check themselves present on a sign-in sheet on the counter in the school office.
3. Teachers go to their classrooms to prepare their lessons or to confer with other teachers in their rooms or in the lounges.

4. At 8:30 a.m. teachers go to their rooms and stand at their doors in the hall as the children enter.
5. The gym teacher supervises and monitors the safety patrol and hall monitors and enters the school after the tardy bell has rung.

Substitute Service Scenario

1. Any teacher who will be absent must call the Principal between 6:00 a.m. and 7:00 a.m. and inform her of the intention.
2. The Principal calls central office and requests a substitute teacher. Whenever the Principal is unavailable, the clerk receives the teachers' call and requests a substitute.
3. The substitute reports to the school office for his/her assignment.
4. The clerk escorts the substitute to her/his room and provides necessary information.

Teacher - Principal Conference Scenario

1. Teacher or Principal initiate a conference.
2. Teacher or Principal state the problem.
3. Teacher or Principal make suggestions.
4. Teacher and Principal negotiate.
5. Principal makes a decision.
6. Decision is implemented.

Teacher Monitoring Scenario

1. The Principal tours the school each morning, looking in or visiting each classroom.
2. The Principal checks the corridors, halls and washrooms twice each day, once in the morning and once in the afternoon.
3. The Principal demands that teachers' lesson plans be submitted to her each Friday, no later than Monday.
4. Teachers make requests for curriculum or instructional changes through the Principal.
5. All books and materials are ordered through the Principal.

6. The Principal examines the incoming records of all students who transfer in and out of School C.
7. The Principal examines all report cards.
8. The Principal examines writing samples.
9. The Principal receives all visitors in the school office first.
10. The Principal gives all teacher referrals to auxiliary service personnel and supervisory specialists.
11. The Principal approves all pupil and teacher class assignments.
12. The Principal approves all curriculum or instructional changes.

Teacher Evaluation Scenario

1. The Principal confers with the teacher on the perceived area of competence.
2. The Principal makes suggestions and offers help.
3. The teacher discusses the problem and decribes or explains the perceived area of competence.
4. The Principal and teacher design a plan for improvement in the area.
5. The Principal monitors the implementation.
6. The Principal initiates another conference if there is no improvement within the given time.
7. Repeat Routine 2, 3, 4 and 5.
8. If there is no improvement, the Principal marks the teacher unsatisfactory.

Coordination: Fire Drills

Once a month there is a fire drill at School C. Mrs. V is adamant about making an evacuation within the time limit. During the office observations, there was one fire drill. Mrs. V notified the kindergarten and called the exercise. The school was quietly and orderly emptied in two minutes.

"This was an excellent drill," she said proudly to the observer. Ordinarily, the students and teachers cross the street directly in front of the school because the school is constructed so close to the sidewalks. But, this time the bus blocked movement across the street so the children had to stay on the school side of the street.

"Everyone adapted well to this change," Mrs. V noted. She stood outside and watched everyone exit and enter. Teachers, monitors and safety patrol guards all have assigned duties. Charts on each classroon wall tell the occupants where to go and what to do.

Random Routines

On Friday, January 11, 1980 Mrs. V and Mrs. P were having their usual lunch when one of the observers entered. The door to the Teachers' Lounge was open. He asked whether or not he should close it.

"No," responded Mrs. V, "I am watching Mrs. Y's kindergarten class since she is in conference with a parent." Two monitors were in the class with the children assisting Mrs. V. No corresponding situation was observed during the rest of the study.

School C does have three big events each year: observation of American Education Week, Christmas plays and the End of the Year plays. From time to time the school has fund raising events to buy special equipment for the school or to take the children on educational field trips. On April 2, 1980 the children were in the auditorium looking at the film "Million Dollar Duck." The Principal Investigator (PI) for the study brought her children. They paid 25 cents for their tickets to Mrs. Y who was in charge. The teachers supervised the assembly in shifts. One shift served from 12:45 p.m. until 1:30 p.m. and the other from 1:30 p.m. unitl 2:15 p.m. Mrs. V opened the assembly by stating the rules: sit straight, be quiet, and if anyone has an emergency to consult the teacher in charge of their room.

"Since everyone has been to the lavatory, no one should have to go unless there is an emergency. An emergency is the case where you will have an accident if you do not go to the lavatory." Her remarks expressed confidence in their willingness to obey, an assurance that they would enjoy the film and pleasure in being able to provide this opportunity to them for enjoyment.

While the film was being shown, the teachers were having a Salad-a-Rama in the room used by the psychologist and support staff. Each teacher had prepared a salad or a dessert for the luncheon. The food was delicious and the atmosphere was friendly and pleasant.

Sometimes when the system dismisses the children for teacher in-service or record keeping, the School C teachers leave the school and lunch together at a nice restaurant. At the end of the school year, they honor one of their rank for being the most cooperative or best teacher. At this time they also give presents to new mothers, recent newlyweds and other accomplishments, the receipt of a degree or such.

There were no unusual changes in the big events of School C during the study year, but in SY 1980-1981 the big fifth grade event usually held in the Spring was cancelled due to poor behavior and lack of cooperation by the students.

Other Support Staff Routines

The school office telephone is used by the custodian, workmen assigned from the central office and the support service staff. The custodian has a friendly relation with Mrs. V. He reports to her often about the needs of the building and about maintenance and housekeeping problems. She reports to him whatever information she receives at her monthly meetings with the Assistant Superintendent in charge of Elementary Schools. At one such meeting she was told that custodians must keep records of each outside tradeworker and to check their finished work. During the study year School C was having roof and radiator repairs and plastering done. Once while the Principal and custodian were talking, a workman entered and asked for the keys to Room 204. Another came into the office to use the telephone to call for additional tools. These employees do not report either to Mrs. V or to the custodian.

On another occasion, the custodian received information about the excess use of salt in schools during the icy winter. The salt was damaging the concrete walks around and in front of the school. The custodian discussed these orders with Mrs. V and consulted her thereafter about when to salt and how much to use. He submits his requisitions for supplies to Mrs. V and they discuss them from time to time. The custodian receives all of his calls and mail in the school office. This is a highly centralized school.

The lunchroom manager receives and makes her calls from the school office. also. She submits her reports and receives her mail here. Once a week, Tuesdays, she collects lunch monies from the few children who pay for their lunch at School C. Her relation with Mrs. V, while cordial, is more business-like than friendly.

Everyday Mrs. V receives and distributes the mail. She will also unpack and inspect deliveries of books, supplies and materials, check them against the invoices and send them to the teachers or staff to whom they belong. Whenever Mrs. Lind must leave the office to go to the storeroom or elsewhere, Mrs. V will assume her clerical duties.

Mrs. V inspects the bulletin boards for neatness and content also. She rotates the responsibility for them to the teachers and teachers' aides. She likes for them to reflect the fact that her students are black and comments when the content details some aspect of the black contribution to the American culture. Teachers take note of this interest and generally have black as well as white children in the displays in their rooms. Mostly, there are bulletin boards about famous black people in every room. However, the content of the history taught in fifth grade is Eurocentric.

A Look At Classroom Routines At School C

Classrooms at School C are variations of the kindergarten theme. They are all highly structured to some degree except one, the accelerated fourth grade. It is the only loosely structured classroom in School C. Time is important to the teachers and they spend a lot of it on basics. Since they are so successful, they will not relinquish their ways easily. The classification of students which occurs in the kindergarten lingers on through the six years of the School C experience for the child although there are many cases of ELS student placements in first grade Lippincott groups after one year in kindergarten and one year in ELS. There is a unilateral teacher-student relationship in the highly structured classroom. The teacher demands strict adherence to the command-obedience structure. Diversions from the pre-planned schedule are rare and there are very few interruptions to handle discipline cases. An occasional command or reminder is all that is required to get student compliance. Student isolation, verbal harassment and denial of privileges are the frequently used techniques for compliance. When teachers are strict and stern, compliments are few and rewards are rare. When teachers are affectionate and considerate, they are more frequent. In either approach, however, the teacher is in control.

Peer interaction dominates the classroom setting in a loosely structured environment. Generally, much of the teacher's time is spent trying to control students' behavior. The school discipline referral system is seldom followed and instruction time is reduced. Verbal harassment and constant threats that are never carried out undermine the teachers' authority. The teachers' lack of consistency and contradictory behavior patterns are often contrary to what they require of the students. Keeping the students busy is one of the primary objectives in these classrooms. In this classroom at School C the teacher resorted to sarcasm and ridicule for student control. Neither was functional.

The highly structured classrooms stress skill mastery in reading, writing and mathematics by routine, rote learning, regimentation, strict discipline and self control. There is class discussion and recitation but it is controlled and managed. Additionally, the progress of the child is carefully and continuously monitored by both the teacher and the principal and when it does not occur as expected, individualized instruction is provided. Homework is a serious assignment, critically assessed and returned to parents. Music, art and physical education are considered fun activities and have a low priority in the curriculum. While social studies and science are taught, time is taken from them freely, if needed, for reading, mathematics and writing.

The teachers' approaches to these highly regulated environments range from stern and strict to affectionate and considerate. The strictest teacher is in the Kindergarten where the environment is also the most highly structured. The most considerate teachers are in the second grade where reading achievement above the national and city norm reached 90 percent. The teacher in the accelerated 4th grade where the structure of the classroom is loosest is also stern. The fourth grade was the only grade to fail to reach the national or city norms in reading achievement during the study year. The teacher of the accelerated fourth grade retired during Sy 1981-1982.

The Kindergarten

The routines for successful school work at School C are taught in the kindergarten to all children. The class starts in the same manner each day. The children file into the room in a line after the entry bell rings. For the morning session this is 8:25 a.m. and for the afternoon session this is 11:50 a.m. The higher achieving students come in the morning and the lower achieving come in the afternoon. The children get their name tags which are small circles struck on the bulletin board labeled "Our Class." They remove these name tags from the "Our Class" bulletin board and stick them on the "Who's in Class Today?" bulletin board. When class is dismissed, they return the tags to "Our Class." They place their small chairs in an "L" shaped formation in front of the teacher's table and sit in them.

Opening Routine

Mrs. Y, the kindergarten teacher is a stern, strict teacher who smiles only occasionally and often talks to the children in a sharp voice. Often she carries a yard stick or long pointer with her when she points at various individual work, the calendar, the chalkboard or bulletin board. She commands as well as corrects. Sometimes her verbal interactions with the children are sarcastic remarks which seem hostile. For example, when one little girl asked her a question, Mrs. Y said, "Well, is the world going to come to an end if you don't get to do that? Are you going to run away?" Yet a favorite expression which Mrs. Y uses is the word, "Terrific." She will say this when a child or some children do something right the very first time or behave extraordinarily well in a difficult situation. Sometimes when the children come into the room quietly, Mrs. Y says, "You are so good today. We will surely have a good day."

When the students are quiet and seated in their chairs in the "L" shaped formation, Mrs. Y takes the roll and calls out the name of the student who responds with "I am here." When she has completed the attendance taking, she asks the children for their homework or any notes from parents or guardians.

One day most of the children forgot their homework. Each child must present his/her homework when it is demanded, and if the homework is not rendered, the child must explain. On this day Mrs. Y said, "This is terrible. Only five people remembered the homework." She called five names. She said how proud she was of them and gave them a treat. She also placed a star on the forehead of each child. After the attendance was taken, the names were checked on the "Who's in School Today?" bulletin board and the homework was collected, the teacher asked the children to look at the calendar posted on the wall in the Small Group Center.

In the beginning of the month the children make their own calendars for that month. On the day of the observation the children were working on day 22 in the month of March.

"Where do we start?" asked Mrs. Y.

"22," yelled the Children.

"We ended on the right so we must start where?"

"On the left."

Each child has a calendar made by the teacher on a sheet of construction paper. The child fills in the name of the month which is March and the days of the month from the first which was a Saturday to the 31st which was a Monday. On Mondays the children have gym so they have little blue tennis shoes which they paste on those days. On Wednesdays the class has music so they have musical notes which they paste on the 5th, 12th and 19th.

This opening routine is significantly repeated throughout every primary grade (1, 2, 3 and kindergarten) in School C. First, the students enter a line, remove their outer garments, hang them in the closet and take their seats quietly. Then they commence the day's work with seatwork which appears on the chalkboard and with a discussion around the date, the day of the week, special events of that day and homework. This is generally followed by reading and language arts. Spelling and handwriting is emphasized in every grade beginning with kindergarten and mathematics is taught in the afternoon.

The Kindergarten Room

The primary rooms in School C are much more cheerful and decorative than the intermediate rooms. The kindergarten room is on the first floor on the north side of the front entrance near the office which is on the south side of the front entrance. It is a large room with a fireplace at one end. There are logs in it and a kettle hanging on a rod over the logs. It was never used during the time of our observations. The room has two exits to the hall, one to the outside foyer leading to the front entrance. On either side of the hall door there are wall cabinets in which are stored books, materials and supplies. A variety of puzzles, blocks, designs and playskool toys were on the shelves. There were also beads and clay in coffee tins and other games. The kindergarten is divided into several centers: the Prep Center where the Title I materials are stored and where Mrs. X, the educational aide funded by Title I under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), works with individual students under Mrs. Y's direction; the Art Center where students paint and work on different art projects; a Waiting Center where children sit on the floor quietly awaiting assignments; and a Small Group Center where children play with games, puzzles and other activities. There are seven tables seating four students each.

Kindergarten Expectations

Mrs. Y has a very elaborate report card which tells explicitly what is expected of each child. She reports their academic progress in 80 skills classified in three levels of A, B and C and four different areas. The child is marked S, P or N. S means that the performance is satisfactory. P indicates that the child is progressing toward mastery. N means that he/she needs improvement. She carefully monitors their performances in these skills each day. Every child is checked in several areas. Slow children are given extra help in those areas by Mrs. X and Mrs. U, a school volunteer, as well as by Mrs. Y.

Mrs. Y does not look to parents for help. In fact, she confided in the observer that parents are usually not concerned. "They say their child does things at home, but they don't do the same thing in school."

Work Routines

Children work at different skill levels; consequently, they are completing different activities. Some children are solving classification problems, putting things, people or items into sets. Mrs. Y asks the children questions about the number in the set and the size of the pictures which they are cutting out of old magazines which they have brought to school. Some children are making sets of animals, flowers, fish, plants, men and other interesting things. They must name the set and count the number of items in the set. Then they must paste the items in the set on a piece of construction paper. Each child has his/her own scissors and a jar of paste. Mrs. X keeps the paste jars filled. After Mrs. Y walks around among the children assisting those who are in trouble and questioning those who seem to understand, she returns to a long table in front of her desk at which time the line begins to form there for checking work. There is a 'Stop' sign on the side of the table where the children line up for her to check their papers. The children line up using a masking tape marker on the floor beside the table as a guide. Mrs. Y asks the children questions about the number in the set and the size of the pictures. She has stamps which she puts on the papers and she records the work in a grade book.

Reading Routines

The reading process contains several routines and scenarios. It begins with a Large Group Routine (LGR) where Mrs. Y teaches all of the children in the class a skill, i.e., the names of the letters from A to D. Mrs. Y calls each child to her table and pins a lower case letter or capital letter on his/her clothes. She helps the child to identify the letter properly. After this, she gives instructions to the children.

"Capital A's, get in line," she orders. The children look at their labels and determine whether or not they should obey. Next she calls the lower case b's. She continues this routine until all of the children have been given an order. She corrects any incorrect responses immediately.

After the LGR, children are given seatwork. Mrs. Y tells the children to look in magazines for objects that start with the

"M" sound. Mrs. X works with children individually or in sets of two. Mrs. Y shares Mrs. X with Mrs. D and Mrs. A who teaches Early Learning Skills (ELS). Mrs. X comes to Mrs. Y at around 9:20 a.m. and leaves about 11:00 a.m. She returns in the afternoon. Mrs. Y walks around among the other children, helping and instructing. On one day four children were working on their kites. Making the kite tails involved stringing small squares of paper. This exercise reinforced shape making and precision cutting. Six children were completing their sets, cutting, pasting and mounting the pictures on construction paper. Two children were working with Mrs. X in the Prep Center on picture stories.

Mrs. X showed the two students some picture cards. She asked them to identify the animals on the cards. They had to know the names of a baby cow, sheep and horse. Both students knew to say calf, lamb and colt. The little girl did not know the parrot, but she knew more animals' names than the little boy did. When Mrs. X had completed this lesson, she summoned two others to the Prep Center. They stopped their seatwork immediately and came to her there. The two children whom Mrs. X dismissed returned to their seats and resumed their unfinished assignments. This is March of the first year in kindergarten and they have been in school six months.

Two days a week Mrs. Y has a school volunteer, Mrs. U. She is a white senior citizen who has been helping out at School C for many years. She and Mrs. Y seem to be friends.

When children finish their work and have had it checked, they seat themselves on the floor of the Waiting Center until Mrs. Y tells them that they can go to the Small Group Center and work with puzzles, beads, clay and other games stored there.

The Small Group Center has a large doll head with hair and many large three pound coffee tins full of beads, blocks and other items. There are also playskool toys like mailboxes, farm animals, barns and shoes on the shelves for children to play with. Children can come to this center when they are finished with their homework or seatwork after Mrs. Y has checked their work and given permission. The children take these activities to their seats or play with them on the floor. Most of the games are counting or letter recognition games. Children who have finished their work, had it checked and received permission from Mrs. X may also get a sheet of gray paper on which they can draw or paint in the Art Center. On any given day some children are playing with some rubber horseshoes or clay. This is the Small Group Routine (SGR).

Writing Routine

Whenever about six children aggregate in the Waiting Center at the same time, Mrs. Y will often teach a lesson. One day she distributed paper to these students and instructed them to head their papers. The children wrote their names and headings. The subject this day was writing.

Mrs. Y told the children to be careful making the lower case "g". She showed them how to make it on the chalkboard. Then she told them to fold their hands when they had finished. Her instructions were to make a circle and put the line on the right of the circle. "This makes a 'g'," she said. Then she showed them how to make a lower case "m".

"When you have finished making a row of lower case "m's" fold your hands so I'll know you're ready to go on," she told the children. One child is left handed. Mrs. Y took his hand and guided it along the desired track. She showed him how to do it. Then she watched him do it, and showed him again. At this point Mrs. Y reviewed the capital "M". She told the children to make a row of capital "M's". Again they were told to fold their hands when they had finished so that she would know to check their work.

One little girl was still working on her sets when she finished her "M's". Mrs. Y told her to put them away and finish them the next day. Another little girl asked to finish her puzzle. Mrs. Y told her to do it the next day.

Toilet Routines

Mrs. Y takes the boys to the toilet and sends the girls in twos even though there is a toilet in the large room where the students hang their coats. She lines them up by asking the children to identify the letter taped to their clothing. A child wearing a capital "A" who hears the teacher say "Capital A get in line" must take his/her place in line. Toilet recess occurs once in the morning and once in the afternoon. At other times when children have to go to the bathroom they use the toilet in the closet room. Mrs. Y keeps the television and audio-visual equipment in there also. Teachers, faculty and support personnel come in to use them. In addition, Mrs. Y keeps the small change and key to the soda machine in the first floor Teachers' Lounge and the thermofax machine for teacher use.

On days when Mrs. U is helping Mrs. Y she will take the girls to the bathroom during the recess and Mrs. Y will take the boys. Since there is a toilet in the kindergarten, the children are taken to the washrooms in order to learn the washroom routine and to have a break because there is no outdoor recess. Mrs. Y speaks loudly to any child who misbehaves in the corridors or in the washroom. Other teachers reprimanding older children can be heard by the little ones in kindergarten. When Mrs. Y brings the children back into the kindergarten, she reviews the rules that were violated. She admonished one boy to tie his shoes in the kindergarten and not in the halls or in the bathroom. Evie got into trouble in the washroom because she was playing in the water. Mrs. Y sent her back into the room with dispatch and made her sit under the teacher's desk. Mrs. Y never sits at her desk. Supplies are piled on top of it. She never used the piano during observations either.

Student Models

At about 11 o'clock three students who were first grade readers in the Lippincott series, which is the special treatment given to advanced readers, entered the kindergarten. Mrs. Y told the kindergarteners to get their chairs and bring them to the center area. They promptly formed an "L." Mrs. Y told her class that these three first graders were in kindergarten last year and were very good students.

She introduced the three students and asked them to read a story to her class. They proceeded to read a story about three billy goats. As the smallest girl read, Mrs. Y smiled. This was one of the rare smiles Mrs. Y exhibited during the five day observation period. When the students had finished the story, Mrs. Y thanked them.

"Very good. And thank you so much," she turned toward her class, "What do you say?"

The children clapped and said, "Thank you."

Mrs. Y then told the three first graders to demonstrate what the kindergarten children would be learning. She wrote t-o-p on the chalkboard and commanded one of the three to sound out the letters. She did. For the other two, Mrs. Y gave m-o-p and p-o-p. They did as told, also. To the kindergarten children, Mrs. Y talked about the importance of knowing their sounds.

"What will you have to do to read like Anna, Mary and Sammy?"

"Study," the children answered in unison. Mrs. Y agreed and said that they all must practice and do their homework. She again thanked the three children and sent them back to their room.

The kindergarten children returned their chairs to their tables and sat down upon command.

Discipline

Mrs. Y does not ignore discipline. She reprimands, isolates and denies privileges. She refers fighting to the Principal. One Thursday, Jerry and Jackie were fighting in the line when the afternoon kindergarteners entered. Mrs. Y took them to the Principal on the spot. The Principal brought Jerry and Jackie back to the room and told Mrs. Y to send for their parents to come in for a conference. The Principal said that she thought maybe Jackie had arrived at school too early since she had seen him in the foyer as early as 11:30 a.m. Jackie's conduct did not improve that afternoon.

"I've had it, Jackie," Mrs. Y stated tersely and firmly frowning. "I've tried to tell you what to do. Mrs. U has tried to tell you. When I talk with your mother this afternoon, I will tell her about your behavior. Now get under the desk." Jackie, a fair, sandy-haired boy, went and sat under Mrs. Y's unused desk.

Contrary to Jackie, Jerry was not as unruly or disorderly. He worked on animal identification with Mrs. X. Mrs. Y spoke to him once about talking and moved his seat. He worked on his capital "D's" persistently and Mrs. Y gave him some help with staying on the line after which he asked to use the toilet and got permission.

Fire Drill Routine

During the observations there was a fire drill. The safety patrol monitors assigned to the kindergarten arrive before the fire bell rings. The children line up immediately, hurriedly get their coats and march out of the room briskly with the safety patrol and Mrs. Y. Afterward, Mrs. Y expressed her disappointment.

"Boys and girls, I did not like the way you behaved during the fire drill. We have new children. You know you need a partner. You have to walk fast and you have to stay in line. I know Mrs. V will mention to me that you did not move out of here fast enough."

Mrs. Y then reminded the children about the fire drill requirements. "Form a straight line with your partner. Move out fast behind Mrs. Y and the safety patrol monitors."

The Mathematics Routine

Most of the mathematics activities stress an understanding of the general concept of number and specific concepts of numbers from 0 to 20. The goals are to help the children to associate the number of objects in a set with the correct numeral, to count from 0 to 20 and to discriminate between "less than" and "greater than." Many of these exercises had already been presented.

In addition, the students are taught to name and identify the basic geometrical shapes: circles, triangles, rectangles and squares. One activity observed concerned the child's ability to draw and cut out the basic shapes. Another demanded that he/she copy a pattern of shapes. Mrs. Y would cut out shapes and distribute them to the students. On the chalkboard she would place a sample of a design. Then she would instruct the children to replicate this design on their paper. This activity also emphasized an understanding of likenesses and differences.

Most of the math lessons are on worksheets which are distributed to the children during the checking routine at the 'Stop' sign. The morning class seems to know the rules and routines introduced in September, 1979 better than the afternoon class. Since students can get counting games, number puzzles and shape recognition activities from the Small Group Center or gray paper to use for cutting out and coloring shapes and shape patterns for use in the Art Center only with Mrs. Y's permission, they were anxious to have their work checked. If their work is correct, Mrs. Y gives permission or assigns another task. Periodically, throughout the day she will tell students to sit on the floor in the Waiting Center. She will then teach a lesson to that group when all of them are finished with the SGR activity.

In the Prep Center Mrs. X concentrates on those math skills which Mrs. Y has designated for the individual children. She gives the children oral problems to ponder.

The Social Studies Routine

Mrs. Y was teaching about Officer Friendly. She told the class that he would visit them on this day. She asked the children about the police. She told them that the policeman wears a uniform. She asked them to name other people who wear uniforms. They named nurses, postmen, bus drivers, doctors. Whenever someone gave a response that had already been given, she told the child that that had already been said. Mrs. Y told the children that Officer Friendly was a person like you and me. He had a job to do. "When you see an officer like Officer Friendly remember that he is a person who is there to help you." Mrs. Y told several children that they had disobeyed the safety patrol last week. Finally a call came from the office notifying Mrs. Y that Officer Friendly was going to be unable to come to School C that day and that he would have to reschedule his visit. Everybody was clearly disappointed. Mrs. Y went on to the next lesson.

Reinforcement Routines

Often Mrs. Y will commence a reinforcement routine after the date and review of special events for the day. She gave the children a word one day and they gave her a sentence using the word.

Mrs. Y said, "Apple."

The child responded, "I have an apple."

Mrs. Y said, "Terrific."

Each time a child responded correctly, she said, "Terrific."

When all of the children had completed this task, she said, "Terrific. Now we have been studying three letters. What are they?"

The children said in unison, "A, B and C." Mrs. Y then asked the children whether or not they knew how to make these letters. They did. When Mrs. Y was discussing how to make a lower case "c" Jackie said to make a lower case half circle. Mrs. Y said that was an interesting way to say it and she smiled. When the children had finished that reinforcement lesson for a previously learned skill, Mrs. Y reviewed and reinforced others. She lined up four boys and girls and reviewed after, first, second and third. Additionally, she reinforced other concepts such as beside and before. Then she put the letters A, B, C and D on the four children. She put them out of sequence and asked them to put themselves in line so that the letters would be in the correct sequence. Every child got a chance to be in the set of four.

No papers are acceptable unless they are neat and correct. Children learn to do the paper until it is acceptable. The same kind of reinforcement operates for lines and conduct in the halls and the corridors, in music and physical education.

By the time of the observations the children had learned the names of the colors and directions left and right. To reinforce this skill mastery, Mrs. Y played a record for the children to practice by. The speaker would tell the children to move to the right or left. After the children finished, she distributed some colored strips of construction paper to each child. The child had to tell Mrs. Y the name of the color. Then she played another record where a man gave special directions to children with different colors as, "Those holding yellow strips stand."

Many times Mrs. Y reinforced the mastery of alphabet identification, sequence and sound skills. In connection with this lesson she reinforced their knowledge and mastery of the concepts, before and after. She would write the alphabet on the chalkboard with missing letters, such as: A_ _ D E_. Then she would ask what comes before D or after A. Each child who made a correct response had to give a word which began with that letter.

Mrs. Y has a black alphabet. "A" is for Afro. "B" is for Beautiful. "C" is for Cool. She displays the posters and asks the children to identify the letter and read the phrase. The children have mastered half of the alphabet in the morning kindergarten. More than half of the children can identify the letters in sequence and out of it, name the letters and give the consonant sounds. A few can say the phrases.

Students count everything all of the time. First, they must count the days in the month and determine what day of the month it is. Then they must count how many people are present on that day by counting the half circles on the "Who's at School Today?" board. They count the sets of animals, stars, plants or whatever classification set they are learning. They count the number of crayons in their cans, the number of chairs at their table. Mrs. Y asks them to count almost everything they use. They count the number of letters on the chalkboard when Mrs. Y writes the alphabet. But, much more time is spent on communication skills than on numbers.

The Special Subjects

Kindergarten children go to special teachers for music and physical education. These teachers receive them from the classroom teacher and return them after a forty minute period. The children have music and physical education once a week. The classroom teacher receives reports on the conduct of the children in those classes and sometimes denies the privilege of participation if the child's conduct does not improve.

The First Grade Group

There are two first grade classrooms and one Early Learning Skills (ELS) classroom in the informal first grade team which includes the kindergarten. When asked what was the primary factor contributing to the high achievement at School C these teachers responded as follows:

Mrs. E: People expect children to learn so the kids are doing it...The Principal is supportive...

Mrs. A: One of the main things is the stability of the faculty. The teachers have been here for a long time and they all have developed particular teaching strategies. We understand and know what each other does so it is a lot easier to work together that way. We get a lot of support from the Principal and I think that is really important.

Mrs D: Start with the Principal...without a good principal you don't have a good school. She carries herself in a good way which demands respect. Good teachers are necessary and all, but without a good principal you don't have it.

Mrs. Y: The staff...the stability of the staff...We have been here long enough to know each other and how we operate. There is also an agreement among us about our goals. We also have a respect for each other and our teaching abilities within the classrooms. It's the staff, their attitudes and oneness in coordination with the administration. If it were not for the support we got from the administration, we would not do what we do in the classroom and with out contacts with parents. If you don't have that support, you can't do anything.

These four teachers constitute a close-knit team. Mrs. Y, A, E and the LD/BI Teacher, Mrs. Z eat lunch together each day in the first floor teachers' lounge. Mrs. U joins them on the days when she is present. The children are recommended for placement by the kindergarten teacher according to their mastery of the skills on the Kindergarten Checklist. During SY1979-1980 there were 16 children in ELS taught by Mrs. A, 25 first graders in Mrs. E's room and 24 in Mrs. D's room. Only 48 first graders were tested in October and May. The 16 ELS children will be promoted to first grade in June, 1980 if they master their reading skills. Otherwise, they will be referred to Child Guidance for psychological evaluation, medical examination and social worker assessment.

Mrs. D teaches the high reading achievement group. All of her 24 readers use the Lippincott series. She started them in Book A, the Lippincott preprimer. She was a team leader in a team teaching experiment when Lippincott was introduced. She learned to teach the Lippincott series then. She has been at School C since 1958. She must help her children to master the skills in Books A, B, C and D in order to maintain high achievement in Grade 1 at School C. She is extraordinarily successful. One hundred percent of her students scored above the national norm in reading on the MAT in June, 1980 with scores ranging from 5.0 to 2.0. In addition to their work in Lippincott, her students must also master the Ginn 360 Series Level 6 skill mastery test. The Level 6 reader is the second first grade reader. Only two of her students failed to accomplish 80 percent mastery; one made 79 percent and the other made 78 percent. These two children may be assigned to Ginn readers in the second grade next year if the next Lippincott teacher thinks such a move is warranted. The grade equivalent for the mean raw score in Mrs. D's room in reading on the May, 1980 MAT was 2.7, eight months above the national norm and seven months above the city norm for that grade. In mathematics Mrs. D's students' grade equivalent for the mean raw score was 3.1, 1.3 years above the national norm and nine months above the city norm. The mathematics scores,ranged from 5.9 to 2.2.

Mrs. E teaches the lower group of the first grade. She has been at School C since 1968. In June, 1980 she had 18 children working in Level 5 and seven children still in Level 4 of the Ginn 360 series. All 25 of her students started with Level 1 of that same series. She must help her children master Levels 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in eight months. Thirteen of her children were at grade level or above in reading in the MAT in May, 1980 or 52 percent. These 12 children are achieving as well as the lower half of Mrs. D's class. She, too, has an excellent performance record. The grade equivalent of the mean raw score in reading was 1.9, one month below the city and exactly the national norm. In mathematics, 24 of her children were at or above the national norm and the grade equivalent for the mean raw score in math was 2.2, exactly the city norm and four months greater than the national norm.

Mrs. A teaches ELS. She has 16 children, all of whom need additional help to develop reading readiness skills. These skills are called reading readiness because they are considered prerequisites for instruction in reading. The children did not succeed in mastering these skills in kindergarten and were recommended for ELS by the kindergarten teacher. Mrs. A has been at School C since 1971. She tries to provide her children with a strong phonics background. She says this about the Ginn 360 series:

> I just teach Level 1 in Ginn. Here they introduce the initial consonants first. I like that, but I don't like the order in which they are introduced and I don't like the test for Level 1. The test on Level 1 you can give and the children can do well on it with just a surface knowledge of phonics. I think the whole purpose should be to master the consonants and the test does not facilitate that. There is not enough repetition and it has to be supplemented with other materials...

As a result of the team work among these teachers, some of Mrs. A's students were assigned to Mrs. D's classroom for first grade in September, 1980 and became Lippincott readers. Lippincott requires a strong phonics background since it stresses the short vowel sounds first, which many reading experts believe to be inadvisable since these may be the most difficult sounds for students to learn. Mrs. D says:

> The best strategy for getting high reading achievement is to start out with a good phonics program that is well organized, has continuity, drill and repetition.

Mrs. A and Mrs. E both agree. "The biggest thing is to master the reading skills at the beginning of the reading program," says Mrs. A, "and there should be a lot of repetition to make sure the skills are reinforced."

Mrs. E says, "Drill and review three times is the best strategy for getting high reading achievement."

These three teachers share the same routines, many of which were established in the kindergarten. All three have opening exercises including the Pledge of Allegiance. The day begins with some review of the calendar, the date, the activities for the day and the collection of homework. Seatwork is assigned and reading groups are convened in the morning. Language arts and spelling are taught after reading. Mathematics is taught in the afternoon. The children all have physical education (gym) twice a week and music once a week. A special art teacher meets with them once a week. The classroom teacher teaches art the rest of the time. There is a Large Group Activity in the afternoon. One of the teachers takes the large group and conducts an activity. For example, a film or filmstrip may be shown on phonics, science or some other concept being stressed while the other two teachers work with small groups.

All three teachers isolate children, deny privileges and reprimand. Mrs. D scolds children and also destroys papers which are not neat or do not follow instructions. None are permissive. Mrs. A is more considerate but her environment is even more highly structured than the other two. Mrs. A and Ms. D are more affectionate than Mrs. E. They smile and laugh more with the children and hug and touch them more frequently. All three rooms are highly structured and are dominated by tasks directed toward fulfilling class performance goals. Mrs. D and Mrs. E use their teacher's guide books constantly when teaching reading skills. Although reading is taught in groups, whole class instruction is the method used for teaching mathematics. All three teachers share educational assistants (teacher's aides) and collaborate on making schedules and trips, presenting school programs, selecting films and developing materials. These teachers share resources, knowledge and information on a daily basis. They do not rotate their assignments. They teach the same achievement groups each school year.

Organizational Factors Affecting High Achievement in First Grade and Kindergarten Classrooms in School C

Mastery of reading skills is the highest priority goal of the four teachers who comprise the First Primary Group. The placement of children in the first grade classrooms is determined by their mastery of these skills and the ease with which they can apply them to all school situations. The highest level students are tested in two series, the Ginn 360 and the Lippincott. All reading instruction for this group, however, is in the Lippincott series. Reading, spelling and language arts are integrated with the reading instruction by these teachers and taught in the morning before lunch.

The scenarios which are established for the attainment of reading skill mastery follow. The children in Early Learning Skills are taught in a whole group arrangement strengthened by individualized tutoring and small group instruction. The high achievement reading group assigned to Mrs. D starts out the school year with whole group instruction, but by the middle of the school year two groups have formed, one high achieving and one falling behind. At that time, Mrs. D then begins partial reading group instruction.

Mathematics is taught in the afternoon in whole group instruction bolstered by individualized seatwork, tutoring and small group instruction. Students who fall behind are detained from attending special subject classes, given additional seatwork activities, kept after school for individualized tutoring and given drill homework on concepts difficult to remember. All home work is collected, marked and returned.

Reading Scenario

Mrs. A and Mrs. D

1. Whole group for concept explanation.
   Whole group for demonstration of the concept.
      Example:
      Introduce each story in each unit by discussing familiar concepts related to the story's main idea using the Teachers' Guidebook to the Series. Teacher demonstrates the concept, i.e., using the Table of Contents or explaining that a mynah bird is a member of the set called birds.
2. Whole group for vocabulary acquisition and related phonics rules.
      Example:
      Flash cards distributed for memorizing new word.
      Learning the sounds, ch, sh, th, wh and the initial consonant sounds, b through z.
      Using new words in sentences.
3. Whole group reads story orally or teacher reads story to the whole group. Teacher asks questions about the story.
4. Individualized seatwork for student practice of the application of the concept, new vocabulary, phonics rules, old and new, and general review.
   Immediate checking and feedback from the teacher.
5. Reinforcement, Remediation and Repetition. Repeat Routine #4 until mastery.
6. Skill mastery at 80 percent level or tutoring and/or small group activities held during the Large Group Activity period, special subject period or after school.

Reading Scenario

Mrs. E and Mrs. D

1. Readers divided into groups according to skill mastery determined by the Ginn 360 Series Level Mastery and Unit Tests or by Lippincott.
2. Reading group for concept explanation and demonstration of concept.
   Example:
   Introduce each story in each unit by discussing familiar concepts. Teacher uses Teachers' Guidebook for activities and exercises to develop understanding.
3. Reading group for vocabulary meaning and phonics rules related to new words.
   Example:
   Flash cards for word recognition.
   Learning the new sounds in the new words and general review.
4. Silent reading and answering questions about the story in the reading workbooks at the students' seats while another reading group completes another routine.
5. Oral reading and answering teacher's questions with the teacher.
6. Individualized seatwork for student practice of the application of the concept, new and old vocabulary, new and old phonics rules and general review.
   Immediate checking and feedback from the teacher.
7. Reinforcement, Remediation and Repetition.
   Repeat Routine #6 until mastery.
8. Skill mastery at the 80 percent level or tutoring and/or small group activity during the Large Group Activity period, special subject period or after school.

Mathematics Scenario

1. Whole group instruction on the concept by teacher explanation and demonstration of any new concepts and related concepts.
2. Student demonstration in whole group of understanding of Routine 1.
3. Reinforcement, Remediation and Repetition with practice exercises.
4. Individualized student application of new concept and related concepts in seatwork.
   Teacher provides immediate feedback through checking.
5. Give master test.
   Students who do not master the concept receive tutoring or exercises for small group activities during the Large Group Activity period, special subject period or after school.

Discipline Scenario

1. Student is taught the rules and expectations of School C and the classroom and the penalties for non-compliance.
2. Student is reprimanded, warned and cautioned for all violations. Rules, expectations and penalties are reviewed. Special subject teachers also inform classroom teacher of any problems.
3. If violations continue, the student is isolated and/or denied privileges.
4. If non-compliance continues, teachers call parents at this point after informing the Principal.
5. For further violations, students are sent to the Principal.
6. If violations continue, parents are called by the Principal.
7. Principal sends for the students to monitor compliance.
8. If the problem persists, the Principal, the classroom teacher, the parent and the social worker hold a conference and make recommendations. If the problem is an academic problem, the RAC teacher, receives a referral and makes a recommendation also.

Students in these classrooms take art, music, library and gym from teachers in rooms other than their own. The classroom teacher takes the children to these rooms and comes to get them. Special subject teachers inform classroom teachers about their students' conduct and progress. Classroom teachers determine what children will attend these classes. It is common for classroom teachers to deny the privilege to attend special subject classes when their children do not master a skill on time, misbehave in any way or need extra help in improving an acquired skill.

On the whole, all four teachers in this group have mastered the mechanics of managing whole group, partial group, large group and small group activities. Unmanageable discipline problems seldom arise except when substitute teachers come to the school. These rarely occur when Mrs. V is in the building. Teachers rely on the Principal for support in discipline. They also respond positively to her rather stringent monitoring of their instruction and progress.

Three of the teachers did not feel that they had done their very best. Mrs. D said:

> I always feel I could do better. I would go home and cry if my children didn't learn. Sometimes I reach my goal and sometimes I don't

Mrs. A said:

> I don't think you ever reach the point where you can't improve. I always think that there are new things to do and try. The Early Learning Program is a good thing and it helps in high achievement, but there are always things to be modified.

Mrs. Y said:

> ...It's a two edged sword. Personally, no...because I am not able to achieve my highest under the circumstance. Yes, I'm doing the best I can under the circumstance. I'm forced to do basics. This is not my highest or my most creative. The most creative... the most creative aspects of teaching...art, music, drama...I cannot do. The children are not ready for these. I don't do the best I can do. But I am doing the best here...

Mrs. E was the only teacher who said that she was doing the best that she could do.

The four teachers work under the following organizational constraints: (1) not enough time for teaching reading and mathematics to the children assigned; (2) lack of control over intergrade pacing in reading; (3) lack of control over parental cooperation in instruction and attendance (4) lack of assistance from central office; and (5) inadequate complement of substitute and special subject teachers in art and music.

During SY 1979-1980 Mrs. A was absent ten days because of her father's death. Mrs. E was absent two days. Mrs. D was absent three days. Mrs. Y was absent 19 days because of illness. The latter had difficulty with substitute service. Mrs. A's children were distributed among the others on the days when she was absent and no substitute came. Since these teachers work with all of the children, this did not pose a problem except to increase the pupil-teacher ratio on those days. The excessive absentees in all of these classrooms, however, prevented that increase from becoming substantial.

The Second and Third Grade Teachers

The second and third grade teachers constitute the remains of the nongraded team teaching experiment which was conducted at School C during the 1960's. Mrs. N teaches the 3rd grade Lippincott readers and she was the team leader in the previously mentioned experiment. Mrs. G and Mrs. F, the second grade teachers, both eat in Mrs. N's classroom every day for lunch. Mrs. G is in charge of the school whenever Mrs. V is absent. Mrs. N and Mrs. G exchange classes for mathematics and English with Mrs. G teaching the former and Mrs. N teaching the latter. The fourth member of this group, Mrs. J, teaches third grade also and is one of the two temporary professional teachers at School C during the study year. She had a serious illness and major surgery during the time and was absent from school 25 days during the school year. Unfortunately, her absence was not known in advance and she was not present when this group was observed. She, herself, was observed only two days, Tuesday and Wednesday, May 20th and 21st, 1980. Mrs. F is the only black member of this group. All are female.

These teachers also exchange children for reading. One child from Mrs. F's room goes to Mrs. G's room for reading and vice versa. Some from Mrs. J's room go to Mrs. N for reading. Mrs. G has finished work for a reading supervisor's certificate and teaches reading in a local private university. She has been at School C for 17 years. Mrs. N has been a teacher there for 30 years and Mrs. F has been there 11 years.

When asked what was the primary contributing factor to the high achievement in School C these teachers said the following:

Mrs. G: A very competent dedicated staff. Mrs. V sets the tone. She is a strict disciplinarian. Discipline problems are kept at a minimum so that the teacher can teach in the classroom and meet her goals academically.

Mrs. N: The continuity and stability of the faculty; their attitude toward learning and their role. They come to teach and they do. The will not accept less than the child can offer. They will fight and work to see that the child does his best.

I don't think that any child can learn in an undisciplined atmosphere. In this school, the principal sets the tone as well as the teachers. Teachers are supported as far as discipline is concerned. I think we feel we have the backing when problems arise.

Mrs. F: We have dedicated teachers. This is a pretty stable staff. The majority of people here are dedicated and try to do the job. Dedication means teachers who come here and give each child the best that they can to see each child achieves at the best of his/her ability... regardless of resources, the best effort is made to get students to achieve. Additionally, there are some students who come here to get an education.

Now, as an administrator goes, so goes the school. Most members strive toward the excellent standards of the administration. They agree with the principal's standards. Everyone tries to strive for the best and for excellence. The entire school wants academic achievement. We try to work with the whole child. We try to do everything we can do to make that child do what he can do.

Mrs. J: There is a combination of a good principal and good teachers here. The principal sets high standards and we follow.

This set of teachers represents another close knit group. They like the school and believe that it is a good place to work. In response to a question about the school climate, they say:

Mrs. F: It is conducive to learning. It has good discipline and cooperative teachers and a good adminstration. Teachers here come prepared. They are ready to do the job they're supposed to do. The administrator is very supportive. We have most of the materials to do our job. The students come ready to learn. Their parents know the value of education and are very supportive.

Mrs. G: The faculty and staff are very warm. We have been together a long time and we get along very well. The students are the same way. They reflect feelings and attitudes of the staff. We have a disciplined academic atmosphere.

Mrs. N: It's a wonderful place to be...very positive. I wouldn't have stayed here all this time if it had been otherwise. A wonderful faculty of caring people who extend beyond the children for whom they care very much but they are about each other, too. They are supportive, here I am speechless about a school I love. We come to teach and do the very best that we know how.

Mrs. J: This is a fine place to work.

Mrs. F and Mrs. G rotate the responsibility of teaching the Lippincott readers between themselves. During SY 1979-1980, Mrs. F taught the high achievers in reading in the second grade and experienced great success. She had 21 children in her class. Eleven of them were Lippincott readers. To her credit, all eleven finished the Lippincott F book at the end of the school year with 80 percent mastery of the skills on the Level Test. All of them were above the national norm of 2.6 in reading on the MAT in May, 1980. Five of the remaining ten children finished the fourth unit in Level 7 of the Ginn 360 series at this time and all of them scored above the national norm of 2.6 on the reading test of the MAT. Of the remaining five, four were in Level 7, Unit 1 and the last one in Unit 2 of Level 7. All but one exceeded the national norm in reading on the MAT, and only one child failed to exceed the national norm of 2.7 in mathematics on the MAT in May, 1980. Mrs. F was very proud of her children.

Mrs. G teaches the lower achievers in reading in the second grade this study school year with an outstanding performance. She has 21 children in her class, also. She has one student reading in Level 7 of the Ginn 360 series in Unit 4 and she takes reading with the group in Mrs. F's room. She exceeded the national norm of 2.6 in reading on the MAT given in May, 1980. Five of Mrs. G's students completed Unit 2 in Level 7 by June, 1980. Another five completed Unit 4 in Level 6 in the Ginn 360. Nine completed Unit 2 of Level 6 and one completed Level 5. Of these, all were above the national norm in reading on the MAT except two. One is the highest reader in the second grade. All except two exceeded the national norm of 2.7 in mathematics on the May, 1980 MAT, also. Ninety three percent of the second graders were at grade level on the MAT in reading although only 26 percent were in the proper reader for the grade assignment. This was an increase from the 75 percent at grade level on the MAT in first grade but a decrease in the percentage at grade level in the reader from 49 percent in first grade. Ninety three percent of the second graders were at or above the national norm in mathematics on the MAT. The reading range of the 42 second graders was from 6.9 to 2.4. The mathematics range was from 5.1 to 2.4.

Mrs. N always teaches the Lippincott readers in the third grade at School C. She has 22 children in her class. Ten of them are Lippincott readers. Six had finished Lippincott Reader H by June, 1980 at 80 percent mastery. All of them exceeded the national norm of 3.5 in reading on the MAT. Nine of her students completed Ginn Level 6 at 80 percent mastery. Three finished Unit 4 in Level 7. All of them exceeded the national norm in reading on the MAT. Some of them scored higher than the Lippincott readers. Every child tested in this class scored above the national norm of 3.8 in mathematics on the MAT in May, 1980.

Mrs. J was sick and absent a lot during the study year. She had 23 children in her third grade class during SY 1970-1980. Eleven of them finished Level 6 of the Ginn 360 readers in June, 1980 at the 80 percent mastery level. Of these, two exceeded the national norm of 3.5 in reading on the MAT in May, 1980. One child completed Unit 4 of Level 6 at the 80 percent mastery level by June, 1980 and scored below the national norm in reading. Another completed Unit 1 in Level 6 at the 80 percent mastery level and scored below the national norm in May, 1980. Eight completed the Unit 2 test in Ginn Level 7 in June, 1980. Of these, three exceeded the 3.5 national norm in reading on the MAT. One completed Unit 4 of Ginn Level 7 at the 91 percent mastery level and was absent for the MAT in May, 1980. Two completed Unit 4 of Ginn Level 8 at the 80 percent mastery level and, of these, one exceeded the national of 3.5 in reading on the MAT in May, 1980. Fifteen of the children exceeded the national norm of 3.8 in mathematics on the May, 1980 MAT. Only six met or exceeded the national norm of 3.5 in reading.

Of the 44 third graders who took the MAT in May, 1980, 22 percent had finished the 32 reader and 63 percent were at grade level in reading on the MAT. This was a decrease of four percent in the appropriate reader and a decrease of 30 percent in the number of grade level in reading from that achieved in the second grade. The reading range of these 44 students was from 8.0 to 2.3. The mathematics range was from 6.8 to 3.3. Eighty three percent of the third graders were at or above the national norm in mathematics.

When asked what they thought was the best strategy for accomplishing high achievement in reading, the teachers in this group said the following:

Mrs. J: Enlarge vocabulary. Get word attack skills and have them question the story's content. Outside reading is encouraged, also.

Mrs. N: Children come to third grade with a strong phonetic background on which we build. We do a lot of guided reading for comprehension. Reinforcement-practice-drill. We try to teach them to think, too. One of the areas...to try to get them to apply their reading skills to other areas is sometimes difficult. We use the Lippincott along with Ginn Level 10. It gives us a chance to compare the format and approach.

Mrs G: First you have to know what the children know. A diagnostic approach is very good and we use that here. After diagnosing the child you fill the gap in the child's learning by giving them the tools that they need to reach their capacity for learning. Structured, directed reading lessons with reinforcement. Homework reinforces the skills on an individual basis. Another thing I do in reading is to supplement the reading program with specific skill books. We not only use the reading books for reading, we use the science books, math books and so forth.

Mrs F: Motivating students. I try to motivate students and get their interest. Once I

> get that, I can go on and get the basics. I know the stories beforehand. I try to relate it to their experiences, I try to match it with their perceptions. But, I don't think there is one best way. I think it is a combination of strategies that you should use. No one gets it all the time.

These four teachers share ideas, information and materials. They exchange students in reading and two of them exchange classes for two subject areas. Additionally, they continue the routines initiated in kindergarten and reinforced in the first grade. They are highly structured, group for reading, teach reading in the mornings and mathematics in the afternoon by whole group instruction. Their opening exercises involve: (1) the Pledge of Allegiance with or without "My Country 'Tis of Thee"; (2) assignment of seatwork; (3) collection of homework; (4) the calendar activities and (5) calling the roll for attendance. The children go to gym twice a week and music, art and library once a week.

They use denial of attendance in special subject classes, isolation and verbal reprimands to control student conduct. In addition, these teachers send children to a table outside the classroom in the hall to continue work. This is a different kind of isolation than the first grade teachers use. Isolation is within the confines of the classroom in the first grade. Mrs. F and Mrs G are affectionate and considerate; Mrs. N is more strict.

More time is taken for language arts in these rooms than observed in the first grade classes. English grammar, spelling and handwriting consume more of the teachers' time. The change from printing to cursive writing in the third grade rooms particularly did so. Much seat work involved cursive handwriting in these rooms. Teachers were able to "steal" less time here than before and the exchange of classes for language arts removed segments of time which could have been manipulated for reading activity. The decline in the number of students at or above grade level in reading on the MAT between second and third grade may be due in part to these phenomena.

Lippincott readers are used with the students who are at grade level in the reading series. For example, there are no Ginn 360 Level 6 readers in the first grade. All of the Level 6 readers are in Lippincott D. If a Lippincott reader fails to master a Lippincott level test at 80 percent he/she falls out of his/her Lippincott group and is placed in the appropriate Ginn level group. He or she would fall into Level 6 if the Ginn Level 6 mastery test designated such a placement. There are no Ginn Level 8 readers in the second grade. All of the Level 8 readers are in Lippincott F. There are no Ginn 360 Level 10 or Level 9 readers in grade 3. By this time the pacing is behind by a level. This loss at the third grade in the reading series progress needs examination. This loss may contribute to School C's failure to achieve consistently at grade level in reading on the MAT in the fourth and fifth grades. The first grade Lippincott readers may need to be accelerated since the teacher commented that she could not go ahead with them although they were ready for the Lippincott E reader because of possible damage to the second grade program.

Generally, these teachers emphasize and reinforce the basic skills through rote drill, repetition, routine and structure. However, they do encourage freedom of expression, problem solving, creative reading and writing. They are "quiet" teachers. There is no yelling or hollering in their rooms. Mrs. F will turn off the lights if the noise level increases above a murmur. Instant compliance follows. Mrs. N's room is so controlled that she instructs her reading groups at times with her back to the children doing seatwork. Mrs. G talks to her children privately if they misbehave. Mrs. J's predominant mode is isolation in the hall. These four teachers constitute a unit within the School, two affectionate and considerate, two rather strict although not stern.

Organizational Factors Affecting High Achievement in Second and Third Grade Classrooms in School C

Mastery of reading skills is the highest priority goal of the four teachers who constitute the Second and Third Grade Group. The placement of the students is determined by their mastery of these skills and the ease with which they can apply them to all school situations just as in the First Primary Group. The highest level students in the Second and Third Grade Group, however, are tested only in the Lippincott series and all instruction is in that series. Reading, spelling and language arts are more integrated in these grades with spelling and language arts used to reinforce concepts and skills taught in reading. Spelling is used for teaching cursive handwriting which is a new skill introduced in Grade 3.

The Reading Scenarios for these teachers most closely approximate those of Mrs. E and Mrs. D without the excessive reinforcement.

Additionally, the second and third grade teachers make more use of independent work in abundant activities. The Reading Scenario follows.

Mathematics is taught in the afternoons as it was in the First Primary Group in whole group instruction bolstered by individualized seatwork, tutoring and small group instruction. Students who fall behind are detained from attending special subject classes, given additional seatwork activities, kept after school for individualized tutoring and given drill homework on concepts difficult to remember. All homework is collected, marked and returned. The Mathematics Scenario follows.

Reading Scenario

1. Readers divided into groups according to skill mastery determined by the Ginn 360 Series Level Mastery and Unit Tests or by Lippincott.
2. Reading group for concept explanation and demonstration of concept.
   Example:
   Introduce each story in each unit by discussing familiar concepts and experiences.
   Teacher uses Teachers' Guidebook for activities and exercises to develop understanding.
3. Reading group for vocabulary meaning and phonics rules related to new words.
   Example:
   Learning new sounds in the words and general review.
   Learning syllabication rules.
   Using the glossary to look up meanings.
4. Silent reading and answering questions about the story in the reading workbooks at the students' seats while another reading group completes another routine.
5. Oral reading and answering teacher's questions with the teacher.
6. Individualized seatwork for student practice of the application of the concept, new and old vocabulary, new and old phonics rules and general review. Immediate checking and feedback from the teacher.
7. Individual activities to be pursued independently by the student to reinforce phonics and reading study skills.
8. Skill mastery at the 80 percent level of these activities determines readiness to go back to Routine 1 or to receive tutoring and/or small group activity during the ESEP period.

Mathematics Scenario

1. Whole group instruction on the concept by teacher explanation and demonstration of any new concepts and related concepts.
2. Student demonstration in whole group of understanding of Routine 1.
3. Repeat Routine 1 if Routine 2 indicates the need or go on to Routine 4.
4. Individualized student seatwork (contract) showing ability to apply the new concept and related concepts. Immediate feedback through teacher checking.
5. Independent activities pursued by the student to reinforce concepts taught and review learned concepts and operations.
6. Give mastery test. Students who do not master the concept go on to Routine 7.
7. Receive tutoring in small groups during special subjects or ESEP time.

Discipline Scenario

1. Student is taught the rules and expectations of School C and the classroom and the penalties for non-compliance. Parent is also informed at the beginning of the school year.
2. Student is reprimanded, warned and cautioned for all violations. Rules, expectations and penalties are reviewed. Special subject teachers also inform classroom teacher of any problems.
3. If violations continue, the student is isolated and/or denied privileges. Minor violations which are classwide elicit responses such as turning off the lights, counting or waiting.
4. If non-compliance continues, the students' parents are called and the Principal is notified.
5. Further violations require that the student be sent to the Principal.
6. Mrs. V monitors the students' compliance.
7. If the problem persists, Mrs. V, the classroom teacher, the parent and the social worker hold a conference and make recommendations. If the problem is an academic problem, Dr. Snow, the RAC teacher, receives a referral and makes a recommendation also.

As in the First Primary Group, these teachers have mastered the skills necessary for managing their groups and have adequately socialized their temporary professional, if she needed it. Unmanageable discipline problems seldom arise except when substitute teachers come to these classes. The four teachers in the Second and Third Grade Group responded positively to the Principal's interventions and support.

When asked whether or not they felt that they had achieved their goals, the teachers replied in this way:

Mrs. G: Yes, I do. One of my goals is for each child to be a lifelong learner and I think I gave them a very good base in becoming that. I try to make them think that learning is a fun thing and not drudgery.

Mrs. N: Never quite statisfied. We always feel we will do it differently and better next year. Sometimes just time intervenes. There is more and more to teach and less and less time to do it in. Sometimes we are hindered by conditions beyond our control. Not enough home support or poor home conditions, i.e., mother in Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, father out of work, a 19 year old sister trying to raise the family...

Mrs. F: No...not the best. I try. I don't think I ever get the best. You take them to the water. But you can't make them all drink.

Mrs. J: Every year I do better but I can be better.

The four second and third grade teachers have more fun in their classrooms and teach in manners more closely approximated by Mrs. A and Mrs. D in the First Primary Group then by Mrs. E and Mrs. Y.

English grammar and construction is taught in the second and third grade classes by Mrs. N. She has a well-developed routine which follows.

English Scenario

1. Introduce the concept. Teach the governing rules, i.e., A verb is a word which shows action or state of being. Demonstrate the rule.
2. Student demonstration. Distribute the Snoopy Card on Which Snoopy states the rule.

3. Individualized seatwork to show application of the rule, Immediate teacher feedback.
4. Use of the rule in writing spelling words and sentences.
5. Test.
   English grammar rules and construction are applied in all writing and spelling lessons as well as in reading workbooks and assignments.

These four teachers work under the same organizational constraints as the first group. However, since their curriculum involves some changes, i.e., cursive writing, there is less time to borrow from other subjects and the time constraint worsens. On the other hand, by this time most of their children have learned the routines and know how to proceed with the seatwork, toilet routines and passing in the halls, so that the amount of time used by the first primary teachers in this pursuit is lessened.

The attendance of these four teachers, usually regular, was changed by illness during the study year. Mrs. N fought a bout with influenza and was absent ten days, all of them in February. Mrs. G was never absent. Mrs. F was absent four days, and, of course, Mrs. J was out 25 days because of surgery.

The Departmentalized Fourth and Fifth Grades

At School C the fourth and fifth grades are departmentalized. Music, art and physical education are taught twice a week to each class by special subject teachers. Miss K teaches reading, language arts and social studies every day to her own fifth grade class and to Mrs. Q's fourth grade class. She teaches spelling to her own. Mrs. Q teaches library and science twice a week to the four fifth and fourth grade classrooms. Miss P teaches reading, language arts and social studies every day to her own fourth grade classroom and to Mr. L's fifth grade class. Mr. L teaches mathematics every day to all of the four classes, art to one first grade class and two second grade classes once a week, and team teaches spelling for Mrs. Q's class with Miss K.

This group of teachers is not tightly knit. Miss K seems to be a loner although she has a good relation with Mr. L. Mrs. Q seems to be a loner, also. Miss P seems to be Mrs. V's good friend and they eat lunch together daily in the first floor teachers' lounge at noon. Mr. L and Miss K designed and team taught the Title IV consumer education program once a week to the combined fifth grade. They also worked together for the Spring production of "The Wiz." Miss P seems to be a chronic complainer and one who would like to see the school even more structured than it is. In spite of this desire, her class was the only loosely structured class in School C. She is the senior member of this group and the one perceived to be the most influential with Mrs. V. She indicated that her children had acted altogether differently on the days when her room was observed. She said that her "brighter" students had said that they didn't like "being watched." She was also the only teacher who openly complained about the lunchroom. She said that it affects the academic program in the afternoon. Even so, her view was supported by the response of the teachers on the questionnaire.

"Parents are more interested in the lunch program than in the academic," she stated perfunctorily. "Things were different when the children went home for lunch where they could get some training from somebody who loved them." Miss P came to School C in 1953 and taught there until 1967 when she left to teach at the middle school for three years. She returned because she did not like the middle school philosophy and couldn't teach there.

Miss P had negative feelings about the participation of black children and parents in other academic programs, too. She said:

> When I was teaching scholars I used to give silver dollars to the high achieving students and invariably the white students would win the dollars. The black children could care less and their parents didn't seem to care about what happened academically in school.

Miss P attended public schools in a nearby suburb and has a bachelor's degree. She is certified to teach kindergarten through eighth grade. She has been at School C for 24 years, and in the school district for 27. She has taught third grade through sixth, language arts and social studies. She does not hold the students in the same regard as the other teachers. At times she discusses the children in a cynical fashion.

In her interview in answer to the question around her opinion about the school's climate, she said:

> I think it's a very good academic climate. Academics come first. That is the prime reason for all of us being here ... I think that the philosophy of the administrator is very important.... I feel that the strength coming from the top on down is what holds things together and helps us with whatever achievement we have because the students aren't overly bright. They aren't overly slow. It just takes a lot of hard work... The administrator couldn't carry out the philosophy that she had without the teachers' full support. That's the key factor here ....

There is a certain ambivalence about her success in creating high achievement at School C. She said the following:

> There's always room for improvement. I'm getting older. The children are living in a different world than I come from. I find that sometimes it's difficult for me to keep up with the children. I feel old at times and not reaching them. That maybe if I was younger with more modern ideas that we might even have more success. I feel I know more now. I'm a better teacher, but I still lack the strength and fortitude that it takes to keep driving at it. If I had known in the beginning what I know now I could have done a better job.

Miss P was one of the team leaders in the Ford Foundation Experiment in Team Teaching in the 1960's. She was trained to teach a computer program by Westinghouse Corporation. She has taught in a nongraded program and served on two book securing committees. She has trained 22 student teachers.

She supports an eclectic approach to the teaching of reading as the best strategy. She said:

> I do not believe in following just one basal reading system. I must have a multitude of materials at my disposal to use with the children to meet all of their needs. I bring into my room materials from other sources that will either elevate the learning of my children or bring it down to a lower level if that's needed. I just do not find Ginn that flexible.

In her answer to the question about teacher support for each other, she said:

> Oh, I think that they support and cooperate with each other beautifully, I think it's just like one family of brothers and sisters working together. If you need help, they're helpful. If you have trouble, they help you out of your trouble. They're just kindhearted. They feel whatever you feel...It's a very close knit faculty.

Miss K is the other language arts, reading and social studies teacher for the department. She was born in the city, educated in its public schools and received her bachelor's and master's degrees from the local public university. She is certified to teach kindergarten through eighth grade and has taught at School C since 1968. She thinks that the school is good because everybody in it is willing to help everybody else.

"The kindergarten teacher helped with the fifth grade play. This is a very congenial atmosphere...no hostilities."

About Mrs. V, she says:

> She has her standards. She believes the children can do their best. She sets this tone. She obviously cares and this carries over to the teachers. She believes these children can be the best and we all try to meet that standard.

Miss K has a very positive attitude about the school and the children whom she teaches. She said:

> I very much like what I am doing and I like the children. I know the children, when pushed, can and I believe this is important.
>
> I like teaching the subjects I teach. I am satisfied. I have a mixture of children...different kids who have different abilities. Although Lippincott kids are the best readers, Ginn 11 students are also creative and talented...I am satisfied with departmentalization.

Like Miss P, she too believes that a variety of materials are necessary for the teaching of reading. She said:

> Ginn puts a lot of stress on decoding skills. This is important to students who need it, but there are students who do not need this. They need more comprehension activities and skills. There is a big gap between Ginn 10 and Ginn 11. Ginn 11 undertakes to fill in the gap left in Ginn 10 in comprehension and this is too much too soon. I enjoy Lippincott stories. I think they are good for our children. Lippincott dwells more on comprehension skills. I think a variety of series are needed to broaden instruction to work with different kinds of children on different levels.

Mr. L has been at School C since 1969. He has a master's equivalency in art from a state university. He is a versatile teacher of mathematics, art and spelling in School C. When asked about the climate of the school he said, "It is very favorable. Everyone is extremely cooperative. We have a supportive administration. Everyone is striving for the same thing."

When he was asked the question, "What is the prime factor contributing to the high achievement in School C?", he responded, "I can't pinpoint one. Everyone puts out as much as they can and works with children and adjusts to the individual needs of the children."

His comment about the principal's contribution to the high achievement was as follows:

> She is very supportive of the faculty and relieves the teacher of disciplinary and parental problems unless absolutely necessary. When you have a confrontation with a parent or student, you're not there by yourself even if she thinks you are wrong.

He feels that he never reaches a level of perfection. He says:

> I don't feel that I ever reach perfection. I don't like tests. I don't teach high achievement, but, day-to-day living experience.

He also feels that more children should be placed in Special Education. He says:

> It is very difficult to get a psychologist to agree that a child is below average in ability. Ninety percent of those tested are average. It is the teacher's burden to motivate them even though you have a class. Special Education is done only in extreme cases. One should be able to go into Special Education for a year to get individual attention. But, psychologists say Special Education is for the babbling child. They would rather have them fail than put them in Special Education. The first paragraph of the psychologists' reports reads like this, 'Here is a good-looking, well dressed little boy...' Now it takes tons of paperwork to get anyone into Special Education and they take their non-academics in the mainstream...

Mr. L is the only teacher in all three schools to group for the teaching of mathematics. He describes what he does in this way:

> In September I gave a complete review of the ending grade level with some advanced materials. At the end of this testing, I use the results to form two groups. There is a small top group that has the ability and maturity for self motivation to work independently. This group has a lot of freedom. These children can usually finish a book in six months. The rest of the class is broken into a large average group and a smaller group lacking math skills and maturity. This group numbers on the average six to eight students...

Mr. L and Miss K wrote the Title IV Consumer Education Program. He also coordinates the end of the year Spring program. "Everyone helps," he says. "This is atypical since the chairperson usually does most of the work in other schools." Mr. L does seem to have some conflicts with Mrs. V. He did not praise her as much as his female colleagues and he said:

> As long as you are achieving and not disruptive, Mrs. V does not interfere. Every year someone different is in charge of open house. We did a play called "Grease" one year and Mrs. V did not like it.

Mr. L generates the typical School C attitude toward parents "I don't want parents here nagging me. Just to be concerned, not to tell me how to teach. I am a professional."

But, the fourth and fifth grade departmentalized teachers think that they have a good relationship with their parents.

Miss P says that the parents, by and large, give good support. She says:

> Once in a while, those who are dissatisfied end up taking their children out of the school because they see where they cannot follow the rules and regulations of the school. Those who keep their children here abide by our rules and regulations. I think the relationship with at least half of the parents is good due to the fact that in four of the grades, you have teachers who have been here a long time. Now, see, I teach grandchildren so therefore the grandparent and the parent both know me and know what to expect. So it makes my job easy. It's not a transient community, you know, and this helps. It's a rather stable community.

Miss K feels that the parents are very cooperative on the whole. She says:

> They will tell me to take whatever steps I need to help their children. A lot of the parents help their children. I commend the parents about the positive things they do for them. For example, Tomas Sprinkles has been in a lot of trouble, yet he was motivated to compete in the City Spelling Bee. Although he didn't

> win, he was a finalist. His mother came and I commended her for how well Tomas was doing and how much progress he had made. Parents need this kind of encouragement and feedback on their own efforts.

Mrs. Q teaches library and science twice a week to the other fourth and fifth grade classes as well as her own. She has a bachelor's degree from a black college. She is working on a master's degree in library science at the local university. She has been at School C since 1965.

Mrs. Q is a very positive person who is highly complimentary of School C. "School C is a lovely place to work. When I was a sub 15 years ago, I had a choice between School B, School C, School X and School Y. I chose School C because it was such a lovely school." She also says:

> All of the teachers are concerned about the children. We have great expectations for them. They know we are concerned about them and that makes a difference. The Principal expects great things of the students too. She insists on discipline being a part of learning. Teachers agree that we cannot function unless the students are well disciplined.
>
> Any teacher will help in anyway he or she can, whether academic or not. A few years ago I had a program involving all students. All the teachers participated and helped in every way. The Art teacher made beautiful plaques. Several other teachers helped. That's the way we are. We all give and share. And being in the library, I gave books to supplement the lesson. It's a good atmosphere here. It really is.

About the parent relationship, she said:

> It's good. Parents are very cooperative. We always encourage them to come if they have questions. We don't have parents coming in ready to fight. Our relationship is good.

The departmentalized grades have eight periods of 40 minutes each, every day from 8:30 a.m. until the students are dismissed at 2:40 p.m. They have a half hour lunch from noon until 12:30 p.m. and a five minute homeroom period from 12:30 to 12:35 p.m.

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In June, 1980 there were 46 students in the fifth grade, 23 in each class. There are five reading groups in Grade 5: Ginn Levels 9, 10(720), 10(360), 11 and Lippincott J which is the 5th grade reader.

There are only MAT scores for 44 of the 46 children. In Miss K's class in June, 1980 there were five children in Lippincott, 12 in Ginn Level 11 and six in Ginn Level 10(360). One Lippincott student was retested and placed in Ginn 11 in May. Her MAT score was 6.2. Of these 23 students, 16 were at or above the national and local norms in reading on the MAT in May, 1980 and 19 in mathematics. In Mr. L's class in June, 1980 there were 12 children in Ginn Level 9(360), six in Ginn Level 10(360) and five in Ginn Level 11. The latter were children who did not master Level 10 in the Ginn 360 series and were retaught in Ginn 10(720). The scores varied from 6.7 to 4.3. The range of raading in Miss K's class is from 9.9 to 4.3 and in Mr. L's class it is from 6.7 to 3.5. Seven of the 22 students tested in Mr. L's class, only 5 were at or above the national or local norms in reading and 12 in mathematics on the May, 1980 MAT.

The range in mathematics in Grade 5 at School C is from 8.2 to 4.2. In Miss's K's class the median reading score is 6.0 and in mathematics 6.4. In Mr. L's class the median reading score is 4.8 and in mathematics it is 5 5. The IQ range in 5th grade is from 121 to 77. The highest and the lowest are in Miss K's class which is the high achieving fifth grade group. Of the seven students whose IQ's are below 90, one is in Ginn Level 11, three are in Ginn Level 10(360) and three are in Ginn Level 9. The mean IQ score for Miss K's class is 103.52, for Mr. L's class it is 90.5. Four of the lowest IQ scorers are in Mr. L's class and three are with Miss K. For these children the range in MAT reading scores is from 6.0 to 3.8 and in mathematics it is from 5.9 to 4.2.

Miss K's class has a higher regular absentee rate than the school in general, running about nine days per school year. She had six extreme absentee cases. Both classes have higher tardiness rates than the school norm. Sixty five percent of the 5th grade students live in public housing, and only six live out of the School C district.

There were 60 children in fourth grade at School C, 33 in Miss P's class and 27 in Mrs. Q's room. In June, 1980 there were three reading groups in Grade 4: Lippincott I, Ginn 10(360),Ginn 9 and Ginn 8. In Miss P's class there were 10 Lippincott readers who had completed Book I, 13 readers who had completed Ginn Level 10(360) and 10 who had completed Ginn Level 9. Nineteen out of the 33 students in Miss P's class were at or above the city or national norm in reading on the MAT or 57 percent.and 27 in mathematics or 82 percent. This was the only class in School C where Lippincott readers fell below either norm in reading. Only three out of the 27 students in Mrs. Q's class were at or above the city or national norm in reading and 9 in mathematics. The reading range in Miss P's class is from 9.6 to 3.0. In Mrs. Q's class it is from 6.9 to 2.5. The mean reading score in Miss P's class is 4.6 and for Mrs. Q's class is is 3.8. There are only MAT scores for 57 out of the 60 fourth graders. During SY 1979-1980 ten students transferred into the fourth grade at School C and eight students transferred out involving 30 percent of the fourth graders.

In mathematics the range in fourth grade is from 9.9 to 3.7 in Miss P's room and from 5.9 to 3.4 in Mrs. Q's room. The mean math score in Miss P's room is 5.3 and in Mrs. Q's room it is 4.4. The national norm for fourth grade in mathematics on the MAT is 4.9 and the city norm is 4.8. The IQ range in fourth grade is from 136 to 73. The highest and lowest IQ's are in Miss P's room which is the highest achieving fourth grade group. There are four scholars in the fourth grade in Miss P's class.

The reading and mathematics scores of the lowest IQ scorers in Miss P's class, the high achieving fourth graders, are at or above the national and city norms for reading and mathematics. The Lippincott readers' scores are not exceptional except for one case. Additionally, none of the Lippincott readers in the fourth grade scored Ready (R) on the Ginn 11 fourth grade basal reader level test. On the other hand, the lowest IQ scorers in Mrs. Q's class were well below the norm in both subject areas. The low IQ scorers did better with the high achievers.

There is no difference between the low achieving group's low IQ scorers' MAT scores in reading and mathematics and the high achieving group's low IQ scorers' scores in fifth grade. The IQ scores in the fifth grade are mostly in the normal range (39 out of 46). Low IQ scorers do not profit as much from their placement with high achievers in fifth grade as they do in the fourth grade. Since the Lippincott scores are depressed in the fourth grade during the study year, perhaps the teacher was devoting more attention to the the low scorers' work than the Lippincott students'. The mean IQ for Miss P's class is 101 and the mean for Mrs. Q's class is 88.

The bright and cheery atmosphere of the first, second and third grade classrooms is absent from the fourth and fifth. Bulletin boards are discolored and unkempt, often outdated, and in some rooms the charts fall off the wall and lie on the floor. In February, 1980, students' papers, dated November and October 1979, were still displayed on hall bulletin boards on the second floor outside the fourth and fifth grade rooms.

The constant movement of the groups from classroom to classroom in the corridors of the second floor of School C creates a busy tension that is absent from the first floor. Although this tension did not result in any disruption during the six months of the study, the discipline is not as tight as the Principal and the teachers would have it. Since it is more noticeable to them during the afternoons, they believe the lunchroom program is the cause. In comparison to the other two study schools the corridor decorum is excellent in School C. The groups move in orderly quiet lines from class to class. Students go in and out of the washrooms with passes in an orderly fashion. There is no screaming, horseplay or riotous behavior at any time on the second floor.

Organizational Factors Affecting the Departmentalized Fourth and Fifth Grades at School C

Reading Scenarios

Fourth and fifth grade reading teachers attempt to execute the same reading scenarios utilized by the second and third grade teachers. They divide their children into groups according to the Ginn or Lippincott placement and struggle to provide the reinforcement routines. One of the problems faced by all four classroom teachers in the departmental schedule, however, is the same as that faced by their primary colleagues. There is simply not enough time to address the learning problems of the hard-to-learn students; therefore, these teachers are forced to steal this time from other subjects. Since the special subject teachers also grade the students, there is a reluctance to do this by some departmental teachers in art and music. Consequently, the favorite fall guy is physical education. It is harder, however, for these teachers to steal time than their primary colleagues since the children have a subject schedule and go from room to room for these subjects. There is the same feeling of guilt among these teachers about the neglect of the creative aspects of their children's lives.

The mathematics teacher in this set-up does have a different routine than the other mathematics teachers in School C and the other two study schools. This routine follows.

Mathematics Scenario

1. Students are divided into three groups according to mathematics achievement: High, Medium and Low. The high achievers are given their concept development lecture as a group. The teacher explains and demonstrates the concept and asks questions.

2. The high achievers demonstrate as a group their understanding of the concept. They practice this understanding under teacher supervision.
3. The Teacher assigns seatwork to this group for further practice.
4. The Medium group receives its lecture-demonstration lesson on concept development. The teacher asks questions.
5. The Medium group demonstrates as a group their understanding of the concept. They practice this understanding under teacher supervision.
6. The teacher assigns seatwork to this group for further practice. The High group's seatwork is checked and they are given independent study assignments for reinforcement.
7. The Low group receives its lecture-demonstration lesson on concept development. The teacher asks questions.
8. The Low group demonstrates as a group their understanding of the concept. They practice this understanding under teacher supervision. Teacher checks some of the Medium group's papers and assigns further practice for reinforcement.
9. The Low group is assigned seatwork for further practice. Teacher checks the remaining Medium group papers and assigns further practice where necessary and independent activities where required for reinforcement.
10. Groups are tested for mastery of concept when teacher feels they are ready.
11. Reteaching and reinforcement follows when mastery does not occur.

Social Studies and Science

Social Studies and Science are taught by the lecture-discussion method. The teacher explains the concepts and the major principles which she wants to make explicit and asks the students questions about them. The teacher attempts to relate the concepts to students' experiences or already acquired bases of knowledge. Students then are given reading assignments in texts which may or may not be written on a level which they can read. Consequently, full and detailed discussion is required. Teachers rely on the advanced student readers to carry on much of this class recitation. Slow readers must listen carefully. Generally, teachers must take more time than they can afford to make certain that the slowest learners grasp the main points and learn the information necessary to pass the tests and quizzes.

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The Library Scenario

Mrs. Q's room is a library with ten library tables and shelving around three of the four walls. Four large windows are on the fourth wall. Her desk is at the front of the room behind which is another smaller room for cataloging and processing books. The library room is used for teachers' meetings and conferences after school and as a science room when Mrs. Q is lecturing. Since there are no desks, it is difficult for her homeroom students to keep their materials and books. Mrs. Q tells her homeroom students to place their books in the coat room and sometimes she will make a place on a windowsill for their belongings.

The Library Scenario is the same for all classes usually. The students enter the library and take their seats quietly at the tables. Some classes are more orderly than others but none are disorderly or noisy. On each table there is a stack of books. First, Mrs. Q calls for the books which were taken out the week before. When she has finished this collection, she reads the titles of the books and recommends them to the children. When the children were settled with their new books and all of the old books borrowed the previous week were submitted, Mrs. Q read a story to the students. It was about a black boy at an all-white school. Some children listened attentively. Others daydreamed or doodled. Few talked. When the story was finished, she collected the cards from the children on which each child had written his/her name and room number showing who had borrowed the new book for this week.

Mrs. L's fifth graders have library during the eighth period. They enter the library quietly and take their seats. Mrs Q directed them to finish their sentences while she completed checking books from previous classes. After this, she began a discussion of biographies. Each student was asked to give a summary of the biography which he/she had read. After each recitation, Mrs. Q would say something positive about the contribution. The students gave enthusiastic answers to Mrs. Q's questions and displayed a great amount of information.

The students assigned to LD/BI come for library once a week on Fridays. The children gave their books to Mrs. Q one by one when called. After this, she proceeded from table to table helping the students select their books. She called out the name of the book and told the students something about it. When the children had selected their books, Mrs. Q helped them sign their names on their cards. When this was done, she read them an African story. She showed them the pictures in the book as she read the story. At the end of the period, their teacher, Mrs. Z came for them to take them back to their room.

Spelling and English

Spelling is taught according to the book and in the same manner as used by the second and third grade teachers. The list is assigned on Mondays the exercises in the book are given as seatwork bell work, a pre-test is given on Wednesdays, sentence dictation is given on Thursdays and the final test on Fridays. The Big Idea is emphasized to the children in a concept development lecture on Mondays and the teachers make certain that every child has an opportunity to talk about this Big Idea (i.e., plurals or change y to i and add es) before the week is over.

The same English teaching routines used by the second and third grade teachers are used by the teachers in the fourth and fifth grades.

Academic Achievement

In the fourth grade the children who have not learned begin to stand out. Therefore, here the teachers are more concerned about Special Education placement and the perceived failure of the system to provide adequately for these youngsters. By and large, the departmental teachers are more negative about their charges than are their first floor colleagues and they tend to blame the children more for system failures.

There does not seem to be any academic reason for splitting the fourth and fifth grades between reading teachers. It would seem more reasonable to have one teacher responsible for the fifth grade reading and one responsible for the fourth. If the purpose is to distribute the high and low achievers this could be addressed just as functionally. Since the perennial problem at School C is in fourth and fifth grade reading, one teacher could be held responsible for one grade. This would help in analyzing the problem and reaching a solution since one would need to be involved with only one style, especially since the styles of the teachers differ so radically.

Additionally, during SY 1979-1980 the fourth grade reading scores dropped below the national and city norms instead of the fifth. Only the fourth grade exhibited Lippincott readers below the city or national norm in reading. In this same grade the low IQ scorers in the Lippincott readers' classroom scored higher than their counterparts in the low achieving fourth grade. This may indicate the teachers' preference to teach to the norm in that class in contrast to the fifth grade where the Lippincott readers outstripped their classmates. It may also reflect the effects of the loose structure of this classroom.

Actually, in the high achieving fourth grade classroom the norm was the expectation even for Lippincott whereas in the fifth grade high achieving class the norm was several years above the norm for Lippincott while it was the norm for the low IQ scorers. The slight upturn in the percentage of students at the norm in reading on the MAT in fifth grade may be due to these high expectations held for the Lippincott readers in the fifth grade. This needs additional study and attention.

Discipline

Discipline problems are trivial in the departmental group, yet they can create a serious problem. Because the children tend to be responsive to teachers' commands, the teachers do not treat the distractions as disruptions nor send the students to the office as is done in the primary rooms. Some of the trivia blossom into student disputes and erupt into fights outside of the school and in the home environments. Fighting exacts an automatic suspension and most of the serious discipline problems occurred outside of the school site on the way home or to school. Even so, there was no real discipline problem in the departmental schedule.

The main mechanisms for student control in this unit are denial of school privileges, isolation and retention after school. One teacher uses ridicule and sarcasm extensively. All four departmental teachers tutor students during their prep periods and after school during ESEP. All four also provide counseling and guidance to students after school for the improvement of discipline.

The School C Family

Because of the departmental schedule there is more distance between the teachers and the students than in the primary grades. This distance is reinforced by the special subject assignments. Students have seven and eight teachers to whom they must relate in a positive way. Teachers have several groups of children. This overload of relationships diminishes the School C family spirit which is so prevalent on the first floor.

This family feeling seriously deteriorates in instances where ridicule and sarcasm are the modes of student control as in the loose 4th grade class. Where students are permitted to escape unpunished for calling teachers names and poking fun at them, disrespect and indifference are generated in the learner. Additionally, a constant stream of such banter between the adult and the child erodes the teacher's authority.

From the data on growth, progress in the basal reader and the MAT scores in reading, it is not clear that the departmental routine is functional for the children in fourth and fifth grades at School C. It does work, however, in mathematics.

Special Education at School C: Teachers, Roles and Functions

There are two Special Education divisions at School C, one for the Intermediate Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) and one for the Learning Disabilities/Brain Injured (LD/BI) students. Both teachers are black females. Both rooms are located out of the mainstream sites. The EMR class is in a small room on the second floor midway between the two wings in which the four main classrooms are located. The LD/BI classroom is in the basement near the lunchroom. It was the only classroom in the basement during SY 1979-1980 except for the Headstart unit.

The Teachers and Their Roles

Miss B, the EMR teacher, is a very positive, pleasant, accepting woman with infinite patience and surprising wit. She is a soft-spoken, left-handed teacher who hugs and touches the children a lot. They hug and touch her in return. She calls them "Sugar" and "Sweetie" instead of by their names. She finished elementary and high school in a small town in the center of the state and went to the state teachers' college near there. She majored in English and Speech for teaching in secondary schools as an undergraduate and returned to school for additional credits in order to teach Special Education in elementary school. She has been a teacher for twenty years and has been at School C for fourteen years.

She thinks School C is a "super" school. She believes that the children are given encouragement and incentives to learn. This is the way she described the climate of the school:

> ...but I think the teachers here, for the most part, are here to really help the children and to see that the child gets the most he or she can get. They just don't come and then leave. They're more of the old fashioned type. They're more the dedicated type. I think that makes a big difference because if they don't get this at home, at least they get it when they come to school.

> The children need that in order to...they need the incentive.

She thinks, additionally, that there is a necessity for the principal to provide the kind of leadership that will effectively utilize these kinds of teachers. She says:

> ...I think it begins with the principal because I think she has high ideals as far as believing what the teachers can do and as far as believing what the children can do. The children, I think, know that the teachers expect them to succeed and that the principal expects them to succeed...You have to have good leadership. I think Mrs. V's leadership contributes to the success of this school.

Miss B believes that the brightest children at School C are encouraged and compelled to do their best to develop that potential.

About her own children she says that she has the same kind of belief in them:

> I know that there are some that I think could do better than what they do even though these children are slow. I keep telling them that they can do better if they just really tried. Then there are others who I think are really working up to their potential. Sometimes I think with these children they have been in the regular classrooms maybe two or three years, and they have failed in that regular classroom. Then they come here with the idea that they are not going to do anything in here. If I can get over this barrier, then I can get them to do the work.
>
> I have to understand that this child has gone through all of these failures and I have to try to use a little empathy... Sometimes, if you don't understand this, the child is battling against you and you're battling against the child and you never get anything for it...

Miss B is firm in her belief that the children should be sent to her earlier in their school lives. She says:

> I think that if they could be tested and the determination could be made that they were slow learners, that they should be placed here earlier than what they are. As I said, they've been in kindergarten, first, second and maybe third grades and they have failed once or twice before they've been put in here. Of course, the reason they give for doing this is that they want them to have a chance, and I can understand them wanting them to have this chance. But, I think if I could get them before they got to the point where they are failing so much maybe we could work with them more effectively. Maybe they could spend a year or so here, then they could move into the regular classroom.

Miss B is not a part of the departmental group or the second and third grades with whom she could share these views:

> ...See, we don't have too much interaction because of my group. But, if I need something that maybe I could borrow for my classroom, I could get it or their assistance. There's a great deal of cooperation with everyone. We might not see each other to sit down and chat and so forth and so on, but if you need anything each one is right there to help you. As I said, I'm not in the mainstream as we call it, but I think that if I needed help that I could get it...

She feels comfortable with the teachers in School C in spite of her peculiar circumstance as a teacher of the mentally retarded in a school which resists that classification of its students. Only two of her students live in the School C district.

Sometimes the children are misplaced according to Miss B. She says:

> ...I get children who really don't belong in EMR. Maybe they should be in the hyper, socially-emotionally disturbed class. Of course, then, I have them here. That creates a problem because I have to work with them on a one-to-one basis. Now they're going to disrupt the classroom...What I do is to contact the parent in those cases. It's up to the parent to help me to help that child...to see if the child can conform to the fact that he or she just can't have a one-to-one relationship. If I am unsuccessful in getting the parent to help, then the other children in here will suffer...

When asked about her relationships with her parents, Miss B described them as good. She gives this account:

> One little boy, when he came in, was just bound and determined that he wasn't going to do anything to disrupt the class. So I called his mother, and I explained the situation to her, and she came up and said that she would be willing to come up and sit in the classroom with the boy if that would keep him be calm. She did and he finally settled down...From my own experience I have a good relationship with the parents. I don't know if that carries through for the whole school, but I know with the parents I've had, I've had a good relationship with them. If I call them and tell them I've had a problem with a student or so forth they're usually willing to come in and we usually work something out.

Miss B also encourages her parents to help with the children's instruction.

She groups her children by ability and according to their grade level mastery. She talks about it in this manner:

> I group according to their ability. Those who are working on the third grade level work together in reading. I take my children for reading in these groups. When I take one group back to read, however, sometimes the lower groups will listen and even come back to us and sit...I find this increases their incentive to read better...

She teaches her children reading through library books and reading games. She explains:

> We use the library books and the reading games. That gets them interested in reading. Anything that you can use that they consider fun is good. You can hold their interest with something like that...for the boys it's usually baseball or football. They are always bringing the books from the library. But, I don't think you can teach reading by just one way. I use games because they're fun and it holds their interest and teaches them what I want them to learn. I use workbooks...Now, they love to do their workbooks, their reading workbooks. They don't care too much about reading their reader, but they want to do the workbooks. Of course, you have to read the story in the reader to do the work in the workbooks but my children would do it without the story if they could...

Miss B senses in each group what the children need and what holds their interest.

She does not seem to have a constant relationship with her Instructional Supervisor nor a particularly close one with the Principal although she feels that she can discuss anything important with her. She also feels that the Principal gives her thoughts careful consideration and respect. She sees herself as an integral and vital part of the School C family and is proud of the school and its accomplishments. Although she is apparently out of step with the regular school philosophy in some respects, she does not appear upset by this discrepancy.

The second teacher, Mrs. Z, teaches the LD/BI students. She is a quiet, determined, positive and pleasant woman who completed her elementary and high school education in the city public schools. She went to a small state college and had done graduate work in the local private Catholic university. She has taught at School C for five and a half years and has been a teacher for eight and a half.

She thinks that School C is a good school, and she enjoys teaching there. She chose to transfer to School C because she knew the kind of school it was and she wanted to return to the neighborhood. She thinks the school is good as a result of the combined effort of the faculty and the principal. She states:

> ...everyone working together, being concerned.
> No one person can do it by themselves.

Mrs. Z considers the Principal the backbone:

> She will be behind you and follow up. She helps with discipline. Discipline is the key. We can't teach without good discipline.

She feels that the discipline in the school is exceptional.

Mrs. Z sees her children as the exception at School C. She discusses them in this way:

> All of my children are below grade level readers and not high achievers. We are the exception here. So my work is highly and totally individualized with only science and social studies pulled together to give them a class feeling.

> I have no contact with the elementary supervisor and do very little work with my own. I am responsible for setting up my own program. And I, on my own, have mainstreamed my children technically separate from the rest of the school.
>
> Only three of my children are from this neighborhood and are in School C's district. This year I teach Ginn Levels 1 through 7 and mathematics for the first through the third grade.
>
> Some of the teachers here let me bring my children to their rooms for activities. Others permit them to come individually.

Mrs. Z believes that the children are motivated to learn when and if they feel that they are a part of something. Her energies seem to be spent on trying to make her children feel that they are a part of the School C family.

She feels comfortable in the Kindergarten-First Grade teacher group. She socializes with these teachers in and out of school with the exception of Mrs. D, who is older. She eats lunch with this group in the first floor teachers' lounge when she stays for lunch. So, although her children are isolates, she is not.

Her relationship with her parents seems to be distant. She says:

> My relationships with my parents are limited because they do not live in this neighborhood. Usually I see my parents once at the beginning of the school year. Also, usually, my children have bad home environments.
>
> Parents should be available, behind teachers and students, knowing exactly what is going on in school. I think children are motivated when parents show interest. I do that for my daughter...go to school and observe her day...

Mrs. Z often makes comparisons with her daughter.

She considers the teachers cooperative and feels that she is able to negotiate the environment for her children because of their willingness to help. She states:

> Teachers work here together very well. I have asked various teachers to take children if they go on trips, and they have shown a willingness to do that. Everyone is ready to share. No one is trying to shine.
>
> Teachers are here because they want to give their all and it is contagious to the children. My niece would not be here if it were not the best school available.

Mrs. Z, herself, was a student at School C in Grades 1 and 2. She has a special attachement to the school shared by no other teacher and she exhibits this pride and interest when she talks about the school.

Special Education: Summary

Routines

Both Special Education Divisions are isolated from the rest of the school. The children are mainstreamed if the teacher can negotiate an arrangement with the other teachers. Mrs. Z chose to do this; Miss B did not.

Mrs. Z and Miss B have different feelings about separation. Mrs. Z thinks that the children need to feel a part of something in order to be highly motivated to do well. Miss B thinks that children should be placed in EMR before they become conditioned to failure. Both Mrs. Z and Miss B see their classes as different from the mainstream of the school, however.

One teacher groups her children for instruction; the other teaches individually except for a couple of subjects. Both use games for instruction in contrast to the rest of the school where drill, repetition and rote learning is the dominant mode. Games are used as independent activities only for those students who complete the regular work indicating mastery of those skills.

Neither of the classes contain a majority of students from the School C district so in addition to being different academically, the students also live out of the neighborhood. Therefore, their isolation is reinforced. They do not get to know the other children in or out of school.

These children who seem to need more time in school in order to address their most urgent and particular needs leave school one period earlier than the others in order to acquire transportation to their homes in the afternoon. This treatment is contrary to their interests if the deficits need as much time to redress as those in the regular program. Considering how much time is taken from other subjects to keep the regulars at the norm and "on time" it would stand to reason that these children would need even more. Instead they get less.

Miss B's opinion about placement is more in concert with Mr. L's than with any other teacher. Yet, the policy of the school is to postpone the promotion of the children in the earlier years in order to prevent problems later on. It is not clear that this policy is actually enforced, but, at least, the children are not placed in EMR as a way out.

The Special Subjects: Art, Music, Physical Education, RAC, Headstart

Art

There were two Art teachers at School C during SY 1979-1980, both substitutes for the regular Art teacher wno was on maternity leave. The first, a black male, was rated unsatisfactory and sent to another city public elementary school in Lower Hayti. The second, a white female, worked in the school from January through June, 1980. Neither of these teachers was interviewed.

Mr. M was observed once before he left on January 22, 1980. The children came into the room noisily and sat down at the tables.

"Leave the crayons alone," Mr. M commanded. The girls had taken the crayons out and were playing with them. Some of them were singing.

"Quiet down," Mr. M yelled. "Boys, sit down instead of kneeling. I am waiting." He distributed the paper to the children telling them to watch him so that he could tell them what to do with the paper. The children giggled and laughed. The children were seated at tables according to sex. Mr. M began to demonstrate what he wanted them to do with the paper he had given them.

Fold it like this, he said holding the folded paper up high.

There are eight tables for students providing six seats at each table. There is a kiln in the corner of the room. Students' art work is hung on the walls beside commercial prints of European artists' work, i.e., Cezanne. There is a large picture of a French castle hung there, too. The room appeared to be well equipped.

Mr. M had four students sitting at a table. When a student raised his/her hand, Mr. M walked over to the student to inquire. When they summoned him in this way, he looked at their work and commented.

> I do not want most of the paper blank. Crayon the whole picture. Plan your picture first so you will know what you want to draw.

His instruction was punctuated by such commands as "Sit down," "Be quiet," and "Do your work." The first grade group did not quiet down until five minutes before clean up time.

> "Place your crayons back in the containers," Mr. M said, "And finish your drawings in your homeroom."

The children formed a line with considerable pushing. Mr. M cautioned them to stop. They moved out of the room and the fifth graders entered.

Mr. M followed the same routine with the older children who were much noisier and did poorer work. He distributed the paper and crayons to each table, gave instructions and demonstrated them for the students who paid little attention to him. Next, he started them to work. Then he walked around among them helping and commenting on their endeavors.

In this class, Mr. L's group, he was forced to stop more often to reprimand; and, in one instance, Omani threw an object at Benny and had to be sent from the room.

"Never do I want to hear the outburst I heard today," Mr. M said to Omani. "Nor is it necessary to throw any object around the room. You are the reason why you are getting the grade you are receiving. It is bad enough that you do not have any respect for the instructor. It is worse when you have very little respect for yourselves. You are supposed to be the best. So far you are indicating yourself as being the worst."

While Mr. M was talking to him, Omani was telling Cain that he had gone to the airport to greet the Gridirons.

Mrs. M replaced Mr. M in January, 1980 and was observed once on March 25, 1980. She convened the ELS group at the front table and tried to get the children to respond to her one at a time. They were making stuffed animals. So after they selected their animals, she gave them threaded needles. She demonstrated how to stuff them with paper. Then she walked around from table to table to help the students. One student complained that she did not know how to do it yet. Mrs. M showed her again. Another started playing, and Mrs. M took his animal away from him. The children were fairly quiet until it was time to clean up. She had to scream at them to get them ready to leave. Finally, they had cleaned up their spaces and had lined up. Mrs. M continued to yell until they calmed down at which time she softened her voice. Whenever the children failed to respond to her yells she would stop and count to three by which time it had to be quiet. It often was. Mrs. A came to get her class and they quietly left with her as though they had been perfectly behaved the entire class period.

Music

The Music teacher is a first year teacher at School C and is the second temporary professional in the school. He is an out-of-state native who was educated in the public schools of that city in which he was born. He attended a black college for his baccalaureate degree which he received in 1972. He is the music director of a Methodist Church in the Lower Hayti District. He is an accomplished pianist and plays that instrument to accompany a male singing group in his church.

Mr. I teaches at both School B and School C, serving two and one half days at each per week. He thinks that the atmosphere at School C is good and that more schools should strive for it. He believes that the students achieve because of the good discipline and that the discipline is a result of the principal's beliefs and actions.

He is not concerned with the reading level of the students whom he teaches so he does not have too much information about their abilities to read or what it takes to teach them to read.

"When I introduce a song," he said, "I do not have to teach it but twice and the children know it."

He felt that the teachers were very supportive and he talked about it in this way:

> With the discipline, I have gotten a lot of support from the teachers. When I tell them with whom I have a lot of trouble, they get on those students. Anytime there is a performance that requires costumes or whatever I will let them know what I want and they will support me.

In comparing School B and School C, he said the following:

> I think it was good for me this year that I was between two schools and these two schools are in the same area. I have been able to see it differently...the operation of each school. That particular school, School C, has very good discipline as far as I am concerned. Most of the things I did do here are mostly appreciated and I didn't have to change or alter my plans too much with the kids. Discipline is terrible at the other school and the students did not respond as well as the students here. There could be a lot of reasons for that. Here, as far as discipline is concerned, there is a greater difference. Here you have students in all levels; in the other there were more middle class kids and they just didn't accept things as well as the kids here. At the other school they seemed to be more cliquish. They didn't readily accept me. Here I had no problem with that. There, there was a lot of outside talk about the music teacher who preceded me. I contributed much there, but here the teaching came easier.

Mr. I, Mr. L and Miss K organized and produced "The Wiz" for the fifth grade Spring Closing Program in May, 1980. It was an excellent production, very professionally done and very well performed. Every teacher and most of the educational assistants helped in the production.

The Music Scenario

Mr. I starts his class with the discussion of the theme of the lesson. For instance, when he taught the fifth graders about mood music, he told them what it was. He solicited experiences from their lives to serve as examples of that kind of music. Then he played some mood music selections on the piano. Next, he taught a song from this music category. First, he played the tune, then he sang the words. The children sang after him. When they knew the tune and the words, they practiced it several times. After this had been accomplished, Mr. I taught a physical exercise or dance to accompany the tune.

During those times when he was teaching songs for the play, "The Wiz," the actual play descriptions were used by the entire class. Everyone in the fourth and fifth grade classes learned these songs and dances. Even children in the primary grades learned the songs to "The Wiz."

Physical Education

Mrs. C, the Physical Education teacher, has been at School C for seventeen years. She is the chief reinforcer of the school family feeling among the children. Since she teaches every child in School C, they can learn the central thought and core rules of the School through her and her program. She is a strong disciplinarian who is loyal to the school and to the principal. She says:

> This is a very warm atmosphere where learning has to take place because there is discipline. Teachers are veterans who taught the parents of the children they now teach. Teachers stay here; they are not career skippers. They share information about the children and the community. Because the faculty is stable, they get to know the children well, their families and the community.
>
> Most important to this atmosphere is the principal. She has to be able to delegate authority which she does well and to make for harmony. People have worked together for so long they would work together anyway but not without Mrs. V...who is fair and understanding...especially is this important for people who have children. I don't have any children...and I know what this means.

Mrs. C is a native of another state and received her education from a black college where she majored in physical education. She is the Union Representative, the sponsor of the Safety Patrol and the Student Council.

Mrs. C. begins with the kindergarten class. She talks to them about order. On March 17, 1980 she asked them how they were supposed to behave coming down the stairs from their room to the basement gymnasium. Several children offered suggestions about their behavior. She seated them and spoke harshly to those who did not listen. When they sat quietly she lined them on the red circle in the center of the gym floor. She directed them to sit down and to cross their legs. Jackie did not do it correctly and she told him to sit and try it again. When he had executed the direction correctly, she asked the other children what he had done wrong. They all said that he did not cross his legs. Many children laughed.

"This is not a circus now," warned Mrs. C looking stern. "This is a gym class. No clowns."

Mrs. C played the piano and the children did an exercise game. When this game was over the children formed a circle and played "Drop the Handkerchief." About this time eight girls from the fifth grade came into the gym. Everybody knew who they were. They were members of the cast of "The Wiz." Mrs. C told the girls that they could do one of the dances from the play for the kindergarteners. She put the record on and the girls began their dance. The children clapped when they had finished and Mrs. C let the kindergarteners do the dance with the girls. All the participants enjoyed the dance. The wee ones clapped and clapped. The girls smiled and smiled.

"Can we be in the front line?" Yvonne asked Mrs. C.

"Everybody can't be in the front line." answered Mrs. C.

"Merle shouldn't be first. She do the dance wrong."

"She do?" Mrs. C asked with raised eyebrows. "Now you know how to talk better than that. You're one of the smartest girls in Miss K's fifth grade. I'm surprised at you, girl."

Yvonne promptly corrected herself with "she does." Mrs. C told the kindergarten children who were sitting there looking at the big girls with awesome eyes that they should say "she does" and not "she do."

The Gym Scenario

Mrs. C teaches more in gym than how to play games well and fairly and how to be a good sport. She teaches the rules and regulations of School C. She teaches them how to behave in the halls, corridors, school yard and environs, how to behave in the classrooms, how to follow directions and instructions, how to obey safety rules, how to treat each other in school, what to talk about in school, when to talk about it, and various other sundry moral lessons supported by by the School C family. She has many rewards to distribute and the children of School C want to be a part of the many activities which she supervises. Therefore, the threat of the denial of her class is a strong motivator for the completion of academic work and a spur to compliance with school rules. Teachers can remove students from the patrol or the council if they do not do either.

She does not have the discipline problems characteristic of the newer Art and Music teachers whose classes serve as punishment devices, also. Since the children know that their work in these special subjects is not as important as the classroom work, they are not as serious in these endeavors as they might be otherwise. Of the two teachers, the Music teacher fares better since he does work with children who are in programs and plays and are, therefore, motivated by this assignment.

The Reading Achievement Center

Dr. Eileen O'Shaughnessy Snow was born in the city and educated in the Catholic schools from kindergarten through the doctoral program. She has always been a reading teacher during her fourteen and one half years of teaching. During all of that time she has served at School C. She is a white female who serves energetically as the teacher in the Reading Achievement Center (RAC) and before that assignment was a reading clinician. She thinks that School C is an excellent school because Mrs. V is the principal. She describes the climate in this way:

> It is very conducive for learning. The Principal sets the standards and the teachers follow her philosophy. The children know they are here to learn and not to fool around. There are excellent teachers here who show a concern for children, although many people are not aware of this. We all believe that every child can learn, regardless of background.

Dr. Snow is willing to help anybody who wants to make and keep School C a good place for children to learn.

She is convinced that one of the strongest points about School C's reading program is its placement routines. She talks about it as follows:

> If you have a complete diagnosis of the child's strengths, you can work from there and solve weaknesses. I do the basic clinician's tasks, i.e., offer a series of tests for discovering a pattern and give a prescription for remediation. After such an evaluation, there is an even split that the MAT scores will be confirmed or rejected. But, generally, a good student gets the best consistent results from these tests.

When asked about this deviation from school policy, she said:

> I don't see eye to eye with the supervisor. The supervisor said to do RAC work. The principal and I agree. The supervisor requested that the Ginn screening test not be given. I disagreed. The principal and I go along. I go for academic integrity, not the supervisor's rules. "To thy own self be true." I'm an Irish rebel. I'm for the underdog...
>
> I don't like the May MAT as a placement tool. In some cases, kids say, "You're a dummy. You have to go to RAC." We need to mix brighter and slower kids. We need to get rid of the labeling. I relate well to those children who are less endowed with that magic number but I don't believe in the tests....

She thinks that the teachers are cooperative and support her position.

When asked about this cooperation, she said this to the interviewer:

> We have 100 percent support and cooperation here. I truly believe that this is a family here at School C. I go to the teachers to find out what they're teaching. Then I reinforce their lesson. We strive to do what's best for School C. We cooperate and support each other as we're called on to do.

About the reading series, Ginn 360, she comments:

> I don't like the Ginn 360 series. It's a poor series. I was at the Centre City Reading Clinic when the pilot studies were made. I don't know how it won. Ginn 720 is a better series. Lippincott is the best you can get. Open Court is another series that's good. Too much drill of skills often loses kids. Kids never get involved in reading for pleasure and fun. The same skills are gone over without the Ginn repetition. You can give reinforcement through alternative ways at getting at the subject matter without Ginn's insistence on writing exercises constantly. No one basal series works for all children. You have to have alternatives. The Board is wrong when it imposed one series. I could not survive the imposed classroom manual and rigidity. Ginn is too rigid and its grading system destroys motivation when kids below grade level get D in reading and A in social studies.

These comments indicate some conflict between her philosophy and actual practice in the low achieving classes at School C.

Dr. Snow would like to see more heterogeneous grouping. She says:

> I believe in peer teaching. That should break up the rigid homogeneous groups. Occasional missing is good and needed.
>
> But, my work is highly individualized. I hold group instruction for ten minutes, no more.

She also feels that listening is the key to good and effective instruction. The children, according to her observations, have learned to tune people out, and teachers compound this inclination by constant repetition. She states:

> Teachers need to teach students how to listen. They need to tell students they can achieve and to stop hollering.

Dr. Snow would like to see teachers resolve their reinforcement problem with more listening exercises.

She has good relations with the parents of School C. She says:

> I guess the parents are doing all they can. They send their children here well dressed and well behaved for the most part. I don't expect them to do more than what they are already doing.
>
> I write notes to the parents and tell them what's happening. I've called some of the parents. They are anxious to know what their children are doing and how well. Most people callonly when children are misbehaving. I don't believe in calling only for discipline matters.

Dr. Snow's parents are cooperative and ready to help her with any trouble.

Dr. Snow serves School C half day each school day. She is there in the morning and leaves at 11:30 a.m. to go to her second assignment at a parochial school. Mrs. S is her aide and serves School A in the Mathematics Achievement Center (MAC) in the afternoons. She leaves at the same time as does Dr. Snow. Mrs. S was previously the lunch manager at School A before her present appointment. They have a teaching load of 45 students, all of whom are two years below their grade level in reading. Sixty students are required for a full time RAC teacher.

On May 19, 1980 Dr. Snow and Mrs. S were administering post tests to the RAC students. On the chalkboard were words like bear, content, place and dog. The children were directed to write the words, alphabetize them, divide them into syllables, give their dictionary meanings and the dictionary page number on which the word was found. There were several word lists of abut 20 words each for the different grade levels.

While the children were doing their tests, Dr. Snow completed some Title I forms and Mrs. S worked in the rear of the room. When the children finished the tests, they copied their word lists. At the end of the period they left quietly. Several of Mrs. Q's fourth graders constituted the next class. They told Dr. Snow that some of the Children did not come because they were suspended for calling another girl a "zebra." "Zebra" is a term used on television show called "The Jeffersons." The term refers to a child of a mixed racial couple. When the children entered Dr. Snow's room, Mrs. V could be heard reprimanding a child in the hall for misbehaving.

Twenty of Dr. Snow's 45 children are in Grade 5 and 12 are in Grade 4. Only one child in in Grade 1, five are in Grade 2 and seven are in Grade 3. The first and second graders come first period, the third graders second period, the fourth graders third period and the fifth graders come fourth period.

Dr. Snow told the fourth graders to be seated. They sat at their desks and she asked each child to read the words on the chalkboard. They read the directions and started to do their seatwork. Mrs. S works with each child individually. One of the little girls had a torn skirt. Dr. Snow took out her needle and thread and repaired it on the spot. Miss P entered and told Dr. Snow and Mrs. S that she wanted them to come and take a picture with her class. Everyone left to get their pictures taken. When they returned, several children wanted Mrs. S to show them how to make birthday cards. She consented to do so and they worked on the cards for the rest of the period.

On May 6, 1980 four fifth graders worked on classification worksheets. Dr. Snow worked with the group asking questions about the different items. She wanted to know from each child which item did not belong in a set and why. She accepted whatever answers were given by each child and did not make them put things in perfect grammatical structure nor did she correct Black English. The children seemed relaxed and calm as though they had a sense of warmth and acceptance. Then they read a story, "The Big Mistake." Dr. Snow asked them about being the new person in school. Mrs. S guided them in their reading of the story. They then took the parts of the characters in the story and read them as if they were doing a play. Dr. Snow asked them about their experiences at being new after the play. She did very little stopping and correcting, aiding the student only when it was obvious that he/she expected it. Just before it was time to leave, Dr. Snow and Mrs. S worked with the children on contractions. Dr. Snow explained their use and defined them. She helped one student say "apostrophe." The students made mistakes in the demonstration lesson, but Dr. Snow simply waited for them to correct themselves. Then she and Mrs. S worked with the children one by one until the period ended.

Headstart

The Headstart class is housed in the basement wing next to the gymnasium. There is one teacher and one aide for this class. Six children were present on each of the two days the class was observed. Headstart hours are from 8:30 a.m. to 11:50 a.m., Monday through Thursday. Fridays were reserved for meetings.

The children entered the classroom on May 8, 1980 and sat down in their seats. They were immdiately given some cookies and milk. While they ate, a mother and the aide, Mrs. W, made presents for the children's mothers for Mother's Day. When they had finished the parent and Mrs. W gave the unfinished presents to the children and helped each one to complete them. The teacher, Mrs. O, mixed paints and passed them out.

This activity terminated in about ten minutes and the children were guided into tne library center which is a corner of the room with a table on which are some books. Mrs. W read a story to the children and two students from Mrs. Q's room came in to help. One helped one child do a puzzle and the other sat with Mrs. W.

Mrs. O cut out some paper which the children were to use to make cards for Mother's Day. She gave the paper to Mrs. W and she and the student from Mrs. Q's room gave a piece to each child. Then the five of them helped the students to make the cards. The mother was asked to work with another child other than her own. She continued to call her child "Beebop" and Mrs. O kept correcting her and telling her to call him "Holmes."

Each helper asked the children the colors before the child used them. Mrs. O asked the children which piece of paper was larger and which was smaller. The children cut pictures out of the old magazines given to them and pasted them on their cards for decoration. The helpers assisted them in using the materials.

When the cards were finished, Mrs. O reminded the children that Sunday was Mother's Day. She asked each child his/her name and what his/her mother's name was. Then she asked them their addresses. Mrs. W comes in at that time with the lunch cart. Lunch was distributed and the children ate. When they had finished eating and the lunch debris had been removed, Mrs. O let the students work on some games and puzzles.

She and Mrs. W walked around from child to child helping them to complete their tasks. The two students from Mrs. Q's class left at the end of their lunch period and the parent left after lunch was finished. At dismissal time, Mrs. O pinned notes on the children's clothes for their parents and sent home the work which they had completed that day.

No interview was conducted with Mrs. O, but Mrs. W, the aide, felt this way about the school climate at School C:

> I like working here; the people are very friendly. We do things together. More structured here rather than permissive, I think. If children are going to learn, they have to know that. I think the children are learning and the people let them know that they are interested in them and want them to learn.
>
> You can go to the principal and talk over your problems with her. She lets the kids know she doesn't stand for any foolishness. She has rules and she makes the kids obey. They respect her. And she lets them know what is expected.

Mrs. W has been an aide in Headstart for 13 years. Except for three years service elsewhere she has been at School C.

She felt comfortable with her achievements with the children that year. She noted:

> Yes, I feel that I have helped them as much as I can. You have certain things you want to teach them. Some are slower and take more time.
>
> We teach them their colors and shapes...the numbers from one to ten. We help them learn to print letters and to know their names, how to share, how to get along with each other.
>
> We ask Mrs. Y what to do and what she expects them to know when they come to her. She helps us to know what to do in order to help her and them...

Mrs. W was confident that the things they were doing were beneficial to the children and contributed to the good results which reflected in School C's MAT scores.

Mrs. W went to School C when she was in elementary school. She has a gentle positive nature and works well with small children. She seems to like her work very well and is loyal to School C and the principal. She feels that the teachers are cooperative in School C and she believes that the parent relationship is good. She says:

> We have a good relationship. Headstart has to have parent involvement. We have monthly meetings with our parents. This is mandated by the Headstart legislation.

> I want our parents to send the children to school more regularly...to cooperate with the program by attending more parent meetings... We have a parent rep who attends the meetings and reports to School C's Parent Policy Committee....but I wish we had more interested parents... Yet many parents volunteer to help take the children on field trips. They make things for me, too.

The Lunchrooms: Interactions, Roles and Functions

The chief lunchroom supervisor at School C, Mrs. Minnie Burks, attended School C for elementary school. She is a black female of about fifty. She orders the food and milk, collects the lunch monies, makes up the tables, supervises the four lunch aides and maintains order in the lunchroom during lunch periods. She thinks School C is a good place to work and a good school. She says:

> Everyone seems like one family here. I don't think I could be more comfortable with other people than I am here...

About the principal, she says this:

> I knew her as a teacher and I know her now. I don't think any other principal can compare with her personality and standards for the children here. Anything I want I can go to her and get understanding.

Although Mrs. V and Mrs. Burks disagree on the function of the lunchroom program, they respect each other.

Mrs. Burks acknowledges that some of her aides do not relate well to the children:

> Every lunch aide pitches in like a team, covering for each other. Some aides have better control of children than do others. Those that are used to children do better. If an aide is having a problem, another will come and help by isolating the problem child.
>
> I take the child to the principal if one is disruptive more than three times. The aide brings the child to me. We have little interaction with parents but the majority are concerned about the children and are supportive of the school.

> A lot of people don't understand that lunch is the only time the children can explode. We take them out as much as possible so they can run off. We can't keep them completely quiet at lunch... They need at least 45 minutes to run it off... Now they have only 35 minutes...

She agrees with Mrs. V that the children need to leave the building for exercise but she does not think the amount of time they have is sufficient.

She does not have any say over the menu which is served each day although she does have the opportunity to make suggestions to her superiors. Nor has she ever terminated a lunch aide. She says:

> I don't go back to someone more than once to tell them what their job is though...One of them has a nasty attitude towards the teachers now... Usually they terminate themselves...

Mrs. Burks indicated that she would not tolerate any aide who did not do her work.

The lunchroom is a converted boys gym which was used when the school accommodated a full complement of 600 children. Two of the four aides clean tables and see that tables are cleared of debris; two watch the conduct of the students. The noise level is noticeably higher as the students enter the hall even though all aides encourage silence. The students lower their voices but gradually the noise becomes greater. There are two lunch periods at School C, one for the primary grades at 11:20 a.m. until noon and the second for fourth and fifth graders from noon until 12:30 p.m.

On April 1, 1980 Mrs. Burks said that she was short two aides. The children filed into the lunchroom with their teachers and took their seats at the long tables. They passed before Mrs. Burks who watched them take one milk carton to their lunch table. Each table had about 16 lunches on it. A large white napkin was under each lunch. Some of the children brought their lunches in lunchboxes, most of which seemed new. Most of the children ate the hot Type A lunches provided by the city public school system.

Generally, the children ate in an orderly fashion and dumped their garbage in scattered containers and big plastic bags stationed throughout the room. As students finished eating, a lunch aide quickly wiped off the table. By 11:15 a.m. most of the students were through eating. They stayed in their places until the aide collected them, lined them up and took them outside. There they played games and exchanged conversations until the aide brought them back inside the building and walked them to their rooms.

Aides separate the unruly children from those they take outside. They make these children sit on the benches while the others go outside. If they have complied with requests for order, in time the aides will march them outside, too. On one day, Norman, from ELS, was taken by Mrs. Burks to the principal because he was hitting other students with empty milk cartons spilling milk on their clothes. When the weather is bad, the children stay in the lunchroom with the aides. On these particular days, the conduct is poor and the noise is great.

The routine is the same for the fourth and fifth graders. Sometimes Miss P comes to the lunchroom with her fourth grade. She is very displeased by the student conduct in the lunchroom. Her children talked a great deal at lunch.

On days when it is cold but not inclement, aides will send one or two children back to the room for their coats and hats. At other times, teachers will send the children down already dressed to save time. Since there is no place to put the garments, neither plan works smoothly. In the former, the teachers are often not in the rooms, and two small children can not carry all of the apparel. In the latter, the children are compelled to sit in their coats and hats to eat.

There is great dissatisfaction over the lunchroom program at School C, but, as yet, no resolution has proved satisfactory for all of the interested parties. Generally, the lunchroom operation is orderly and runs smoothly. It is not as developed as School A's program but not as disorganized as School B's.

Conclusion

Achievement is the highest priority goal in School C. There is high consensus among the teachers and the principal around skill mastery in reading and mathematics and the necessity for discipline defined as routinized behavior developed by the students in compliance with this highest priority. As a consequence, the school is characterized by a tight coordination, strict control, practiced consistency in a highly structured environment. Teachers operationalize this structure with two dominant modes of enforcement:

1) strictly and sternly and (2) affectionately and considerately. The latter mode seems to be more successful in reaching the goals for both types of classes, accelerated and low achieving. Loose structure is not tolerated for long in School C. By SY 1981-1982, both teachers of loosely structured classes had moved from School C, one by transfer and the other through retirement.

The high structure at School C seems to be required because of the divided community. In contrast to School A where the principal's hierarchical independence was buttressed by his cohesive community support, the School C Principal's hierarchical independence is weakened by her divided community. Resultingly, she uses the solid support of her Lippincott parents as a buffer against the opposition and the high structure as a protection against any uncertainty within the technological core of the school. Moreover, the School C Family concept incorporates the students into this core making them responsible for the school's success.

The School C Principal said that she has absolutely no say about the recruitment of employees for School C and that she participates in a peripheral way in the selection process. The only sure way she can participate in the transfer or removal of a teacher is through the unsatisfactory rating. She said:

> If I feel that the person is unsatisfactory, I can request a transfer. However, if that person doesn't accept it, then the person remains here.

The Principal of School C controls this choice by consistent, persistent monitoring, supervision and visitation so that unsatisfactory teachers choose to leave rather than submit themselves to the rigorous routine such a severe monitoring would entail. The School C Principal knows that central office disapproves of the use of unsatisfactory ratings. Consequently, she has developed a good relationship with the personnel officer.

> . . . .I have a good relationship with______. She knows exactly what I want as far as a teacher is concerned. She screens the teachers very carefully. She informs them what they are getting into when they come here. So our relationship there is very good.

The School C Principal tries to control the student through regimenting his/her conduct, behavior and dress inside school. By constructing the School C Family she attempts to create a boundary-spanning mechanism to substitute for the real family which may be unable to help in the attainment of the organizational goals of high achievement in reading and mathematics. The Principal states her views on the family concept:

> Well, I think these children need security and they need to belong and I feel . . . I mean, they are part of this community, this school is in the community, and I want them to take pride in this school, in themselves, so as a family they feel . . . they relate to the family at home as far as the teachers are concerned. I don't want them to feel that the teacher's just the person in charge of the classroom who just comes in here to teach and then goes home and forgets about them. I want them to feel that we're here because we want to be here, they're here because they want to be here and to take an interest in everything and everybody.
>
> . . . when I came here there was a lot of resentment on the part of the children and the faculty and I had to do something to get us together. Everybody was pulling separate ways. So ever since I've been here I've tried to make them feel like a family . . . I mean, as long as we work together, we will accomplish something but if we're pulling apart we're not going to get anything done.

But, when asked what she wants parents to do, their participation is severely limited, exhibiting more a desire for parents to stay out of the way than come into the process. She said, "Well, I feel that if the parents take an interest in the school, the children will appreciate it.

The School C Principal is aware of the discrepancy between the system's formal goal and her parental and community relations. She is aware also of the informal goal of a good public image which is prized more by the central office than high achievement, especially in the all black school. She knows that she is not very much liked because of her posture and program which meets neither goal. But her behavior is governed by her cause-effect beliefs. She believes that the parents cannot and will not make their children behave in school well enough to achieve up to national standards; therefore, she usurps their prerogatives and dictates their relationship with the school. On the surface, in conversations, the relationship appears cordial and congenial. Underneath, it is often hostile and adversarial. As the student's achievement improves, however, the relationship improves. In cases where the former fails to occur; the latter deteriorates.

The parents of School C are in two groups: (1) parents of students at or above the national norm in reading and or mathematics; and (2) parents of students below the national norm in both reading and mathematics. The Lippincott parents are in the first group. They are also occasionally parents of students in the Scholars' Program. This division often forces these parents to fight each other. If the Group Two parents attack the principal, the Lippincott Parents generally spur a defensive countermove against them. The Lippincott Parents believe that the principal needs the high structure to control the laxity and leniency of the Group Two Parents. Unlike many middle-class blacks who flee the public neighborhood school when it becomes majority poor, these parents whose values are closer to the middle-class seek to preserve their "good" school and want to stay there.

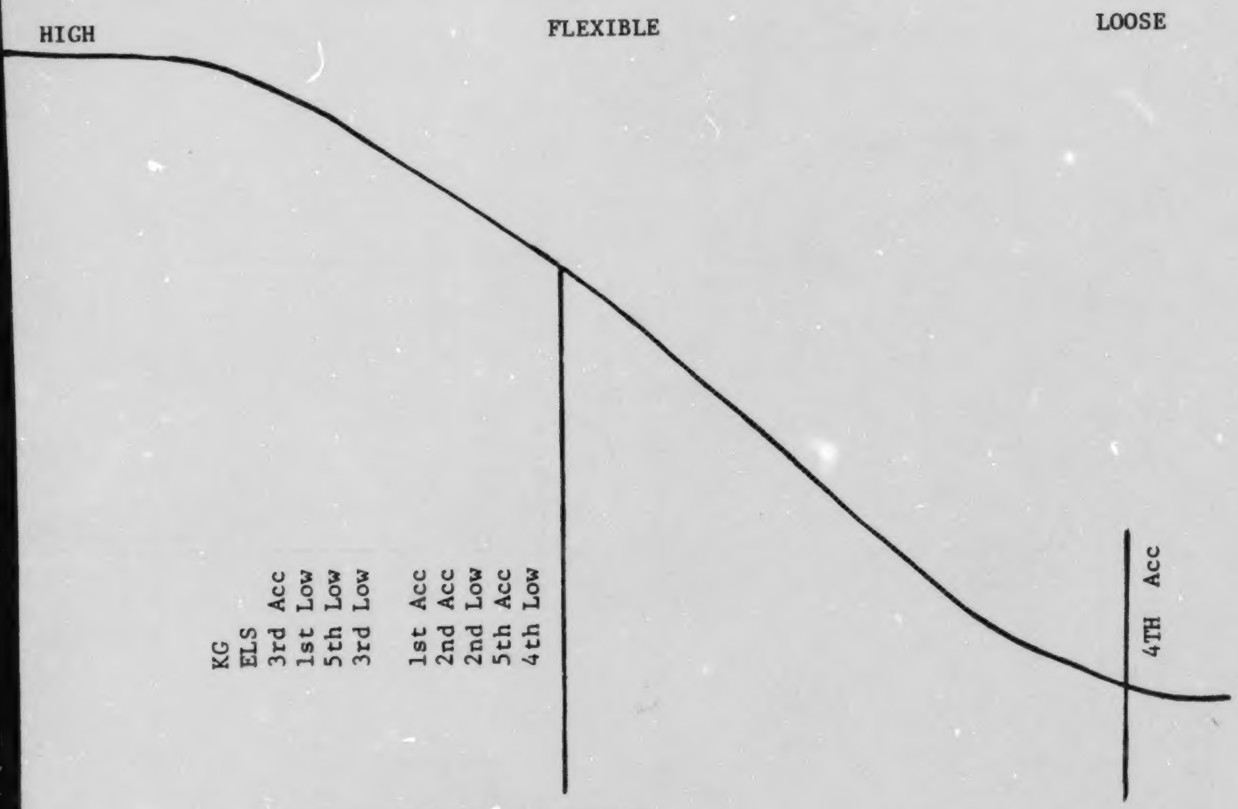
The excessive routinization, regimentation and rigidity of School C controls the environment and makes the outcome more predictable. Students and parents know what they can do and what they cannot do. It is repeated and reinforced from Kindergarten through Grade 5. Teachers believe that repetition, reinforcement, rote and drill are the necessary means for developing high achievement patterns in the student body. Figure 15 shows there is only one loosely structured class at School C. Figure 16 shows the relationship between structure and reading achievement at School C. Except for Grades 1 and 2 achievement is below the norm for the low achieving classes in reading. For the low achieving fourth grade, the principal and the teachers seemed to have low expectations in contrast to their general belief about the rest of the student body. As a consequence, this class performed poorly in reading and mathematics. Additionally, this class has for a homeroom teacher, the library and science teacher for the departmentalized group. She seemed very rushed and hurried in her attempt to fulfill her obligations to all of her students in those subject areas and had much less time for counseling and guidance than did other homeroom teachers in this group. Moreover, these 4th graders had no desks of their own in their homeroom and generally could not develop as great a feeling of belonging to the School C Family as could other students in School C.

The teacher of the lowest achieving 3rd grade group was a new teacher who was absent a lot during this school year. The high achieving 4th graders and the low achieving 5th graders both were taught reading by a strict teacher in a loosely structured classroom environment. Neither group performed well in reading. In fact, this high achieving 4th grade class was the only group where the Lippincott readers failed to achieve as expected on the MAT. Figure 17 shows a better pattern of achievement for mathematics. The only class in real trouble is the low achieving 4th grade group. Clearly, achievement is dependent upon high expectations. Figure 18 reflects the inability of teachers to cover the work assigned for their particular grades even though their children achieve.

Figure 15

Styles of Management in School C: Kindergarten Through Fifth Grade

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania



Low = Low achieving classroom
Acc = Accelerated achieving classroom
KG = Kindergarten
ELS = Early Learning Skills

High Structure
Flexible Structure
Loose Structure

Figure 16
Structure and Reading Achievement of Classes at School C, June, 1980

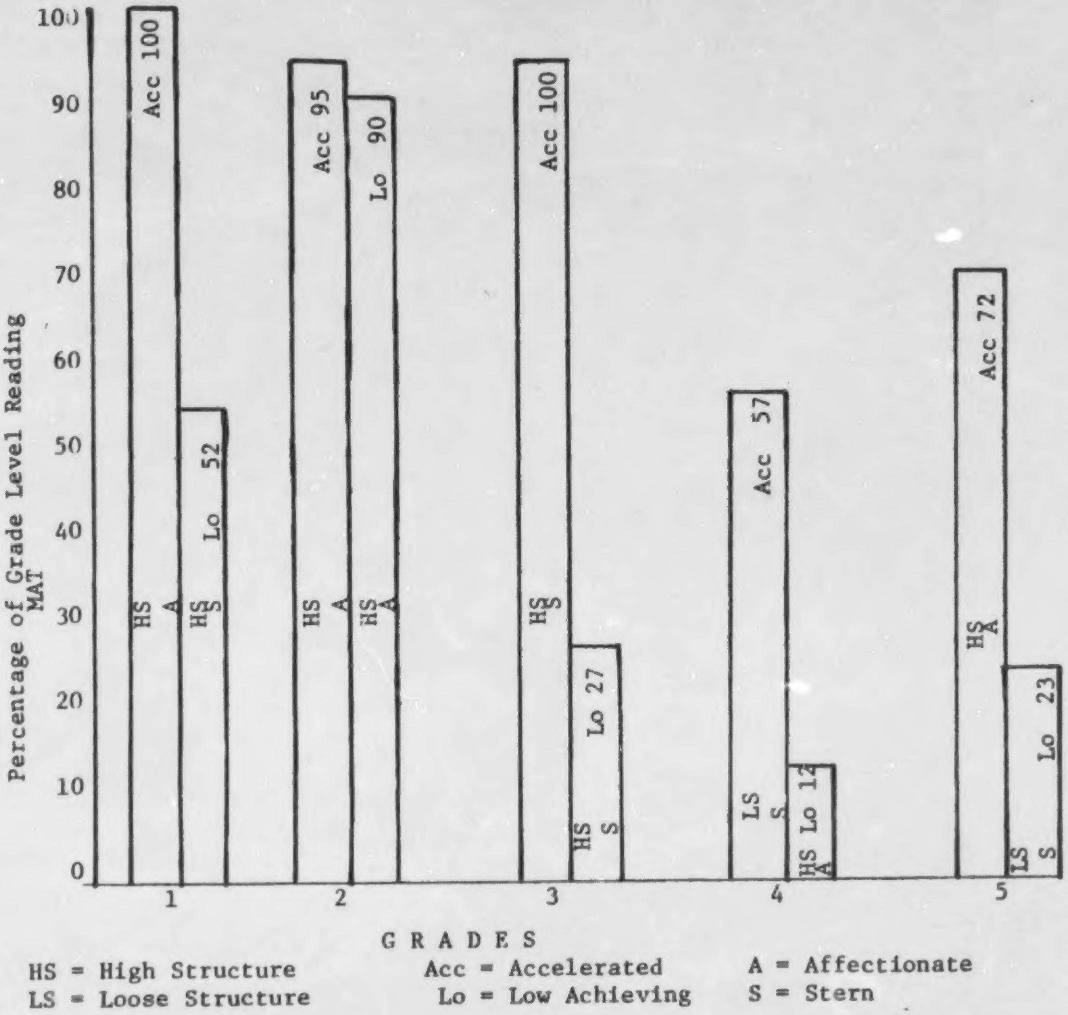
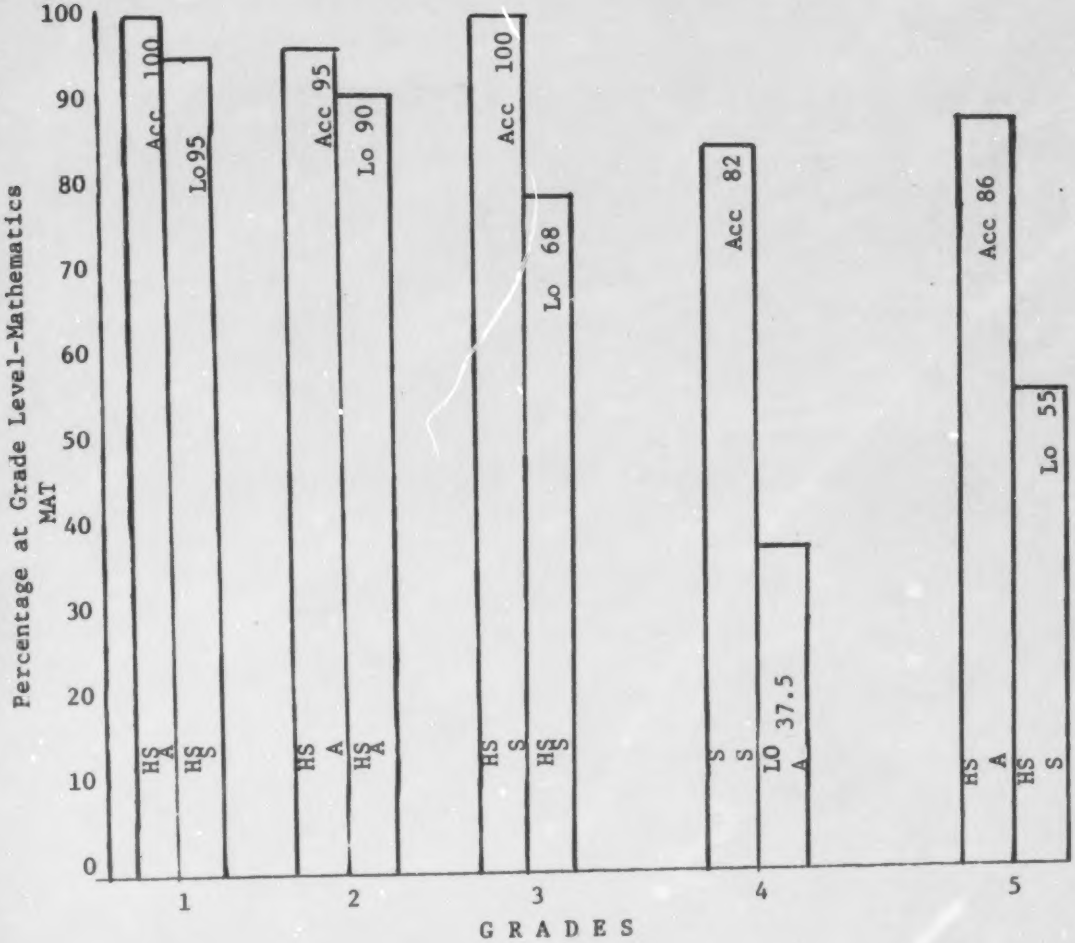


Figure 17
Structure and Mathematics Achievement at School C, June, 1980

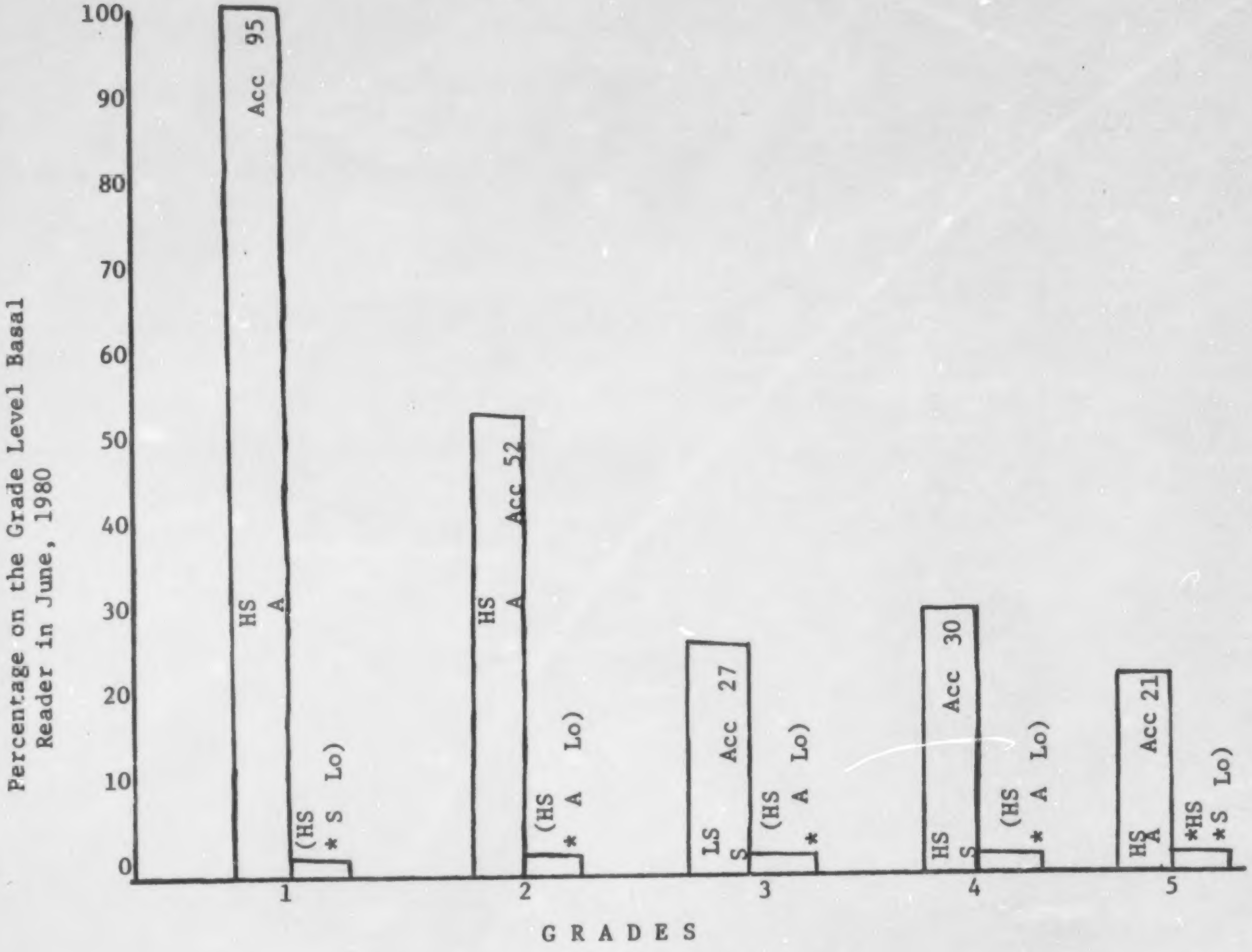


HS = High Structure
LS = Loose Structure

Acc = Accelerated
Lo = Low Achieving

A = Affectionate
S = Stern

Figure 18
Structure and Basal Reader Placement at School C



HS = High Structure
LS = Loose Structure

Acc = Accelerated
Lo = Low Achieving

A = Affectionate
S = Stern

+ 0 percent

These data indicate a preference for high structure but a division on approach. Half are strict and stern and half are affectionate and considerate. Teachers need more time than allowed for the teaching of reading where there are large numbers of students who need re-teaching, reinforcement and repetition. The departmentalized organization seems to defeat that need in reading but enhances it in mathematics. Grouping in mathematics seems to be effective also.

The actors are mostly stable teachers with longevity in the school and experience in teaching together. The Principal in spite of her high degree of authoritarianism is one of them and shares their belief in the need for repetition, reinforcement and regimentation as the principal routines to high achievement and high scores on standardized tests. The physical education teacher reinforces this regime in the gymnasium, the student council and the safety patrol. Student council members, safety patrol monitors and messengers all reinforce the rules for younger students. They show them what to do, when to do it and how. Every teacher is responsible for all students and must know their names and their histories. Every student is every other student's brother or sister.

Teachers at School C are conscious of the blackness of their student body. They try to relate their curriculum to Black History, Literature, Music and Art in subtle, continuous and well integrated ways. Emphasis is not a one week, one month affair. Wall and bulletin board decorations, supplementary materials and discussions are reflected attempts to meet this unique need of the students for self-image development and self esteem.

The acquisition and retention of the appropriate school materials and programs is an on-going struggle in School C between the principal and faculty and central office. Whenever the school's program is threatened in any way, the parents of the school contact board members for help in maintaining the high quality of instruction at the school. The School C Principal is disinterested in promotion in the public school system; therefore, she is not as vulnerable as others. Since there is no way to punish her, she remains relatively secure as long as School C is high achieving. She intends to see that it is.

> I am going to retire from School C. No other teachers would put up with what it takes to make a school high achieving in this system since there is little support for these processes. I do not want a promotion either because I don't think that I would get the kind of assistance that is needed to do what I have done here some other place. I only have a few more years to go and I will spend them here at School C.

School C continues to remain one of the high achieving black schools in June, 1982, with 52 percent of its students at or above the national norm in reading and 70 percent there in mathematics on the California Achievement Tests. In 1982, School C was 79 percent poor, 99 percent black. One third of its student body transferred in from a low achieving predominantly black poor school under the 1980-1981 desegregation plan.

School C illustrates the use of the authority of the Principal to create a closed system for the production of the formal goals of the school system. But, in so doing, the formal structure is circumvented often and the system's informal structure is characterized by the School C family. The School C Principal is loosely coupled with central office and with one group of her parents and community. She is tightly coupled with her teachers and another parent and community group. While her teachers differ in their approaches to teaching, there is consensus among them on structure, goals and philosophy. Additionally, these teachers share the principal's high expectations of the students, except for the one group, and her authoritarianism. They are also loyal to her in return for her support with student discipline and parent complaint negotiations even though they do not fully believe that the high achievement of School C is due entirely to her efforts.

Hierarchical independence permits the School C Principal to deviate from BPE policies when she feels that it is necessary to do so to achieve School C goals. Some of these deviations are: (1) the use of materials unapproved by the BPE: (2) the alteration of curriculum for reinforcement, repetition and drill; (3) the denial of student participation in special subject classes as a penalty for incomplete homework, schoolwork or unsuccessful testing; (4) the implementation and enforcement of a dress code for teachers and students; (5) the discouragement of student referrals to Special Education in the mental retardation category especially; (6) the encouragement of parents to refer matters to school board members for resolution short-circuiting the higher echelons of public school administration; (7) the extension of the students' time in school past dismissal for reteaching, reinforcement and remediation; (8) the refusal to accept student teachers and special approved school board projects which take time away from the basic skill mastery program; (9) the refusal to accept without prejudice records forwarded by other schools for students transferring into School C; (10) the use of a teaching position for duties other than those specified by the BPE; (11) the rejection of the Superintendent's goal priorities for School C; and (12) the encouragement of teachers to transfer in cases where teacher performance is undesirable and unwanted.

Grant Application No. 9-0172
Sizemore
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260

The School C Principal and her teachers have created a high achieving school in an area where few expected it or cared. She has managed to elevate achievement with these different routines, scenarios and processes. Her authoritarianism, however, has divided her community in spite of which she managed to maintain a hierarchical independence through the consolidation of her faculty, students and supportive community in a School C Family.

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Chapter VII: Organizational Factors Affecting High Achievement

This study was conducted to determine the organizational factors important to producing a program of quality education in three predominantly black and poor elementary schools, kindergarten through fifth grade, in the Centre City School System, Schools A, B and C; and to identify any differences which might exist among these schools. Of the 21 predominantly black elementary schools in Centre City during SY 1979-80, only five were high achieving as reflected by reading and mathematics scores on the Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT) exceeding or reaching the national and/or Centre City norms received by more than a majority of the students in the school (at least 51 percent). Students were not tested in kindergarten; therefore, there were five grade equivalent mean scores for each school in reading and five for each in mathematics. Over the five year period beginning with SY 1975-1976 and ending with SY 1979-1980 out of 50 possible grade mean scores, School C scored 46; School A, 31; and School B, 23. This means that School C achieved a grade equivalent mean score at or above the national and/or Centre City norm 46 times out of the 50 possibilities. It was indeed an abashing anomaly. During Sy 1979-1980, School A achieved a grade equivalent means score at or above the national and/or Centre City norms in 10 out of the 10 possible grade mean scores.

Nonparticipant observation was the primary technique supplemented by the study of documents, materials, records and reports which were used to examine the routines, scenarios and processes of these schools through the lens of Graham T. Allison's Organizational Process Model (OPM) which emphasized organizational output and is used to discern the behaviors the organizational components exhibit in the implementation process in terms of outputs delivered in standard patterns or ways. A routine is a series of repetitive activities which are related to a goal such as high achievement in reading. A scenario is a series of routines. A process is a series of scenarios. This model permitted the study of organizational routines, scenarios and processes which produced the output of high achievement and to explore this puzzling occurrence with ethnography.

Each school in this study represented a general style of life for the culture exhibited by the actors in the environment. Ethnography is the task of describing these cultures exemplified by the knowledge the school actors used to generate, and interpret their social behavior, not only from the investigators points of view but also from the actors' points of view. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers and principals and questionnaires were administered to teachers to determine goal consensus and to parents to discover their opinions about their schools' achievement. These data were crosschecked with observations.

Achievement and Growth: The Outputs

In the cases of the three schools in this study, the output of two schools (A and C) was high achievement and high growth in both reading and mathematics; in the third (School B) it was low achievement in reading and high achievement in mathematics with high growth in both. This output was the result of three factors generally: (1) goal consensus among the school and community actors; (2) high expectations for student achievement by school actors; and (3) choices of functional routines, scenarios and processes for the achievement of high priority goals. Functional routines are those which actually achieve the accepted high priority goals. The output of high achievement and growth resulted from the principals' basic decisions which generated consensus among the teachers and the community around achievement as the highest priority goal and stimulated teachers to choose functional routines. While these schools were high achieving according to the definition used in this study and compared to other predominantly black and poor elementary schools in the Centre City School System (CCSS), they were still different. In School A over the five year period described above high growth yielded high achievement 55 percent of the time; in School C, 92 percent of the time; and in School B, 41 percent of the time. The findings of this study will be reported within the framework of the organizational goals and the routines, scenarios and processes used to achieve them.

In this study two schools were more alike (A and C) than the third (B). The latter was different in several ways which should be reviewed before the discussion of the findings. School B differed from Schools A and C in the following: (1) faculty mobility; (2) student mobility; (3) student population; (4) student socio-economic status; (5) student absenteeism; (6) principal's tenure and style; (7) the number of extra programs in the school; and (8) the structure of the classrooms. There were more loosely structured classrooms at School B and it was the only study school with split grade assignments in one classroom. School C was the only school with departmentalization and School A was the only school practicing student advocacy. School B had no formal vehicle for parental and community involvement outside of the regular PTA, parent representatives, Title One and Headstart programs. The faculty was obviously in transition; teachers were moving in and out. The average total teaching experience of teachers at School B was 7.2 years compared to 10.2 for School A and 16 for School C. The average student absence rate, 7.6 days per school year, exceeded School C's rate of 6.8 and School A's rate of 5.6. Fifty-seven percent of the student population of School B transferred in and out during the study school year compared to 32 percent at School C and 16 percent at School A. The principal of School B was only in her third year compared to approximately 12 years for each of the other two principals. In addition, she did not grow up in Centre City nor was she educated in its public schools as the other two principals had done and been. Considerably more external programs were in School B: (1) the Elementary Scholars' Center; (2) the Imaginarium Program: (3) Teachers' Corps; (4) Project '81; and (5) Student Teachers from Eisenhower University's School of Education. School A had special education programs and School C had only Title IV... Students in School B were not as poor as the students in Schools A and C. Only 56.7 percent of the School B students received free or reduced lunch compared to 73.8 percent at School A and 91.7 percent at School C. Additionally, School B had 95 fewer students than School C and 177 less than School A. School B enjoyed a slightly smaller class size, 20.3, compared to 21.4 for School A and 22.3 for School C; and it had a smaller teacher-pupil ratio, 16.6:1 compared to 18.8:1 for both Schools A and School C. School B's general fund allocation was also slightly higher, $1,719.85 per child compared to $1,678.62 for School A and $1,284.47 for School C. School B was located in a slightly higher socio-economic status census zone than School A or C. At School B, a school board member was also a parent of three children in grades 2,3 and 4 during the study year; the Vice President of the local teachers' union taught third and fourth grade reading there; and the relative of one of the high officials in the CCSS taught third and fourth grade mathematics. Data revealed School B as a school in transition. Because the principal was new and the faculty was changing, the structure of most classrooms was dominated by peer interaction. The students set the norms. Much of the teachers' time was spent in trying to control discipline. Consequently, less time was spent on instruction. The principal's style was based on a belief in teacher professionalism which dictated that discipline and parental conflict be negotiated by the teacher. This belief generated a routine of non-intervention in classroom conduct.

Organizational Goals

Organizational actors in the OPM face situations where decisions have already been made and their choices are confined by these previous actions. In a sense, then, the appointment and/or choice of a leader is anti-climactic. However, in the case of Schools A and C the leaders counteracted many decisions which had been made prior to their appointment regarding goals, instruction, curriculum, coordination and control. Sometimes they worked within constraints and sometimes they simply ignored them. As a protection against sanctions from their superiors, the principals engendered loyalty from their faculties by their hierarchical independence or willingness to disagree with their superiors and by their tendency to obligate their teachers to them through the assumption of discipline and parental conflict. Because of this loyalty, teachers accepted their principals' rigorous monitoring of their teaching and student progress in reading and mathematics. The data point to the principal's conduct as the most important generator of the consensus necessary for the creation of a belief in the ability of the black poor student to achieve (high expectations) and the establishment of functional routines for the teaching of reading and mathematics.

First, the principal must believe that the black poor student can learn and that high achievement in reading and mathematics in a black poor school is possible. Next, the principal must be willing to take the risks necessary for the selection of this high achievement as a high priority goal. Fourthly, he/she must choose functional routines, scenarios and processes for goal achievement. Lastly, he/she must be willing to disagree with his/her superiors around these choices and their implementation. These seem best accomplished by a moderately authoritarian principal who uses selective application of sanctions in a flexibly structured environment where there is staff and student stability.

Both principals at Schools A and C exhibited hierarchical independence or the willingness to disagree with their superiors in order to reach organizational goals. In School A, the principal made a conscious decision to make the school a part of the community. In addition, he had different goal priorities than did the Superintendent. He was open and candid about his disagreement and his sense of priorities. His first priority was to build a strong healthy self-image in his students. Secondly, he wanted them to acquire academic skills and knowledge. Thirdly, he wanted his students to learn to cooperate with others and lastly, to transfer those skills acquired to the community.

He spent a great deal of his time pursuing these goals. School A was the only school which showed a spirit of child advocacy. Moreover, the School A principal disagreed regarding his role and the effect of his actions on the level of achievement in his school. He interpreted the principal as an educator responsible to the community before central office. School A was managed within the context of the community's needs and best interests. Knowing the necessity of having support for his deviant view, this principal allied himself with his community and became an active part of it by joining its organizations, working with its families on their social and economic problems and providing leadership to it in the education of its children.

During SY 1980-1981, the School A principal was promoted to manage a school improvement project designed to elevate achievement in several low achieving predominantly black elementary schools. The School A Community gave a testimonial dinner for him. Over 300 guests attended. Tickets were sold out. There was standing room only. Person after person rose to thank this principal for helping their children, for teaching them and for "saving their lives." Children confessed how much they missed him, several bursting into tears in the midst of their presentations. Alumni of the elementary school returned to demonstrate his effectiveness in motivating them to do well in college, on their new jobs and in their after-school pursuits.

The highly authoritarian principal of School C disagreed with the Superintendent on goal priorities also but she did not openly state this disagreement. Rather, she incorporated his goal relating to parent participation as a high priority but did not establish any effective routines for its operationalization. She held on to her high priority goal of high achievement in reading and mathematics. She believed that some of her parents could not make their children behave in school well enough to progress at the expected rate; therefore, she usurped their parental prerogatives without their consent earning their animosity. Furthermore, she disagreed with her superiors on instructional methods and routines. When confronted about these disagreements, she relied on her established record of high achievement for support from her School C Family which included the parents of the advanced learners in her school and her School Board Representative. She insisted on using materials which had been rejected by the CCSS because she was convinced that for her learners these materials were superior to those chosen by the system. In contrast where the School A principal's hierarchical independence was buttressed by his cohesive community, the School C principal's hierarchical independence was weakened by her divided community. Resultingly, she used the solid support of her advanced learners' parents as a buffer against both central office and community opposition and the high structure of the school as a protection against any uncertainty within its technological core. Moreover, the School C Family concept incorporated the students into this core making them responsible for their success too.

The principal of School B was the least authoritarian of the three. She valued teacher professionalism and believed in delegating her authority to the teachers. Her goals, then, were developed by negotiation and bargaining with her faculty and were not different from those of the superintendent. Although she stated high achievement in reading as her goal, she displaced it with high growth and traded off the former for the latter. Her goals were also affected by her steady reliance on system approved external sources for supervision and altered by the needs of these sources. As a result, in spite of teachers' concerns about the effect of low reading skills on the ability of the children to solve word problems in mathematics, mathematics had a higher priority than reading in her management scheme because of the system's priorities for the Teachers' Corps and Project '81 programs in her building. She communicated with her parents through her formal structures, the PTA, cluster parent representatives, Title I and Headstart parent groups.

Administration and Supervision

The personal interests and seniority of the principals also affected their goal priorities. The exhibited willingness of the School A and School C principals to buck the system and to deviate from the low achieving norm for black schools was reinforced by their disinterest in promotion in the school system. Having accepted the possibility that they would not receive a promotion if they failed to cooperate with the central office personnel around the constraints of the system's rules and regulations, School A and School C principals showed no hesitation to question central office practices whenever necessary. These principals were loosely coupled with central office and tightly coupled with their faculties whereas there was always an expressed empathy for teachers on the part of the School B principal who overidentified with the principals of the low achieving black schools. She felt that somehow they had met their responsibilities because of an indication of growth even through unaccompanied by high achievement. Additionally, she followed the system's rules. This may have been an effect of her inexperience. School B data show a school hierarchically dependent on central office for direction and supervision. The School B principal's administrative style reflected two main principles: (1) collegiality and (2) specialization resulting in a principal who was loosely coupled with her faculty and community and tightly coupled with the central office on which she depended for instructional leadership and programs.

In contrast, the principals of Schools A and C both saw themselves as authoritarian although the degree differed. The School B principal did not. The former were firm overseers, strictly monitoring reading and mathematics achievement and teaching performance in their schools. The Schools A and C principals looked inward to the resources of their own faculties and staffs in problem solving searches. On the other hand, the School B principal mainly looked outward to system approved external agencies, resources and support networks, and was lax and/or erratic in oversight, monitoring and teacher evaluation although she used the union representative for reading administration and permitted specialization by teachers in their perceived areas of expertise when they requested such. The determination of these requests emanated from teachers and rarely was initiated by the principal. Having surrendered her decision-making prerogatives to teacher negotiation, she was often rendered ineffective.

None of the three principals used dominance or sheer authoritarian force to gain teacher compliance. The principals of Schools A and C obligated their teachers to them by assuming responsibility for discipline enforcement throughout the school and parental coordination and control. At School A, the principal was in contact with students nearly 90 percent of the school day. The emphasis on student advocacy permitted students to confer with him continuously, bringing their concerns, complaints and grievances. This provided the principal with a useful source of information about school business, teacher conduct and community affairs. This proved an effective control over teacher performance and compliance.

The School C principal obligated her teachers additionally by assuming responsibility for meeting with irate parents or those whose concerns created confrontations and conflicts with teachers. At School A the principal used the parents as a force to evaluate teacher performance, but he stood between the two groups as arbitrator and protector. His community activist role endeared him to the parents and they deferred school decisions to him. At School C, the principal used one group of parents as a buffer between herself and another group of parents who opposed her policies. She handled all discipline problems referred to her by teachers and requested referrals when she thought it necessary. At School B, the principal used neither obligation or dominance. She relied on teacher professionalism to force compliance and performance and expected the teachers to handle all discipline problems and parental conflicts , entering these cases only when an emergency or crisis arose.

At Schools A and C, the principals observed and visited classrooms daily. At 9:00 a.m. these two leaders "did the rounds." They walked or looked into every classroom to observe student and teacher conduct. Teachers and students were confronted if non-compliance with school rules or poor performance in school tasks was observed. At School B, the principal's visitation and observation schedule was erratic; and, when it did occur, was announced.

Teachers were loyal to the principals of Schools A and C. Their schools showed higher consensus around the Achievement and Discipline Scales on the Professional Staff Questionnaire (PSQ) than did School B. The most loyal teachers were at School C, showing the highest degree of consensus of the three schools. This consensus was translated into a general theme of reinforcement, regimentation and re-teaching for skill mastery in reading and mathematics and the necessity for discipline defined as routinized behavior developed by the students in compliance with this highest priority. As a consequence the school was characterized by tight coordination, strict control, practiced consistency in a highly structured environment. This high structure seemed to be required because of the divided community. Teachers operationalized this structure with two dominant modes of enforcement: strictly and sternly and affectionately and considerately. The latter mode seemed to be more successful in reaching the goals for both types of classes, accelerated and low achieving. Most classrooms at School C were highly structured where a unilateral teacher-student relationship characterized the interaction. In these classrooms strict adherence to the command-obedience structure was maintained. Regimentation, rote and drill techniques represented the typical teaching style and class discussions were kept at a minimum. Loose structure was not tolerated for long in School C. There were two loosely structured classrooms at School C during SY 1979-1980. Only one of these was a regular classroom; the other was a special subject. By SY 1981-1982, both teachers had moved, one by transfer and the other through retirement.

Table 76
School A: Structure and Achievement During the 1979-1980 School Year

Class	Enrollment	Achievement	Reading: Number Tested	Reading: Number On Grade Level	Reading: Percentage On Grade Level	Mathematics: Number Tested	Mathematics: Number On Grade Level	Mathematics: Percentage On Grade Level	Structure
106-1	22	Mixed	20	14	70	20	17	85	H
114-1	21	Mixed	21	15	71	21	14	66	F
108-2	22	Acc	22	21	96	22	20	91	H
208-2	20	Av	20	17	85	20	11	55	F
107-2	19	Lo	19	7	37	19	12	63	F
209-3	19	Acc	19	19	100	19	15	80	F
207-3	18	Av	18	12	66	18	6	33	L
206-3	17	Lo	17	7	41	17	6	35	F
204-4	20	Acc	20	18	90	20	18	90	F
210-4	22	Av	22	17	77	22	19	86	H
203-4	22	Lo	21	15	71	21	17	81	H
202-5	19	Acc	19	19	100	19	18	94	F
215-5	19	Av	19	7	37	19	10	53	L
213-5	15	Lo	15	13	86	15	13	86	F
Totals	275		272	201	74	272	196	72	

Acc-Accelerated
Av-Average
Lo-Low
Mixed-Accelerated, average and low
H-High structure
F-Flexible structure
L-Loose structure

Table 77

School B: Structure and Achievement During the 1979-1980 School Year

Class	Enrollment	Achievement	Reading Number Tested	Reading Number On Grade Level	Reading Percentage On Grade Level	Mathematics Number Tested	Mathematics Number On Grade Level	Mathematics Percentage On Grade Level	Structure
1.1	19	Acc/AV	19	19	100	19	19	100	F
1.2	12	Lo	12	3	25	12	6	50	L
2.1	19	Acc/Av	19	16	84	19	16	84	F
2.2	19	Lo	18	4	22	18	6	33	F
3.1	19	Acc/Av	18	14	77	18	16	88	F
3.2	19	Lo	19	0	0	19	10	52	F
4.1	13	Acc	13	7	54	13	9	69	L*
4.2	25	Lo	25	7	28	25	11	44	L**
5.1	8	Mixed	8	2	25	8	3	37.5	L*
5.2	24	Mixed	24	8	33	24	9	37.5	L
Total	177		175	80	45	175	105	60	

Acc-Accelerated
Av-Average
Lo-Low
Mixed-Accelerated, average and low
F-Flexible Structure
L-Loose Structure

* This class had a flexibly structured classroom for reading.

** This class had a flexibly structured classroom for mathematics.

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School C: Structure and Achievement During the 1979-1980 School Year

Class	Enrollment	Achievement	Reading			Mathematics			Structure
			Number Tested	Number On Grade Level	Percentage On Grade Level	Number Tested	Number On Grade Level	Percentage On Grade Level	
112-1	24	Acc	23	23	100	23	23	100	H-Affectionate
111-1	25	Lo	25	13	52	25	24	95	H-Strict
101-2	21	Acc	21	20	95	21	20	95	H-Affectionate
102-2	21	Lo	21	19	90	21	19	90	H-Affectionate
103-3	22	Acc	22	22	100	20	20	100	H-Strict
104-3	23	Lo	22	6	27	22	15	68	H-Strict
201-4	33	Acc	33	19	57	33	27	82	L-Strict*
215-4	27	Lo	24	3	12	24	9	37.5	H-Affectionate*
204-5	23	Acc	22	16	72	22	19	86	H-Affectionate
212-5	23	Lo	22	5	23	22	12	55	H-Strict
Total	242		235	146	62	233	188	81	

Acc-Accelerated
Lo-Low Achieving
H-High Structure
L-Loose Structure

* This class had a High Structure-Strict teacher for mathematics.

At School A, most of the classrooms reflected the flexible style of the principal. Flexible classrooms were characterized by firm but pliable structures where teachers and students shared reciprocal relationships as opposed to the unilateral of the highly structured rooms and the peer of the loosely structured. Teachers and students adapt to change easily and students are allowed to have different opinions which they can express. There are only two loose classrooms at School A. Of the 10 regular division classrooms at School B half were loosely structured and half flexible. There were no highly structured classrooms at School B.

Both principals at Schools A and C were directly involved in classroom operations, visiting these rooms daily, conferring with teachers on their observations regularly, monitoring reading and mathematics achievement routinely and implementing repertoires which checked pacing and progress toward the schools' goals of high achievement in reading and mathematics. Whereas the School B principal relied more on her notions of collegiality, teacher professionalism and specialization for setting standards of performance to meet these goals. Thus, this removal from classroom dynamics deprived the principal of information on the organization which she was trying to lead. This leadership created a lack of consensus and an absence of group solidarity at School B.

Discipline, Coordination and Control

Principals at Schools A and C saw themselves as disciplinarians in their respective schools. The School B principal formally disengaged herself from classroom disciplinary problems entering only when emergencies or crises arose. At Schools A and C, the principals established and operationalized formal routines for the acceptance and resolution of discipline cases in their schools. For instance, the School A principal developed the Socratic counseling routine wherein students engaged in self-analysis with him to change their own behavior; for the School C principal, an authoritarian routine emerged characterized by rewards and punishment. Denial of attendance at student preferred classes in special subjects, denial of privileges at lunchroom and dismissal, isolation, verbal harassment and reprimands were all modes of punishment permitted at School C. In both Schools, A and C, the principals had well known consequences for rule violators and each student knew that the office was a place of serious endeavor where more than likely you would have much more work assigned than would be given in the classroom. In School B, a trip to the office often meant a holiday from class work.

Some teachers used the office merely for isolation purposes, sending their students to it, and later picking them up without any intervention by the principal. In classrooms where chronic discipline problems existed, teachers consumed much instructional time handling situations caused by their presence.

In both Schools A and C, the office was the place for the coordination of the schools' business. Coordination facilitated the parts of the organization to work together. Coordination smoothly directed and integrated units of the organization. It fostered complementary interactions to reach clear targets. Coordination demanded sustained supervision and monitoring. Both Schools A and C principals developed several mechanisms for coordination and control: (1) daily rounds in the morning to determine classroom operation and control; (2) official business executed in the office, i.e. ordering supplies, conferring with the principal or the school clerk, getting the mail or messages, leaving the same, signing in and out; all visitors gained admission to the school through the office; (3) specified routines for referring students to the principal; (4) prompt handling of student and teacher discipline problems; (5) school memoranda and bulletins distributed regularly; (6) consistent monitoring of student achievement and teacher performance; (7) specific placement routines for student pacing and progress; (8) specific routines for parent involvement and visitation; (9) specific routines for teacher evaluation; and (10) well-developed networks for teacher help and assistance. The School B principal developed Items #9, and #10. In addition, School B had a school newspaper which was sent home bi-monthly.

In Schools A and C, teachers called the principal to notify him/her of their intended absences and the principals called for substitutes. This forced the teachers to inform and explain their absences directly to the principals. In School B, this task was delegated to the school clerk. In Schools A and C, a constant principal presence and the direct involvement of these principals in the affairs of the schools increased their sense of what was happening and the amount of information which they obtained. These principals received information first. Teachers were directed to keep them informed. Censure and sanctions resulted if this rule was unobserved. In School B, information often came to the principal last.

Both Schools A and C principals ran their schools for the students. School A operated on two very basic principles: (1) all students can learn; and (2) the school exists for the benefit of the students. School C stressed high achievement as the highest priority and operated from the context that every student at School C could master reading and mathematics skills at or above the national and/or city norms. School B operated on two main principles also: (1) collegiality, and (2) specialization. It was run by the teachers for the teachers. Principal intervention occurred through the use of external sources some of which were opposed by the teachers and disregarded. At Schools A and C, the principals interacted heavily with the students. The School A principal invested the greatest amount of time in this interaction. He talked with the children during all outdoor recesses, on arrival and departure to and from school, during lunch periods and in his office. Yet, he identified with his teachers and attempted to reconcile any conflicts which prevented the accomplishment of the goal of high achievement at his school. He assumed the responsibility of in-service for his teachers. The School C principal interacted with students on arrival and during departure from the school, in the corridors, washrooms and lunchroom, in the office and in the classrooms. She spent approximately fifty percent of her time interacting with students. She, too, provided in-service for her teachers individually when she felt it was needed.

One benefit of the high interaction between students and the Schools A and C principals was the opportunity it afforded to communicate high expectations to each student. Never a day ended that each had not stated to some child the necessity of completing work or achieving. Both principals assigned work to children in the office for rule violation and checked the work to be certain that the child was learning the lesson. Both principals learned to know the children well from these interactions which also helped them to be more familiar with the child's pacing and progress characteristics. The School B principal deprived herself of these benefits.

Both School A and School C principals conferred with their teachers about student performance and behavior. Both were interested in developing the highest potential possible for each student. To this end constant searches for processes to do this were considered with individual teachers and ancillary staff. To this end, School A opted for self-contained classrooms throughout the school's organization. School C chose to departmentalize the fourth and fifth grades. School C additionally used a supplementary reading series and grouped for mathematics in the intermediate grades in order to satisfy the perceived needs of the advanced learners or those on a faster track. School A had implemented the Parent Advisory Committee Program, An Attendance Program, A Monitoring Program and The Socratic Program. School B's processes, on the other hand, were mostly external: the Elementary Scholars' Program, Project '81, Teachers Corps, Imaginarium and the Supervisory Specialist although there were teacher subject exchanges in mini-team teaching arrangements.

School C developed its own placement routine for transfer students, not relying on the placement recommendations of sending schools. Moreover, it was the only school where the teachers agreed that skills were retaught whenever students did not pass the unit or level mastery tests in reading and/or mathematics. In an attempt to operationalize this routine, the school chose to use the RAC teacher as a reading clinician even though the position had been abolished by the central administration.

Teaching

What teachers did in the classrooms with the students was ultimately an important factor in the elevation of achievement in black poor schools. The predominant mode of teaching in Schools A and C differed in a minor way. While the classrooms at School C were highly structured, half of the teachers there were affectionate and considerate with the children which in a way more closely related to the flexible classroom situation at School A. Although the School C teachers demanded obedience without qualification and students there did not have the open permission of the principal to complain about teachers and other staff, the affectionate considerate teachers did allow their students to state their side of a dispute. Moreover, students were praised, parties were given on holidays and teachers laughed with the children over funny incidents. However, beyond a doubt, School C was a more regimented, controlled school. There were no highly structured classrooms at School B although one second grade class came closer than any to meeting the description. During SY 1979-1980 this teacher was ill and absent for three weeks during which time the class was held in an environment more flexible than previous.

At Schools A and C, teachers were conscious of the ethnic background, history and culture of their students and used materials reflecting this condition on the bulletin boards and in their lessons. This was a year round endeavor strongly approved by the principals. At School B one first grade teacher assumed the responsibility for generating this ethos among the teachers and often became very frustrated at the perceived lack of cooperation from the principal. Generally, teachers felt that the emphasis on Black History, Literature and Culture helped to maintain a positive self-image in their students.

Teachers at School C were the most cooperative with each other and School B teachers were the least. At all three schools there were cliques of teachers who worked together more than with others. At all three schools there were loners. The tightest network of support was at School C where the teachers had worked together as a unit longer and the least effective was at School B. At both Schools A and C, all of the teachers were responsible for all of the students. At School B, most teachers were responsible only for their own classes. Teachers at School C were the most consistent about the use of prep, ESEP and special subject class time for tutoring, small group instruction, remediation and compensatory work. Teachers at School A relied also on the principal for this extra time and School B teachers only made use of ESEP. At all three schools teachers stole time from special subjects, social studies and science for remediation, re-teaching and reinforcement in reading and mathematics.

In all three schools teachers had high expectations for the performance of their students except for one class of School C fourth graders whose progress seemed to be adversely affected by this attitude. Teachers were generally present and prompt in all three schools although there were teacher variations at School B. Some teachers were persistently tardy and others regularly left early especially on payday Fridays. Teachers kept meticulous lesson plans which were carefully followed at Schools A and C. Veteran teachers often did not have lesson plans at School B and a few seemed unprepared on some days.

Teachers were mostly concerned about covering the materials necessary for skill mastery in reading and mathematics. They made attempts to account for student variation in learning by re-grouping, reteaching and reinforcement which they felt was the key to mastery. Students who did not understand a concept or master a skill the first time were given many chances to do so. A variety of materials was available in most classrooms for this purpose. The management of the use of these materials varied from teacher to teacher according to the style and the discipline of the particular classrooms. The use of a multitude of materials generally occurred in highly structured classes where students were accustomed to following instructions and doing what they were told.

Over all, what seemed the most important effect on teachers was the climate of the school, the presence of the principal and the ability of teachers to devote the majority of their time in school to instruction. Wherever these three conditions were positive and functional, goal consensus occurred, high expectations for student achievement were held, and functional routines were implemented.

Reading

In all schools there was consensus around the importance and priority of achievement goals. In all schools teachers grouped students for reading with no more than three groups per class. Additionally, students were placed in groups according to reading achievement in the basal readers. In two schools, Schools A and B, only one basal reader was used, Ginn 360 with supplementary units of Ginn 720 used at Level 10. In addition to these in School C, the Lippincott reader was used with advanced readers at all grade levels. Reading was taught in the morning in all three schools except for one class, a fourth grade, at School C. Mathematics was taught in the afternoon except for one class, a fifth grade, at School A. Except at School C, whole group instruction was used to teach mathematics.

The dominant mode of teaching at all schools was the persistent pursuit of the lessons as outlined in the teachers' guide to the reading series. First, the concepts of the story were outlined with examples and children were familiarized with the basic theme of the story. Then vocabulary was developed and the words taught. Phonics lessons followed to teach children word attack skills. Then the story was read orally and silently after which workbook exercises were assigned, explained, and demonstrated by means of both teacher and student activities, executed by students as seatwork. Teachers usually began with their fastest groups. These groups also were permitted to choose and work on independent activities more. Slower groups generally received more direct instruction in most classes in all schools.

In Schools A and C, each reading group received the maximum amount of time in direct instruction except for one fifth grade at School A where the teacher was new and the fourth and fifth grades at School C due to departmentalization which required movement at specific times disallowing teacher manipulation of schedules. At School B, some reading groups did not receive direct instruction more often due to disciplinary problems. The tendency to take the slowest groups last thereby penalized the students least able to tolerate neglect when there was not enough time for all groups to receive direct instruction. Moreover, in School B the least experienced teachers in the lower grades received the slower groups for instruction doubling the penalty.

Each child was taken through each activity and skill category whether she/he needed the instruction or not. Each child was also tested with each unit and level test. No attempt was made by teachers to use the MAT achievement scores to make teaching decisions. In one case at School A where the observer noted that one student had scored significantly higher in reading on the MAT than his basal reader placement warranted, the principal ordered the child tested with the basal reader level test immediately. The teacher thought that every child needed to do every activity and take every test consecutively in spite of the MAT score.

This practice is reflected in the percentages of students who perform at the norms in reading but who are behind the norms in the basal reader. See Table 79. School A comes closest in the first grade to parity where 63 percent of the children finished the first grade readers, Level 5 and 6 in the Ginn Basal Reader Series 360, and 71 percent reached the national and/or big city norms in reading. Nowhere else does this occur. In School C, 93 percent of the second graders reached the norm in reading on the MAT but only 26 percent completed both second grade readers in the Ginn series. School A's slightly larger percentage of students in the correct graded placement in the basal reader may account for its larger percentage of students at the norm in grades 4 and 5. The principal's intervention here in the testing process to correct pacing and progress may be something to consider. However, the methodical pursuit of the reading program's objectives may also contribute to high achievement.

At School B, and School C, some teachers tend to drag out the activities for busywork, prolonging the time a student must attend to a given level particularly at the end of the school year. This holds accelerated readers back and keeps them behind schedule. One teacher at School B said that she was reviewing the second grade mathematics even though her students had mastered these skills sufficiently. A School C teacher said that her students were ready for the second grade Lippincott reader, but she could not take them ahead without damaging the second grade instructional program. This trend together with the tradition of not sending reading books and workbooks home for homework militate against keeping students on schedule in the basal reader. At School A, none of these practices persisted.

The integration of the RAC and MAC programs into the school's regular instructional schedule often poses a problem. Students may miss the regular instruction to go to these classes. At School A, for instance, MAC classes were held in the afternoon when most of the mathematics instruction occurred. At School C, RAC was held in the morning when most of the reading instruction was planned. Teachers must hold their groups to include these students. This postponement is another factor leading to taking the slower groups last.

At School C all teachers were skilled in teaching reading. There were no novices. At School A there was one teacher who had no skills in the teaching of reading. This was her first year teaching and her preference was the teaching of mathematics. The principal indicated a desire to let her go before the next school year. At School B, there were more teachers who did not possess skills in the teaching of reading. One recourse was to delegate this responsibility to one third grade teacher who had such skills. The principal sought the help of the supervisory specialist to aid the other teachers. One teacher at School B preferred to teach Spelling and Language Arts (English) and did so at the expense of reading instruction. Generally, at School B, teachers made their own decisions about how much time to spend on reading. This decision was most directly reflected in the MAT reading scores of May, 1980.

Persistently slow learners require more reinforcement and reteaching; consequently, teachers must steal time from other subjects in order to achieve reading skill mastery. At all three schools, teachers usually stole time from social studies and science to satisfy this need. At Schools A and C teachers used their prep periods to reteach and reinforce. This meant that the students missed their special subjects. This did not occur at School B as often, probably due to the presence of the union official overseeing compliance with the union agreement which called for five prep periods per week for elementary school teachers.

Teachers at all three schools kept children after school during the ESEP period for tutoring and discipline. The decline in the number of students at grade level in reading at the fourth grade level in School C is probably due to departmentalization and its restriction on the manipulation of class time and usage. Reading seems to require more direct instruction in groups than mathematics does. The grouping requirement demands more time in the schedule. Under the grouping mandate, for three groups to receive the minimum of 8 periods of instruction a week, 180 minutes of school time must be allocated for reading each day alone. Reading occurs, then, from 8:40 until 11:40 each school morning. Schools A and C teachers devoted considerably more time than this.

Obviously, classroom management skills are required to conduct what one School C teacher described as her "three ring circus reading program." The teacher must conduct one activity while children are executing others. She/he must know how to keep order, answer questions, carry on a lesson, pace and progress all at the same time. Inexperienced teachers are confused often by these many demands on them and their time. Without the assistance of the principal with severe discipline problems, their survival is questionable and learning can not take place.

Lesson plans are required at Schools A and C. Teachers were prepared for each lesson and were knowledgeable about the content and skills they were teaching. At School B teachers were observed without their lesson plans. Disturbingly, teachers with the most building seniority often displayed unprepared instruction in reading and mathematics. Wasting preparation time twice in the day institutionalized instructional inefficiency strongly aided already by disciplinary problems.

At School A and C teachers often used prep periods and ESEP time for student tutoring, disciplinary counseling, and remedial instruction to small groups. More often than not, teachers of slower reading groups detained them after school hours to explain homework necessary for reinforcement. This disparate use of prep time by the teachers in Schools A and C compared to School B indicates that reconsideration should be made of this special allocation of precious time in the school schedule. Teachers in the high achieving schools seem to need that time for small group instruction, while teachers in the low achieving school may squander it.

The Basal Reading Series

In all three schools teachers complained about the gap between the Levels 10 and 11 in the Ginn Basal Reading Series 360. Their comments indicated that the difficulty between the two levels is very great. In Grade 4 Level 11 is the assigned reader to be used across the entire year while previously there had been two readers for each grade, one for each semester. Moreover, the pacing for previous readers had been faster, permitting students to go from story to story at intervals sufficiently short to hold interest. With Level 11, pursuit of the objectives took too long, forcing teachers and students to deal with story content long after interest had waned. Additionally, there were several students in fourth grade who needed to repeat Level 10 because they were unable to master the Level 11 skills at both School A and School C. The teachers were permitted to use the Ginn 720 series for that level.

Kindergarten teachers were generally discontented with the Ginn Levels from 1 through 3. They complained that these exercises and the content were generally too easy and they did not feel that they should be confined to the schedule determined for them by the series. In all schools the children were behind in the basal reader when they arrived in the first grade. However, at Schools A and C, first grade teachers pushed their children through five and often six levels of basal reading in one school year. School A was most successful in this endeavor, no doubt due to its most unorthodox kindergarten teacher who often was at odds with the first grade program at School A. She had her own checklist of skills and pursued her own schedule of activities which she determined important to the mastery of reading in first grade. Indeed, she agreed with the principal that the self-image of her children was the first priority and their belief in themselves and the fact that they could learn. She was the most successful of the three kindergarten teachers observed and 63 percent of her charges completed the first grade basal reading program in the first grade.

School C developed a program for advanced readers in the Ginn 360 series. In first grade, accelerated readers who completed Level 6 in Ginn were placed in the Lippincott Reader of the same level. If the student was successful in this reader, he continued in it throughout his or her school life. This program was a source of student models for other children and a prime motivating factor in reading achievement. The Lippincott readers often performed for lower achieving classes by reading stories to them or by performing plays and skits.

As can be seen in Table 79 the basal reading pacing problem is severe in all schools. School A is the only school which manages to get over half of its students in the right reader at the appropriate grade level in first and second grade where 63 percent and 52 percent of the students complete both graded readers during the school year. This may be due to the freedom of teachers to: (1) send reading books and workbooks home for completion, and (2) permit students to take level and unit tests before they have completed the units and levels when other accomplishments indicate to the teacher that the student has already mastered the skills.

At Schools B and C neither of these options are available to teachers. Children are taken through the steps methodically and mechanically even though they may show that they have skills beyond the level assigned. Moreover, at Schools B and School C accelerated readers are detained when they could go ahead. There is fear that such options would increase the reading groups per class and damage the routines established for the conduct of the reading program. The high degree of consensus and the centralized control of students and parents at School C probably increased the amount of time available to teachers to overcome these restrictions. At School B there was no such protection.

The decline in the percentages of students at grade level on the MAT in Grades 4 and 5 at School C may be due to the time consumed by departmentalization passing requirements. The movement of children from room to room for classes uses time ordinarily reserved by teachers for direct instruction in reading and mathematics in the lower grades. Also, curriculum changes in the third grade mandate other subject time allocations. The School A principal opted for self-contained classrooms for these reasons. This may be a good idea when considering the time needs of teachers in the teaching of reading.

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Table 79

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS AT OR ABOVE GRADE LEVEL IN THE BASAL READERS AND ON THE MAT

	Basal Reader	MAT	
	June 1980	May 1980	
		Reading	Math
SCHOOL A			
Grades:			
1	63	71	75
2	52	74	70
3	35	70	50
4	25	79	86
5	34	73	77
SCHOOL B			
Grades:			
1	.3	71	80
2	0	54	59
3	.2	38	70
4	31	37	52
5	25	31	37.5
SCHOOL C			
Grades:			
1	49	75	98
2	26	93	93
3	22	63	83
4	16	38	63
5	11	48	70

There does not seem to be a correlation between the basal reader and the MAT reading achievement scores. Teachers rarely use the latter for any kind of teaching prescription. The unit and level tests in the basal readers are used to determine the prescription. Therefore, more attention needs to be given to perceived deficiencies in this series and counterproductive practices regarding reading seatwork and homework, especially around denying the reader and its companion workbook for such use. In School B some teachers assign homework which is never reviewed or corrected and returned to the students. The work is merely checked in. In these cases the teacher is concerned with the process and not the substance of the students' work.

Additionally, data from this study suggest that attempts should be made to recruit teachers who understand how to teach reading for elementary school teaching. The assignment of teachers who cannot or do not want to teach reading appears to be a severe handicap. In such cases where this does occur, such as in the fifth grade at School A, and in several grades at School B, in-service training should be mandated for these teachers. The use of knowledgeable teachers already in the school setting builds consensus. In School C, teachers served as team leaders and taught new teachers how to teach the basal reading series used in the school. In Schools A and B the supervisory specialist did this job.

Teacher discretion regarding the amount of time to be used in the teaching of reading needs monitoring in order to secure uniformity and maximum use. This did occur in Schools A and C, but did not occur in School B. Here every teacher had independent emphases, directions and desires. By exercising them, they left students on their own over five years to figure out uniformity and to improve academic acquisitions.

Mathematics

Mathematics had a higher priority in School B than in the other two schools because of the goals of the Teachers' Corps program established there. Improving mathematics was its objective. Every grade in Schools A and C reached the Centre City or national norm in mathematics and every grade except the fifth arrived there in School B. Mathematics was taught by whole group instruction in every school except School C, and, usually in the afternoon. In the fourth and fifth grades at School C students were placed in three groups in each of the four classes. Accelerated learners in School C used Addison-Wesley materials also.

The regular textbook, (Heath Series), was used to teach the concepts and skills in mathematics. Most teachers seemed pleased with these books. Instruction generally involved lecture-demonstration activities done by both teacher and students in a variety of forms using seatwork, boardwork, homework and independent games. Over grade levels, math continuity registered. In method, the student centered explanation of steps for problem solving worked. The copious exercise format produced skill mastery. Yet, the ceilings on expected achievement were alarmingly low. This occurred most emphatically on word problems at School B. By not tackling this issue, the staff discouraged and suppressed a possible achievement path.

Teachers at School C spent more time on the development of concepts and understanding of the meaning of numbers, place value, and infinity than those at the other two schools. More demonstrations of meaning were incorporated into lessons and more attempts were made to relate the concepts to the everyday lives of the children. Popsicle sticks were used as counters; children made place value pockets in art class. Emphasis on reading encouraged the use of word problems in vocabulary development. The issue was not avoided.

Teachers at School A followed the student centered, copious exercise format described above, but the principal's intervention with students who were not performing up to snuff encouraged them to do better.

"Do you know that your ancestors built the Pyramids, Man?" he asked one student who had failed his math test. "They were the greatest mathematicians in the world."

This principal also spent a great deal of time teaching students about mathematics whenever they were sent to the office for incomplete work.

Teachers in School B felt that scores on the MAT did not reflect true mathematical ability because of the absence of word problems on the test. The reading priority once again struck home. The school district's present emphasis on the mathematics instruction in the Monitoring Achievement Program may be another instance of setting improper goals for students.

The descriptive data on students at School B indicated that reading was the highest achievement problem for most of the student body. That data was at the finger tips of the school district, local school administrators and individual teachers. For all of the children, results show a maximum of eight months growth for eight months instruction, more or less. That worked only for the children starting on grade level. If sizeable fractions of the student body were off, one needed more than those eight months growth to put them on grade level. This clear fact meant that reading superceded math in importance.

Special Subjects

In all three schools, special subjects are considered of secondary importance in the instructional program. This relegates them to an inferior symbolic universe and does irreparable harm to student motivation and teacher inspiration in these areas. Generally, these teachers have accepted their plight and agree that the teaching of reading and mathematics is more important. Yet, they know that creativity is central to humanism and the human being must provide for these experiences in his/her life. The kindergarten teachers at School A and School C were most aware of this fact. The School A teacher said that a child needed someplace where he/she could just go and pound some clay on the table once in a while. The School C teacher felt that she had not done her best that year because she had not provided enough creative experiences for her children.

The need for more time for more reinforcement and reteaching forces teachers to use special subject time for this purpose. Unless other options are available to teachers trying to deal with this disadvantage this undesirable practice will continue. Some thought should be given to the design of such options. Moreover, school systems should rethink the imposition of additional programs on already overburdened time schedules in schools heavily populated with black and poor children.

Special Education

In all three schools there was a reluctance to place students in Special Education, especially the EMR and LD/BI divisions. High expectations were held by the teachers for the students' performances. In all three schools the teachers felt that their children could and would achieve and reach the national norms on the MAT in reading and mathematics. These expectations precluded special education placement until teachers and the principal were certain beyond a doubt that the child was irretrievable by them from that classification.

A few teachers felt that this tendency obstructed the early placement of children who were truly retarded or unable to learn in the traditional classroom setting under normal circumstances in their respective schools. Although no disruptors were tolerated or permitted in Schools A and C, instances of this kind did occur at School B. In two classes of School B, a single child disrupted the entire class during the entire year without removal. Therefore, some teachers at School B felt that the system failed to deal with these children adequately. School B housed the Elementary Scholars' Program, but it did not have an EMR or LD/BI division. Teachers felt thwarted in student placement. School A and C housed such divisions although few of their children were assigned to them. These observations are important for understanding the increase in the placement of black poor children in special education divisions in schools where the administration and/or teachers have abdicated their responsbility for maintaining discipline.

Teacher Consensus

Teacher consensus was studied in two different ways. First, the responses to the Professional Staff Questionnaire (PSQ) were counted to determine the number of teachers who agreed or disagreed. Then, these responses were aggregated to see how many responded the same way in either direction. Consensus was defined as a condition of concord or harmony giving a sense of unity. This was set at a higher level than mere majority. Sixty to 69 percent was arbitrarily set as the lowest level of consensus. Responses showing agreement from 70 percent to 89 percent were called middle range consensus; and those from 90 to 100 percent were called high consensus. Then the number of items which received a level of consensus higher than 60 percent was counted. School C showed the highest level of consensus on all scales, demonstrating a mid-range or higher level in each. School C teachers agreed on 89 percent of the items in the Achievement scale, 70 percent in the Discipline scale, 72 percent in both Parent Community Relations and Administration and Supervision, and 83 percent in Teaching and Teacher Autonomy. School A teachers agreed on 75 percent of the items in the Achievement scale, 71 percent in Discipline, 66 percent in Administration and Supervision, 59 percent in Teaching and Teacher Autonomy and only 52 percent in Parent and Community Relations. School B teachers showed a low level of agreement

(66 percent) on the Achievement scale, 59 percent in Teaching and Teacher Autonomy, 58 percent in Parent and Community Relations, 55 percent in Discipline and only 36 percent in Administration and Supervision.

The second study involved doing a cluster analysis of the responses to the PSQ by school and in aggregate. This involved measuring the distance between the responses of the individuals to determine association. Clustering ordinarily refers to homogeneous groups within a sample or population. For this discussion, cluster analysis examined types and compositions of groups at various levels of homogeneity. The schools are discussed under two separate topics. The first topic is tightest grouping. The second involved the largest reasonable inclusion of various factions into the largest and best representative single grouping at some firm level of similarity if that is at all possible. Tightest grouping, then, represented well defined factions whose orientations reflected strong agreements over the five proposed goals before them. The largest inclusive grouping, i.e. the best single large group that supplied negotiated consensus among tighter subgroups, assembled the truest representative fulcrum of opinion of the optimum possible coalition.

Goal Importance Within The Tightest Grouping in all three Schools, A, B, and C

Among all faculty in the three schools, three tight clusters formed. Only one had any significance since two small clusters had too few members to be a serious grouping. Consequently, only the larger cluster with seventeen members represented a trend if we mixed all three faculties together to measure their likenesses or differences. This large cluster had two well defined subsets. A subset of eleven members combined into a strong coalition of Schools B and A, with School B dominating the cluster. Another subset of seven members pulled together Schools C and A, with School C as the dominant member. With each subset, the School A faculty more easily shared overlapping characteristics tightly with School B and independently could easily identify with either group, while School C and School B had faculties with polar opposite tendencies.

Moreover, the final configuration from the two homogeneous subsets formed a large set of 17 members. Relatively, this is the largest, closely grouped set at a very high and tight level of agreement or 30 percent of the respondents. Across all three schools, the largest, very tight group stressed discipline as the foremost priority. Without hesitancy, this was the highest goal expectation. Achievement and parent/community relations were valued the same as paired priorities with second ranking. Administration/supervision and teaching/teacher autonomy occupied the cellar as twins. Discipline produced high, strong positive agreement among the largest congruent group, distributed evenly across all three schools, among the closest 17 faculty members. A slightly less, strong positive agreement influenced their paired pick of achievement and parent/community relations as desirable second goal priorities. When this tightly knit seventeen member cluster acquired five more members later, it will lose precision in selecting secondary goals and clump together the secondary goals into a close set of four remaining no-disciplinary goals.

The two smaller factions held different priorities. They agreed less on achievement as a top goal. But they were strongly secure in espousing discipline and administration and supervision as their best picks for the top goals. Although the three basic clusters differed at the tightest, harshest level for agreement, the smaller clusters were heavier on discipline and administration than the dominant cluster but all three shared strong orientations toward discipline as a top concern.

Goal Agreement

At the most inclusive and adequately homogenous level, that data produced four factions. Three were trivial and only one was sufficiently large and representative (with 23 members across all three schools or 42 percent). Of the 55 members across all three schools, the trivial clusters captured six, five and four members respectively. Their small size at the broadest inclusive level for sufficiently homogenous grouping redundantly reflected their trivial case status.

Nevertheless, the trivial cases, capturing a fifth of all teachers in three different groups, emphasized discipline and administration/supervision in one array, achievement, discipline and parent/community concerns in another and discipline, administration/supervision and teaching and teacher autonomy respectively. These priorities failed to gain a following tightly and precisely committed to these preferences. Nevertheless, all three trivial clustering highly praised discipline as a goal and concurred on administation/supervision as a higher second goal preference over achievement concerns. The trivial cases, considered as one cluster instead of three separate small groups, shared stronger intensity and commitments toward discipline goals than the larger, more representative cluster of 23 members, which ranked discipline as its top goal. Meaningful overlapping occurred between the trivial cases and the dominant representative cluster on discipline as a top priority.

Goal Importance

Since the trivial cases, by their demographic size and unrepresentative inclusions among all schools, can be dismissed, the best approximation for sentiments and opinions is the biggest cluster with 23 members: seven from School A, seven from School B and nine from School C. This distribution of members from all three schools is highly representative for the school as a unit of input. Hence, no one school was overrepresented in this largest possible agreement block at some potent level of homogeneity before thinning cut-down meaningful group thickness. This representative size of school units pulled no less than a third of all faculty members from each school and eventually reached forty two percent of all teachers. Size, blend and composition across schools clearly marked this dominant cluster as the only grouping of serious non-unanimous opinion widely shared (i.e., their goals had representative diffusion and presence in all schools) and as widely as can be shared among these faculty members across all three schools (i.e., their goals and optimum consensus across these three school settings).

Consequently, this group's preference represents the best collective consensus about goal importance across all three settings. That preference stressed discipline as top priority and parent/community relations as last priority. The remaining goals---achievement, administration/supervision and teaching/teacher autonomy---carried equal weight, interlocking status and second place. The interlocking status suggests little differentiation among the group's member for anyone of these goals. The clustering algorithm also points to strong importance among all goals for this group.

Goal Ranking

Similarly, the rankings stayed within good boundaries for retaining firm homogeneity within a group. But similarities occurred with different intensities. Discipline had no rival.

It was top and alone. While the bottom goal is somewhat clear, it just barely separated from the middle goals. In fact, its razor thin separations in this large group with less than a majority cautions for its inclusion within the second cluster.

This would slightly reorder rankings. Discipline would be on top. But the second rank would hold four goals with equal weight and value. This in turn, points to strong goal preferences around the first set of goals, inability to differentiate among secondary goals and equally strong goal ambivalence about goals, their place across all schools and their usefulness for discerning intended preferences or practical outcomes.

Because there is little precious hierarchical arrangement of goals in the second set, discipline, by default, inherits the leading place as the clearest goal the most representative group across all three schools can agree on. With the exception of placing parent/community relations in the cellar, the broadest inclusive group could not choose what is more important among achievement, administration/supervision and teaching/teacher autonomy as goals. Partly, this pointer suggests unsystematic treatment and marginal utility of these goals as working maps for small scale objectives and bigger building blocks for intended outcomes by clear systematic strivings. These second set goals may have a place as big boundaries and guides. But only discipline management really behaves as a systematic compass to orient behavior among most across all three settings.

Where achievement, administration/supervision or teaching/teacher autonomy have meaningful roles, they occur because of special attention and concerted emphasis rather than any clear cut shared value for them. That attention or unrelenting emphasis points to patterns of leadership and support for these goals, planted and nursed within the discrete settings themselves. Such leadership and support frameworks distinguished when any of these schools seriously attended to these three competing goals and for what reasons. On their own merit, these preferences would not surface and influence true goals and their successful achievement since they required calculated management before a hesitant group in these schools actually chose them meaningfully and hierarchically.

Cluster Analysis Conclusions

Across all schools, a meaningful cluster with representative membership did form. That cluster retained sufficient homogeneity to express a cohesive view. Internal cohesion within that cluster in turn, best gauged non-unanimous opinions in the largest possible group across all schools. With this proxy measure of what is truly shared by most faculty in these three settings, only discipline surfaced as a strongly shared goal orientation. Parent/community matters tended to be at the bottom of goal preferences. That though must be considered against the much harder problem for the most representative faculty across schools. That problem is clearly marking and emphatically stressing equally valued and attractive goals from the remaining list: achievement; administration/supervision or teaching/teacher autonomy. This group failed to differentiate, select and rank competing secondary goals. Instead they clumped together all four remaining goals with marginal distances between them. (Only the drastic distance between the top and bottom facilitated a clear comparison of unquestionable choice between extremes.) Reluctance and hesitance to prioritize competing goals pointed to specific setting features precipitating selection, emphasis and implementation of any of the remaining four goals. Within each setting, leadership and support patterns for goals determined what goals, in this competing constellation after discipline, mattered and which ones would guide intentional outcomes. Only setting features facilitated repression or expression of valued but ambivalent goals--other than the strong bent for discipline.

Another two tier goal selection pattern reappeared. In the first tier---the strongly homogeneous grouping of seventeen members who composed the nucleus of the dominant cluster---discipline was the singular first goal and achievement and parent/community relations were clumped secondary goal preferences. Yet, the most inclusive level, with 23 members, only discipline survived as a shared consensus across schools. Parent/community relations dropped to the cellar. Achievement, in turn, gravitated around administration/supervision and teaching/teacher autonomy. At the widest level of shared agreement, the sufficiently homogeneous cluster of 23 members, proportionately well distributed across all three schools, split goals into two constellations: a singular discipline emphasis and grouping of four remaining goals--with the possible separation of the last goal from this array since its incremental distance drastically differed form the first goal, the item of highest consensus. The contradictory secondary grouping displayed general ambivalence toward all three or four clumped goals in the second grouping. This pointed to setting features which strongly valued and marked, selected and expressed competing priorities in some well preferred ranking. This choice would not be easy, the representative grouping across all schools suggests. In fact, it is easier to select and decide only in medium clusters of strong homogeneity and lower membership density across all three schools. Nevertheless, every school looked at alone ranked the five goals.These rankings then expressed strongly grounded situational emphases. Only discipline superceded context as a prime goal which, among these teachers, would be first anyway.

In short, if all the teachers in these three schools were considered as belonging to one big school, they would be clear about discipline as a real important first goal. They would attend to parent/community relations last. They would split hairs on what they really wanted among the rest. Hence, it is only the local school contexts that produced meaningful selection and variation among goals from a group that shared only a strong discipline bent in common. Through this long circuitous cluster analysis, it can be suggested that the school in which you placed these teachers determined what really was important and shared, largely because of the specific characteristics of the setting. The environment was shaping the unit's goals, not the goals shaping the environment of the unit school. What was important, shared and stressed was a local, home-grown product... largely dependent on the school's leadership.

The Community and the Parents

All three principals differ in their relationship with their communities. The School A principal extends the school program into the community. He is a part of the community and concerned about its development because he believes that whatever affects the community will affect the school. The School C principal isolates her school from the community creating the School C Family which is a substitute for the community. Within this buffer spanning mechanism, she substitutes the School C Family values for the School C community's values. The School B principal views the community from a public relations aspect, developing a positive image of the school. As a result, she did not enjoy the support of the community and the family for discipline inside the school as did the School A principal nor did she develop a strong internal structure for dealing with discipline as did the School C principal. Consequently, discipline remained a problem at the school.

The School Family

The extended family concept of School A is based on the assumption that the parents should be knowledgeable about what happens in school and must be equipped to evaluate these happenings. School C, on the other hand, implements an isolated family composed of the students, faculty and principal of School C together with the parents of advanced and conforming students, designated to affirm and uphold the values and rules of the school, to back up the teachers and principal and to participate along the lines which the latter develop. Both Schools A and C want to acquire the cooperation of the parents. School A wants the guidelines to be mutually developed; School C wants to create the plan. In School A parents are all welcome and parental involvement is solicited. In School C unsolicited parental cooperation is unwelcome and discouraged. However, in both schools, the principals function as buffers between their faculties and the community, stand off any confrontations and arbitrate all conflicts for their teams. In School A's community the principal enjoys widespread respect and deference; in School C's community, the parents are divided and/or ambivalent. There is some ambivalence in the School B community around the principal also. But, generally, except for a small core of support centered around the lunchroom staff of the school, the parents are indifferent.

Chapter VIII: Reflections and Interpretations: What Does This All Mean?

The high achieving black school is an abashing anomaly in any public school system and not the result of ordinary organizational routines. In fact, it forces the system to explain the existence of low achieving black schools and raises questions about standard operating procedures and policies which allow such schools to operate. This study attempted to answer two questions: (1) What organizational factors produced high achievement in reading and mathematics in three predominantly black schools as reflected by the attainment of scores on standardized tests at or above the national and/or city norms by a majority of the student body of the school? and (2) What were the differences between the study schools if any? Following will be a brief statement of the answers to these questions and a discussion of what we think these findings mean.

The Setting for the Creation of the Anomaly

These anomalies were set in motion by the following organizational factors:

1. The recruitment and selection of a moderately authoritarian principal who believed that black poor students could and would learn.
2. The willingness of this principal to take the risk of differing with the system's norm of low achievement for black poor schools. He or she dared to be different in order to create the anomaly.
3. The mobilization of consensus among school and community actors around high achievement as the highest priority goal.
4. The generation of a climate of high expectations for student achievement conducive to teaching and learning.
5. The choice of functional routines, scenarios and processes for the achievement of this highest priority.
6. The willingness to disagree with superior officers around the choices of these routines and their implementation.

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The Essential Functional Routines

The organizational output depends on the routines, scenarios and processes in place at the time. The following seem to be the most important in maintaining the anomaly of a high achieving predominantly black elementary school.

1. The assumption of responsibility for all student attendance, discipline and parental conflict through the publication of processes to be followed when violations, infractions confrontations occur and prompt enforcement of same with selective sanctions.

2. The rigorous supervision of teacher and staff performance and daily visitations of classrooms and programs.

3. The consistent monitoring of students' reading and mathematics skill mastery progress.

4. The use of staff and teacher expertise, skills, information and knowledge to conduct problem directed searches for the resolution of school concerns and dilemmas.

5. The involvement of parents in some participatory and meaningful way in the school's program.

6. The prompt evaluation of teacher and staff performances and the provision of assistance, help and in-service where necessary; however, the rating of performances as unsatisfactory where warranted, including persuading such teachers to transfer in spite of central office resistance.

7. The establishment of the school's office as the central business command post from which are communicated routines which control information and coordinate school activities.

8. The implementation of a horizontal organization based on some kind of reading skill mastery grouping determined by criterion referenced tests with no more than three reading groups per class within which arrangement grouping and re-grouping for mathematics is permitted; teacher assignments are dictated by teacher expertise with a particular kind of learner rather than on

teacher desire; self-contained classrooms modified by some kind of nongrading and team teaching are the norm; a reading clinician provides support for the diagnosis of student problems related to pacing and progress; and classroom structures are high but moderated by affection and consideration.

9. The expansion of the school day by using prep, ESEP, special subject, social studies and science periods for tutoring and small group instruction for students who need reinforcement, re-teaching and remediation.
10. The demand for the use of materials which prove functional for elevating achievement when such are not approved by the Board of Education, especially in the areas of phonics, Black History, Culture and Literature and mathematics word problems.
11. The denial of student placement in EMR divisions unless all strategies for regular learning occur and have been exhausted.
12. The refusal to accept system programs which consume administration and supervision time normally given to the regular program.

What Are The Implications?

For many people these findings probably seem simple and direct. They may wonder why principals would have to take a risk to create a high achieving school and why they would have to disagree with superiors in order to acquire functional materials and establish functional routines. Some of these differences result from the negotiation away of principals' prerogatives in teacher union contracts. Others result from the system's belief in the inferiority of black people and the inability of these students to learn in the regular school program.

Historically and commonly, decision-making in school systems has been and continues to be hierarchical. Boards of education set policy and superintendents determine programs and directives. Lower administrative echelons are informed and held accountable for implementation. Generally, teachers are involved through their unions or educational associations and parents and students are excluded from this decision-making. Actually, the community control movement resulted from such exclusion and black parents saw principals and teachers as the key personnel in the educational performance of their children. They wanted to hold these personnel accountable and consequently sought the power to hire and fire them. The teachers' unions won this battle, but the need for the decentralization of authority remained, especially for schools serving black poor populations.

The Decentralization of Authority

The principals in this study reflect this need and sought to fill it by exerting their own hierarchical independence. They were loosely coupled with central office, and they decided that they would make the decisions about how their schools operated. Within the constraints of the administrative structure of the Centre City School System (CCSS), they were willing to take the risk of non-promotion and censure. In effect, they decentralized the CCSS by flattening the decision-making base and usurping some administrative prerogatives reserved for their superiors. In exchange for the loyalty and support of their teachers, these principals assumed the responsibility for student discipline and parental conflict. They made attempts to share their influence and power with parents and teachers who worked with them for goal achievement, thereby generating consensus.

The routines which they implemented profoundly affected the curriculum designed by the Board of Public Education (BPE). For example, they used materials rejected by the BPE because these materials proved most effective with their black students. They used teaching positions for functions no longer approved by the BPE because these functions were needed to elevate achievement for their students. They encouraged parents to protest system practices and policies perceived by them as unfair and/or unjust. They emphasized flexible time sequences, permitting teachers to use special subject, prep. ESEP, social studies and science periods for reinforcement and reteaching in defiance of BPE rules and union contracts. They discouraged teachers from dumping black poor slow learners into Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) classes until they were certain that such a placement was educationally sound. These principals evaluated their teachers after rigorously monitoring their performances based on student achievement, growth and progress. When teachers failed to improve, the principals urged them to transfer or receive an unsatisfactory rating. Because of the loyalty, solidarity and consensus among the other teachers, unsatisfactory teachers generally chose to leave.

Hierarchical independence was exhibited by both of the principals in the highest achieving study schools. This suggests that principals need more decentralized authority in decision-making over curriculum defined as everything which is taught, how it is taught and how this is all managed and administered in a school. However, all principals do not have the same dedication, commitment, skill and knowledge. Since no two schools are alike either, no one management scheme will fit all cases and apply equally to every situation. For example, the Superintendent implemented a research-based supervisory model during SY 1981-1982. This program required the principal to make three teacher visits per week, to make an anecdotal record of each visit and to hold a conference with the teacher subsequently in order to improve instruction. Moreover, each principal had to implement the model's training program which required teaching the model guidelines to the faculty. These guidelines concerned lesson planning, classroom management and lesson presentation. Teachers were to demonstrate the model to the principal after the training. Certainly some principals need this training, but such a model hardly seems relevant to one study school where the teachers have been working together for 16 years and whose principal knows each one well and where the achievement scores of a majority of the students have exceeded or reached the norms for at least seven years. If the model is research-based, it should have emerged from the data provided by these exceptional school actors. Here is a principal who has been making daily visitations, now confined to only three by the school system. Here are teachers who are experts in classroom management, lesson planning and presentation forced to consume their time with a model which may be less effective than what they are already doing.

While the performances of principals need to be improved and evaluated on a more consistent basis using student achievement as one important criterion, more study needs to be made of the individual school units to determine what kind of help these leaders need. Where the principals exhibit sharp skills and expertise in the elevation of achievement especially with hard-to-teach populations, more decision-making authority should be given to them around curriculum, teacher recruitment and assignment, teacher evaluation and transfer and parental involvement and participation. Additionally, these principals need to be directly involved in goal setting and planning for other similar schools and in the determination of the horizontal and vertical organizations. A mutuality of effort among parents, administrators, community, teachers and students is absolutely necessary to set and subsequently achieve educational goals in a coherent and orderly fashion; therefore, every support should be given to principals seeking to build this kind of consensus in their school communities. Once these principals and schools are located, research units could be placed in them to observe, study and analyze the routines, scenarios and processes employed to elevate achievement and improve instruction. This would produce a real research based supervisory model.

For example, the Superintendent implemented a mathematics monitoring achievement program during SY 1981-1982. Students were pretested and posttested on prearranged skills. Between testings, teachers were instructed to teach the designated skills. Such a program had been in effect at two study schools for several years. A Teacher Corps' project stressing learning mathematics skills was conducted at the third during the study year. Yet, when the Superintendent's "new" program began, these schools were involved in it on the most elementary level as though their programs had never existed. Moreover, during the dispute over phonics among school board members in SY 1982-1983, little attention was given the success of one study school with its phonics program, and when pilot schools were chosen, its history was ignored.

These observations seem to point toward a tendency to hide the high achieving black schools; to ignore their contributions to teaching and learning; and to pretend that they simply do not exist. To admit their presence is too embarrassing, an open admission that the decision to improve the quality of instruction for black students is a political decision and not an educational one. The fact is that much is already known about how to elevate achievement in the black poor learner. The problem is that the commitment to do so may not be there. Unless this commitment is accepted, the imputation of black inferiority will continue and low achievement will remain the norm in black schools.

Perhaps the political effect of the 1982 State Human Relations Commission's amendments to the Centre City Desegregationa Plan calling for the improvement of instruction at the remaining segregated black schools will hasten a change in the present attitude toward the exceptional high achieving schools. Somehow, sometime, somewhere better efforts must be made by school systems to recruit and hire teachers and principals who believe that black poor students can and will learn. Unless school actors have high expectations for students, their potentials will not be reached. As a matter of fact teachers who do not believe that their students can and will learn, stop teaching them. Goal displacement occurs and discipline replaces achievement as the desired end. Principals and teachers who believe that the students can and will learn, look at system practices and policies for answers when achievement does not occur rather than projecting these failures on the victims, the students and/or their parents. Since the principal must mobilize consensus among the school actors and maintain high expectations, he should have more say about who comes into teaching and certainly who stays there. School board members and central office administrators should not bargain away these principal's prerogatives with teachers' unions.

The Horizontal Organization: Dealing with Human Difference

Every school has two kinds of organization: (1) the horizontal which is the plan for placing children in groups for the reception of instruction, and (2) the vertical which is concerned with moving the students from entry to exit. There are several ways to group students horizontally. One way is the age-graded structure wherein children are placed into grades according to age. Another is placement according to homogeneous achievement as reflected by standardized achievement tests or according to ability as shown by intelligence tests. This is called tracking or streaming. A third way is to place students according to individual need by skill mastery or deficiency. A fourth way is by random selection.[1] In the schools in this study students were placed in grades according to age and skill mastery in reading as reflected by the Ginn 360 or 720 Level Tests. Students were tracked into the Elementary Scholars' Program (ESP) and EMR.

Teachers in these high achieving schools did not use the norm referenced standardized tests for teaching. Rather, they used the criterion referenced tests provided by the Ginn and Lippincott series in reading and the Heath series in mathematics. They did not judge their students' growth in achievement by the standardized test. They insisted on the mastery of procedural knowledge (learning skills such as how to read, write, compute) as well as on propositional knowledge (learning information such as knowledge about the earth). The emphasis, however, was on procedural knowledge.[2]

There did not seem to be a high correlation between the achievement of students in the basal reader and the scores on the standardized tests. In other words, the criterion referenced reading level and unit tests reflected or not the mastery of the specified skills, but the success of a student at a certain level did not necessarily predict what the grade equivalent score would be on the standardized test in reading. It is not clear then that what the publishers say should be taught in a grade matches the grade equivalent on the standardized test. Students who have strong skill mastery records, however, do make higher scores. Teachers believe this is due to reinforcement, repetition and re-teaching. Moreover, grouping for reading is an instructional fundamental for handling the extensive human variation that occurs among students in learning. This grouping also seems to facilitate the learning of mathematics since the only school to use this routine managed to lift 81 percent of its student body to or above the national and/or city norms. Since every human being is different and since it is fiscally impossible to hire a tutor for each student, grouping, small and large, should be planned for in school schedules.

Another routine utilized to account for human variation in learning and implemented in these schools is the inter-room transfer of students whose reading groups are unavailable in their own grade placement. This is a form of the nongrading concept. It is evident that teachers try to modify the scheduling of students to account for the phenomenon of human difference in growth and achievement. What teachers in these three schools try to do is to create multi-modal, multi-level groupings for more effective instruction. Modes concern styles of learning and levels refer to skill placement. Even more flexibility in scheduling is attained through the use of team teaching which was practiced in all three schools to some extent. In this routine teachers who specialized in certain areas or subjects could teach several groups of students. These teachers worked together as a team and shared information, knowledge and skills. This practice was exceedingly beneficial at one school in the second grade and in mathematics in the departmental group. Attempts at another school were less fruitful. Nevertheless, the practice of departmentalization needs more investigation. Its restriction on the manipulation of class time and usage precludes the expansion of the school schedule to accommodate slow learners. On the other hand, it permits the utilization of teacher subject matter expertise at a time when the elementary school curriculum expands (Grades 4 and 5). The advantages and disadvantages need to be examined and weighed in some future research.

In any event, schools servicing black poor students should provide a horizontal organization which allows for large and small groupings. Knowledge, according to Olson, is defined in terms of statements and propositions and is communicable by definition. While knowledge may be represented in abstract symbolic forms such as sentences, which because of their symbolic structure can be conveyed through the mass media, skills cannot be so conveyed. Small groupings will be necessary for teaching skills which are located primarily in the motor system and are private.[3] The horizontal organization in all three schools failed to provide enough of these opportunities. Hence, teachers and principals were forced to create them. This they did by extending the students' day past dismissal, by denial of attendance in special subject classes, by using teachers' prep, ESEP and lunch periods and by sending students who failed to perform to the principal for extended work time.

Teachers were tightly coupled with the principal in the two highest achieving schools in a mutual and reciprocal relationship. They made important decisions in their classrooms around teacher use of expertise, student placement and progress, curriculum interventions, such as the use of Lippincott readers and the administration of Ginn Level Tests to incoming transfer students. These teachers took certain risks by violating their union contract and by usurping parental rights. However, it was their very dependence on the principals for support in negotiating problems arising from these actions that encouraged them to take the risks in the first place. The tendency of the principals to rely on teachers as resources for problem solving in the school gave them status and made them an integral part of the administrative and supervision process further tightening the coupling.

Special Subjects, Social Studies and Science

Language (words), music (notes), art (images) and mathematics (numbers) are symbol systems. Yet, hierarchical skills are organized in reading and mathematics but not in music and art. Since standardized tests are not given in these subjects, this is an unfortunate problem in the study schools. Since teachers do not have enough time to meet the needs of students on slower learning cycles they must steal time from vocal and instrumental music, art, drama, poetry, dance, social studies, science, library and physical education. Teachers regret this practice but see no alternative. Even though principals and teachers managed to produce very professional programs and plays such as "The Wiz", "Grease" and "Barnum" during the school year, teachers consider special subjects, social studies and science less important than reading and mathematics. Black and poor students need more school experiences in these special subjects; and some means of providing more time in terms of a longer school day should be studied and greater efforts should be made to increase attendance.

It is clear from research that spending equal amounts of money on children does not provide an equality of opportunity. "Some pupils begin their schooling with more physical disabilities and less psychological preparation for adjusting to the procedures of formal education. If we expect the results of school to provide equal opportunities in later life, then greater schooling resources should be given to those who begin with disadvantages."[4] Consequently, from an educational point of view equalization would require bringing all schools up to a standard rather than depriving any school of the resources necessary or for providing an adequate educational program for the students attending. It means, further, that the education of some students would require spending more in order to provide them equal educational opportunity.

Special Education

Special education classes represent a tracking mechanism for students who have special needs which cannot be met in the regular classroom; consequently, these services must be provided in another setting. Unfortunately, in two study schools, these students were isolated from the main student body and mainstreaming depended on teacher ingenuity and persistence. We need to re-think the conceptualization of special education. These services need to be synthesized with the needs of students rather than the needs of the system, i.e. removing a discipline case from a room. For instance, any child or every child may need special education at one time or another such as tutoring for a student having difficulty with geometry.[5] More flexible horizontal organization will create more chances for dealing with these kinds of needs. Special Education needs to be planned accordingly.

Better diagnostic testing is required to be certain that students need special education. Reliance on intelligence tests channel many deprived and disadvantaged youngsters into these programs when they really do not belong there. Yet, the failure to diagnose early leads to failure and frustration of students and teachers alike. The return of a position like a reading clinician could work toward the achievement of this end. More counseling and guidance personnel at the elementary school level could help redirect school policy in special education referral systems also.

Black History, Literature and Culture

All three schools displayed pictures of black men and women who had made major contributions to American life on the walls of the school building, i.e., Martin Luther King, Jr., George Washington Carver, and Frederick Douglass. Additionally, two schools stressed the importance of the study of Black History, Literature and Culture every day in lessons and work materials. Black picture alphabets hung on the walls; pictures of black and white girls and boys illustrated posters and bulletin boards. Library books about black people and black life were abundant. Black music and black art were taught. Students were surrounded by this culture and life

Teaching and Classroom Management

Most black students fail to reach much less exceed the national and/or city norms in reading and mathematics on the standardized achievement tests. Certainly, learning to master reading and mathematics skills is not quality education; yet, quality education, whatever it is, can not be attained unless the students can read, write and compute. A school must first meet these prerequisites, hopefully in the early grades. Nor do scores on standardized achievement tests necessarily reflect a quality education when they are at or above the norms; yet, most parents and educators judge schools and educational opportunites by them.

While we believe that norm referenced tests are culturally biased and based on Anglocentric norms, we found predominantly black elementary schools where a majority of the students were scoring at or above the norms. We wanted to know why and how this anomaly occurred. Since the number system is less dependent on language cultural effects, students in these schools scored higher in mathematics than in reading. However, some teachers felt that the mathematics scores were not true scores since the standardized test used did not include such experiences to any extent. Teachers in the three study schools did not use the standardized tests for instructional purposes. Although there was a mini-testing experiment in the public schools during the study year to improve test taking skills, not many of the study school teachers participated. These teachers used the criterion referenced level and unit tests for determining their students' placement, progress and pace. Group assignments in class rosters were determined by these tests as was promotion. For mathematics, the textbook chapter tests provided the same information. In the kindergartens, teachers had extensive lists of skills which had to be mastered before the reading series could begin. But even the use of criterion referenced tests did not completely erase the effects of the African-American culture.

To combat the heavy cultural bias of the reading texts, teachers in the study schools relied on repetition, reinforcement, re-teaching, rote and drill to overcome the disability. Where concepts were too difficult or alien, teachers simply increased the amount of time spent teaching them. In two schools a variety of activities had been accumulated for each skill, so that any student could repeat any activity several times to achieve mastery. There was a firm belief among the teachers of the highest achieving schools that a strong phonics background and word attack/analysis skill foundation was essential for black poor students whose language was basically Black English and that a reading series which provided these skills was vital. In fact, one twenty-seven year veteran, acknowledged having served on several reading textbook committees where teachers were urged by central office personnel to choose texts other than those the teachers wanted because of certain benefits offered the school district by the publisher.

Teachers generally kept lesson plans and taught their lessons as outlined in the teachers' guide to the reading and mathematics series. Students were taken through all skills whether or not mastery has been attained. Very little pretesting occurred to determine whether or not level or unit skipping should be permitted. In the two highest achieving schools, special treatment was given advanced readers. In one, a special series was used; in the other a variety of enrichment supplementary materials was used. In both of these schools, more instructional time was given to the slow learners. In one school there was an Early Learning Skills Division for the placement of kindergarten students who had failed to master skills sufficiently well to begin the formal first grade. Only in one school was there an enrichment program for advanced math students.

Scheduling of reading and math classes posed a problem for the Title I remediation teachers. Reading was usually taught in the morning and mathematics in the afternoon in all schools except one where there was departmentalization. Under such a schedule in schools where the Title I program is half day in the morning, students often missed their regular reading and were forced to make it up during special subject time. Only in one school was their a close relationship between the Title I curriculum and the regular reading program. In this school the Title I teacher also served as an ex-officio reading clinician, diagnosing students and assessing level and unit placements of transfer students. The same problem occurred in Title I mathematics programs.

Interestingly, in two schools the assignment of teachers to the accelerated achievement level classes was rotated among the teachers in that particular grade from year to year.

However, in the school where achievement was highest over the five year period from 1975 through 1980, assignments were permanent except in the second grade. In the lowest achieving study school, assignments were negotiated among the teachers and constant arguments arose during the school year about the assignment of transfer in students. In this school the lowest achieving classes were assigned to the least experienced teachers.

These practices point toward the need for the training of teachers for permanent assignments so that yearly struggles to avoid the "ding-a-lings", as one teacher labeled the unwanted students, does not happen. Teachers sould then be trained to develop the expertise to teach a certain type of learner and students would feel wanted by the teachers to whom they are assigned. Furthermore, students whose standardized test scores exceed their reading and mathematics placements could be pretested for the next level. Special treatment programs need analysis to avoid neglect of the average learner, and Title I scheduling needs more study.

The majority of the teachers in the study schools felt that they were able to accomplish high achievement in reading and mathematics because their discipline problems were minimal and the principal gave them unlimited support in that area. Without the assumption of this responsibility, these teachers would have displaced high achievement with discipline as a high priority goal. Consequently, instead of directing their energies, talents and skills toward the elevation of achievement they would have worked for an improvement in discipline. These teachers did not depend on parents to help them to teach the children skill mastery in reading and mathematics. In fact, they considered the parents extremely handicapped in doing so. Even in the one school where parents were encouraged to monitor teacher performance, the teachers felt that the parents had abdicated their parental obligations to the principal.

In one school teachers were more occupied with disciplinary problems than instruction. In this school, the teachers tried to work out an alliance with parents to assist them in handling the difficult cases. The chronic behavior problems in this school further depleted the precious time available for instruction and totally consumed opportunities for extending the school day for students who were on a slow learning cycle. The data seem clear on this point. In black poor schools the principal must be aggressive in developing a system for dealing with discipline.

He/she must take responsibility for the management of these problems and create more time for direct instruction. Additionally, this action generates loyalty among the teachers and a spirit of group solidarity which leads toward consensus around high achievement as a group goal.

The data are not clear around high structure and its relationship to high achievement. Since the school which had the longest and most consistent record of high achievement was highly structured one can speculate that high structure moderated by affection and consideration is probably the best mode over all for black poor students. But, more research needs to be conducted on this relationship. For high structure may result in consistent performance over time since the environment is more controlled; yet, flexible structure may result in the highest achievement at any given time since it permits more creativity. What is definite, however, is that loose structure can not produce high achievement in the black poor school. This speaks forcefully to the establishment of a strict discipline program firmly enforced in the black poor school in a considerate manner and demands a rigorous monitoring of teacher performance for compliance with the specified routines.

Parent and Community Relationships

Only in one school was the relationship of the principal and the parents a reciprocal relationship. In the other two schools, parents were clients who were expected to give the school support in exchange for the education of their children. In one of these, the role of parents was very limited and proscribed. In the other, parents were expected to help teachers with their discipline problems. In all three schools the roles of parents were dictated by the school principals, but in one school that role was expansive, instructional and participatory.

The highest achieving school during SY 1979-1980 had the most involved parent participation program. Parents were actually encouraged to sit in classes, observe and monitor teacher performance and student learning. The principal was a social activist actually sought after by the community for leadership in certain social and political areas. He served as a father figure for many of these families and in many cases parents surrendered their parental rights to him unqualifiably.

This benefit of community cohesion coupled with the loyalty, solidarity and consensus among his faculty around high achievement as the highest priority goal served to provide a foundation for the execution of an interesting form of hierarchical independence which earned the principal the disapproval of central office staff who called him a "loner" "not a team player", "independent," and "radical." This evaluation of his principalship prevented his consideration for promotion until his school became a subject of this study.

The highest achieving school over the five year period SY 1975-76 to 1979-1980 failed to develop the kind of community cohesion which characterized the former school. Some parents disliked the high structure and formal dress code established in the school; others failed to control the behavior of their children in and out of school and protested the principal's handling of discipline from time to time. Parents desiring a more flexible arrangement sent their children to private, parochial and other public schools. In a few cases, these students actually transferred into lower achieving schools. In one a student was recommend for Special Education although the student was attending a private school; consequently, the parent returned his child to the study school. To combat this division in the community, the principal formed the School Family which was composed of the school actors, the students and the parents of the advanced readers. These parents served as buffers between the school and the opposing group.

In the third school parents played the traditional PTA role participating through this organization, Cluster Parent representatives, The Title I and Headstart parent groups. Teachers individually sought out parents for disciplinary support, but, generally parental involvement consisted of a small core of lunchroom aides organized around the lunchroom manager. During the 1981 elections, this group attempted to mobilize community support for the candidate opposing the incumbent school board member for re-election. Their dismal failure revealed the extent of their representation of the actual parents of the school district. Without community and parent solidarity, lacking loyalty and consensus among the faculty, encumbered by beliefs in teacher professionalism, collegiality and specialization, the principal was tightly coupled with central office for direction, supervision and support.

The data show a need for the mobilization of consensus among parents around high achievement as the highest priority goal. Additionally, some effort must be made to incorporate them into some participatory scheme around the school's program. The best situation is one of cohesion; where this is impossible the recruitment of a majority of the parents and community is basic. When schools fail in their basic task of instruction, the parents pick up the burden and bear the brunt. In one study school, the data seem to indicate that whatever learning occurred there during the study year was more the result of parental and home influence than school effects.

What Were The Differences Between The Schools?

The following statements describe the differences between the study schools during SY 1979-1980

1. The highest achieving school for the study year treated parents as equals in a partnership; the other two treated them as clients who owed support in exchange for the education of the students. In the former parents could monitor teacher performance, bring their observations to the principal and demand redress. In one of the other two, parents' roles were prescribed the principal; in the remaining, their roles were defined by teachers.

2. In the two highest achieving schools which were more alike, there was a mid-range consensus among the school actors around high achievement as the highest priority goal; in the other there was low consensus around this goal. On other scales there was more consensus in the two more alike schools than in the third where there was a difference in the conduct and views of new and veteran teachers.

3. In the two highest achieving study schools, the principals were authoritarian although the degree differed. In the third, the principal was guided by collegiality and specialization and was firmly based on teacher professionalism and the adherence to standards.

4. The two highest achieving schools were loosely coupled with central office. Both principals were viewed as "renegades," "non-team players", "uncooperative" and "loners." The third principal was tightly coupled with central office running her school as best she knew how by the rules.

5. In the two highest achieving study schools, the principals assumed the responsibility for student discipline and parental conflict generating loyalty among their teachers through the sense of obligation engendered by the action. In the third, an undercover war was created by the principal's failure to assume this reponsibility, generally led by veteran teachers.

6. In the two highest achieving study schools, the principals monitored student progress and pacing, supervised teacher performance consistently and evaluated teachers promptly. In the third, the principal relied on her supervisory specialist for assistance in evaluation and in-service and on external sources for supervision. In the two highest achieving schools, the principals persuaded unsatisfactory personnel to transfer under the threat of the receipt of an unsatisfactory rating rather than undergo the long, tortuous, red-tape process prescribed by the Board of Education and the Federation of Teachers. In the third, the principal was proscribed by the presence of an FOT official on her faculty and forced to submit to that process.

7. In the same manner, the third principal was constrained from using prep, special subject, social studies, science and ESEP periods for tutoring, remediation, reinforcement and re-teaching.

8. This third school had a higher faculty and student mobility and student absenteeism rate, a lower student population, a larger number of extra programs, more loosely structured classrooms, fewer poor students and a new principal compared to the other two schools. Because of its higher SES, investigators thought the achievement would be higher as an effect. This proved not to be the case. In fact, the data show a school in transition.

9. The office of the two highest achieving schools were highly centralized characterized by a business-like atmosphere. The third school's office had more of a central social meeting place aura. It housed a soda pop machine inside the principal's office through which teachers and staff treked for purchases. Unattended student disciplinary referrals often played

with messengers or student passers-by until the clerk noticed their behavior, and visitors often failed to notify the principal that they were in the school.

10. The principals of the two highest achieving schools spent a great deal of their work time interacting with students; the third principal spent her time with her own faculty and staff and staff from central office and the local university regarding the extra programs housed in her school.

11. Teachers at this third school spent more time on discipline problems in their classrooms than did the teachers in the two highest achieving schools. They were less cooperative with each other and more informal in their own behavior.

12. Only in this third school did teachers fail to teach reading and mathematics every day, and only here did teachers interrupt each other's classes with consistent regularity for trivial reasons.

What Should Be Done Now?

Superintendents and Boards of Education need to consider several policy and/or administrative changes in order to test what will create and maintain high achieving schools for the black and poor students.

1. Designate student achievement as one of the most important criteria on which teacher and principal performance will be judged.

2. Lengthen the school day in schools where the population demands reinforcement, repetition and reteaching, pay staff accordingly and improve student attendance.

3. Require evidence that teachers can teach reading and mathematics before hiring or that principals provide proof of this ability during the probationary period using student achievement as the basic criterion in cases where probationary teachers receive satisfactory marks or better.

4. Provide probationary periods for principals and decentralize more authority at the building level for veterans but monitor these principals' performances in elevating achievement.

5. Place research teams in schools which are high achieving in hopes of increasing our knowledge base.

6. Recruit and hire more teachers and principals who believe that black and poor students can learn; make this a requirement for working in black poor schools.

7. Monitor more stringently the selection and purchase of textbooks and educational materials for cultural bias and selected emphases for deviant populations such as phonics, linguistics, word problems and ethnic history and culture.

8. Monitor the proliferation of programs in schools which service black and poor student populations. Where these programs are desirable, principals should be given assistant principals to deal with their administration and supervision.

Notes:

1. Barbara A. Sizemore. *The Superintendent's 120 Day Report* (Board of Education, Washington, D.C., March 8, 1974), pp. 29-31.

2. David R. Olson. "Waht is Worth Knowing?" *School Review*, Vol. 82, No. 1, November, 1973), p. 35.

3. *Ibid*, p. 39.

4. *Ibid*, p. 34.

5. Laurence Iannacone. "Problems of Financing Inner City Schools," (HEW, Office of Education, Washington, D.C. Contract # OEC-0-71-2718, Ohio State University, Research Foundation, August, 1971), p. 11.